

IDENTITÉS GRECQUES ET SANCTUAIRES COMMUNS

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Abstract

This paper begins by recalling the danger of abusing the term ‘amphictiony’ and the necessity of using precaution when mobilizing the concept of ‘region’. Then it shows that ethnic and geographical criteria are insufficient to explain the formation of associations of amphictionic type. Beyond the sharing of religious beliefs and material interests, the more or less exclusive use of a common sanctuary is also the answer to a political process which is based on discrimination and flattering of the identity consciousness.

Ne sachant plus guère d’où elles viennent et ne voyant donc pas très bien où elles vont, nos sociétés cherchent à retrouver des points de repères et, parmi ceux-ci, des marqueurs de leur identité. En histoire ancienne aussi, l’*ethnicity* est un thème à la mode et comme toujours en pareil cas, les publications se multiplient.¹ Inévitablement inégales, elles pèchent parfois par excès d’abstraction, refuge confortable quand l’accès aux sources est ardu. Les grands sanctuaires de la Grèce, quant à eux, n’ont cessé de capter l’attention notamment parce qu’ils constituent un réservoir de documentation quasi inépuisable pour toutes nos disciplines. Très modestement et en marge des vastes débats (trop?) conceptuels, je voudrais ici réexaminer la pertinence du critère ethnique dans ce cadre et, au-delà, ce qui fondait le droit à partager et contrôler un sanctuaire commun.²

Ces quelques pages ne visent pas à l’exhaustivité et laisseront notamment de côté les États fédéraux ou assimilés, magistralement traités dans un récent recueil de très haut niveau.³ Elles sont consacrées aux sanctuaires donnant lieu à des

¹ Utiles bilans de Freitag 2007; Malkin et Müller 2012, avec les remarques avisées de Zurbach 2012. Ajouter Prontera 2011, 15–28; McNerney 2014; Pollini 2015.

² L’expression *koinon hieron* (*vel sim*) est notamment utilisée par Thucydide 5. 18. 2, et Isocrate *Évagoras* (9), 15; à Delphes (Lefèvre 1998b, 112, l. 21), à Ilion (Frisch 1975, n° 12, l. 7–8), ou chez les Chrysaoriens (*SEG* 53. 1229, l. 22–23); autres exemples et analyse de cette notion aux contours inévitablement changeants chez Polinskaya 2010. L’aspect ethnique est au cœur des développements de Wüst 1954–55 et de Tausend 1992 sur les amphictionies, mais comme le rappelle justement Baltrusch 2008, 39, à propos de ces dernières: ‘ihre Entstehungsbedingungen liegen völlig im Dunkeln’.

³ Funke et Haake 2013, dont la suite, annoncée p. 8, n’était pas encore disponible quand le présent article fut rédigé (*cf.* aussi Mackil 2013; 2014a). Nous nous intéresserons donc plus particulièrement ici à l’*ethnos* compris comme *Stamm*, pour reprendre la formulation allemande, pratique et

regroupements que les modernes, surtout depuis quelques décennies, affublent volontiers du nom d'‘amphictionies’, souvent de façon abusive.⁴ C'est notamment le cas à propos d'Olympie⁵ et d'autres lieux de culte péloponnésiens,⁶ mais aussi de Béotie,⁷ de Crète,⁸ au sujet de Délos,⁹ et même de Cos.¹⁰ L'association d'idée

largement diffusée. Bilans sur la terminologie et les problèmes afférents offerts par Ulf 1996; Beck 1997, 9–13; R. Parker 1998; Corsten 1999, 10–24; Rzepka 2002; Giovannini 2007, 120–22; Lasagni 2011.

⁴ Cf., en général, Tausend 1992, 3–4 (justification) et 8–63, ou la ‘Reihe anderer Amphiktionien’ passée en revue par Siewert 2005, 23; mise au point récente et équilibrée par Funke 2013, dans la lignée d'Ehrenberg 1957, 82–85 (pour l'époque hellénistique, ce dernier évoquait déjà des ‘politische Bünde manchmal Amphiktyonien genannt’, pourtant sans attestation antique).

⁵ Historique de la question chez Antonetti 2012, 201; voir principalement Taita 1999 (cf. Chanotis 2002; Minon 2003), justement mitigé dans Taita 2007, 126–30, et surtout Minon 2007, 482, avec le scepticisme exprimé par Roy 2013, 113, et la prudence de Theotikou 2013, 116 et 147–48.

⁶ Mylonopoulos 2003, 424–35 (cf. Mylonopoulos 2006) pour le Péloponnèse en général, avec les réserves légitimes de Rizakis 2013, 17, n. 21 et de Mackil 2013, 198, n. 196 (Poséidon à Héliké), ainsi que de Nielsen 2013, 230–34 (Poséidon Samios en Triphylie, à confronter avec Ruggeri 2004, 96–102, et Theotikou 2013, 163–66). Pour l'Arcadie, consulter Nielsen 2013, 234–40, et Laronde et Lefèvre 2009, 824–25. Pour le cas argien (Apollon Pythéen), comparer Piccirilli 1973, 1–6 et 36–41; Musti et Torelli 1991, 213; Tausend 1992, 8–12; Sánchez 2001, 83; Kōiv 2003, 308–09; Auffarth 2006, 76–77; Kowalzig 2007, 129–60; Bershadsky 2012, 68–69. Le sort de cette prétendue amphictionie a été réglé par Piérart 1995, trop peu lu.

⁷ Ainsi pour l'Itônion, confronter Tausend 1992, 26–34, et Breglia 2008, à Kühr 2006, 286–87 (de la même, Ganter 2013, surtout 98–99) et Larson 2007, 133–36, dont la démarche et l'expression prudentes semblent préférables. L'emploi par Pindare du mot *amphiktionies* suppose certes que les fêtes concernées aient une audience assez vaste, mais le terme n'a très probablement rien d'institutionnel (cf. aussi *Isthm* 4, 14 et *Parth.* 55 dans l'édition Puech): Sánchez 2001, 34; Kowalzig 2007, 385–86; Mackil 2014b, 52.

⁸ Chanotis 1996, 128–30 et 187, n. 1134; 2006, nuancé à souhait; Sporn 2002, 89 et 364–67.

⁹ Examen lucide et rigoureux chez Chankowski 2008, 20–28 (41–49 pour les amphictyons athéniens du Ve s., et 241–45 pour Andros au IVe s.), qui n'a toutefois pas convaincu Funke 2013, 458–60. Voir aussi Constantakopoulou 2007, 38–60 et 254–57, qui croit à une participation doriennne et parle sans hésiter d'*amphictiony* (définie comme un réseau culturel insulaire plus que ionien). Rappelons que des offrandes de provenances variées, fussent-elles de prestige, ne font pas une amphictionie, pas plus qu'elles ne confèrent à un sanctuaire le statut panhellénique (cf., entre autres, Morgan 1993, spécialement 32–35). En l'absence de documents explicites, la prudence recommande donc pour l'instant d'éviter de parler d'amphictionie délienne archaïque, ou de le faire avec toutes les précautions formelles.

¹⁰ À propos du culte d'Apollon Dalios à Cos, la charmante expression ‘mini-amphiktyony’ se lit chez Kowalzig 2007, 77, n. 51. Or l'équation hypothétiquement établie par Rutherford 2009, 661 (cf. Chanotis 2014), à propos de Bosnakis, Hallof et Rigsby, *IG XII* 4, 332, laisse perplexe (‘an interstate network in which a number of states send offerings to a common sanctuary. In other words, it is an amphictiony’; *check-list* approximative p. 662, à confronter par exemple avec la typologie de Sporn 2002, 366). Dans sa remarquable monographie sur les cultes de l'île, Paul 2013, 63–66 et 361, parle plus raisonnablement de cités ‘voisines’ ou ‘alliées’. De fait, Cnide, seule nommée (dans un texte certes lacuneux) et qui a par ailleurs des liens privilégiés avec Delphes (trésor, *leschè* à laquelle on travaille alors: Jacquemin et Laroche 2012–13, 94–105), pouvait aussi s'associer à la théorie en tant que cité

se comprend aisément: ainsi pour le Samikon, sur lequel veille (*epimeleisthai*) la cité de Makiston, qui en outre proclame la suspension des armes, mais auquel contribuent (*syntelein*) tous les Triphyliens, le rapprochement avec le binôme cité de Delphes/Amphictionie est naturel.¹¹ Mais le même binôme opère pour Athéna Ilias, dont le *koinon* ne s'est à notre connaissance jamais paré du titre d'amphictionie. On saisit tout aussi bien l'intérêt pédagogique d'une telle formulation, que Strabon avait peut-être lui-même déjà perçu. C'est en effet comme cela, semble-t-il, qu'il convient d'expliquer les expressions un peu contournées qu'il emploie à propos de Calaurie, où existait 'une sorte d'amphictionie' (*amphiktyonia tis*), et d'Onchestos, où il évoque *to amphiktyonikon*, soit une instance à caractère amphictionique, par référence à l'exemple delphique supposé connu de son public.¹² On ne peut bien sûr écarter que ces structures aient été officiellement désignées comme amphictionies, notamment à Calaurie où une inscription mutilée du IIIe/IIe s. donne le mot et évoque des hiéromnémones, mais tout se passe comme si Strabon veillait à réserver ce terme à celle qui s'est imposée comme le parangon en la matière, l'Amphictionie pyléo-delphique.¹³ À tout le moins, il paraît donc prudent de suivre son exemple et de n'appeler 'amphictionies' que ces trois ensembles, suivant en cela une recommandation déjà ancienne de F. Càssola.¹⁴

abritant le Triopion et représentant la pentapole doriennne, dans la mesure où celle-ci était encore active (cf. ci-dessous). Quant à Cos elle-même, une bonne illustration de ses étroites relations avec le sanctuaire pythique est fournie par le décret suivant l'invasion galate: Nachtergael 1977, 401–03 (aujourd'hui Bosnakis, Hallof et Rigsby, *IG XII 4*, 68), avec Paul 2013, 68–71. Consulter en outre Jacquemin 1999, 67–68.

¹¹ Strabon 8. 3. 13, à confronter avec 9. 3. 7 et Pausanias 5. 8. 7 ou 10. 8. 5. *Syntelein* est banal pour exprimer la participation contributive à une communauté, en l'occurrence sur un pied d'égalité; pour l'emploi de *metechein*, *koinonein*, *meteinai* et autres semblables dans ce contexte, voir Lefèvre 1998a, 167, n. 67; Paul 2013, 197.

¹² Respectivement 8. 6. 14 (cf. la traduction de H.L. Jones dans l'édition Loeb), et 9. 2. 33. On ignore absolument qui était du groupement d'Onchestos (pas seulement des Béotiens d'après Buck 1979, 90, suivi par Tausend 1992, 27, qui suppose une origine ionienne, avec les correctifs de Funke 2013, 461 et n. 13); pour la phase hellénistique (capitale du *koinon* béotien), voir Roesch 1982, 265–82, Ganter 2013, 99–101 et Mackil 2013, 163–67. Sur le succès de l'Amphictionie pyléo-delphique chez les auteurs d'époque romaine, consulter Lefèvre 1995 et Sánchez 2001, 22–30.

¹³ 'Die Amphiktyonie par excellence' (Freitag 2001, 219), d'où l'emploi de la majuscule chez Lefèvre 1998 et Sánchez 2001. L'expression 'guerre sacrée' est aussi l'apanage de cette prestigieuse organisation, et ce n'est sans doute pas un hasard: Lefèvre 2014.

¹⁴ 'Sarebbe preferibile lasciare questo nome ai gruppi per cui esso è storicamente attestato' (Càssola 1993, 100, n. 8, où est repris un article de 1958; cf. déjà Calabi Limentani 1953, 11–26). Tout en ayant bien conscience que de nouveaux documents peuvent à tout moment multiplier les occurrences, nous parlerons donc d'associations ou de sanctuaires 'de type amphictionique', *vel sim.*: voir Lefèvre 1998a, 1, n. 1; le 'groupement religieux' béotien de P. Guillon, cité par Ducat 1973, 61; la 'structure cultuelle commune aux Lesbiens' évoquée par Bresson 2003, 176, n. 32 (cf. aussi

Il convient pareillement d'observer quelque réserve vis-à-vis des qualificatifs parfois utilisés au sujet des sanctuaires accueillant ces organisations, tels *überregional* en allemand, ou *trans-regional/inter-regional* en anglais. La région est certes une catégorie dont il s'avère difficile de se passer dans nos études, mais qui paraît plutôt floue dans les sources. Les termes pour rendre l'idée sont passe-partout (*chôra*, *topos*¹⁵), et on a plutôt recours à des adjectifs exprimant le voisinage plus ou moins proche, tels *enchôrios*, *plesiochôros*, ou *periktiôn/amphiktiôn* qui traduit justement la dimension régionale et qu'il est donc un peu paradoxal de prendre comme 'transrégional'.¹⁶ Les anciens avaient apparemment de la région une perception vécue plus qu'une représentation abstraite, raisonnant par exemple en durées de trajet et en fonction de l'accessibilité plutôt que de la distance effective.¹⁷ En outre, quand il parle de l'Ionie, Hérodote évoque simultanément une région climatique et quatre sous-régions linguistiques, dont il situe la première en Carie et la deuxième en Lydie, introduisant vraisemblablement là une dimension diachronique (pays naguère sous domination carienne ou lydienne).¹⁸ Nous-mêmes donnons à cette catégorie des contours flous et fluctuants, selon que nous l'envisageons d'un point de vue physique, économique,

Buraselis 2013, 177–79); les 'Kultorte amphiktyonischen Charakters' de Mylonopoulos 2011, 65 (plutôt intrépide par ailleurs); enfin Bresson 2000, 74, qui vingt ans auparavant, à l'instar de Strabon pour Calaurie et Onchestos, avait utilisé l'amphictionie pyléo-delphique comme paradigme pédagogique à propos de Naucratis (cf. Malkin 2011, 86). Le modèle amphictionique s'avère prégnant et a semble-t-il toujours exercé une forme de fascination sur les modernes (Curtius 1878, 221, y assimilait par exemple la ligue péloponnésienne: cf. Baltrusch 1994, 19, n. 86; plus récemment, on a comparé les phratries athéniennes ou des groupements comme la Tétrapole marathonnienne à des 'local amphiktyonies': Humphreys 2004, 132). Inversement, il pourrait être utilisé avec pertinence pour des sanctuaires jusqu'à présent méconnus, comme me le fait amicalement observer D. Knoepfler à propos d'Amarynthos en Eubée.

¹⁵ Cf. Diodore 16. 26, chapitre pittoresque sur la découverte de l'oracle pythique, avec une ébauche rustique de la future cité de Delphes et/ou de l'amphictionie (§ 3–4: *doxai tois katoikousi periton topon*: les gens du coin/des alentours décidèrent...).

¹⁶ Siewert 2005, 24 (*überlokal*) paraît somme toute moins périlleux; voir aussi les observations de Moustakis 2006, 1–4, et de Polinskaya 2013, 36–43 et 451–55. Une étude méthodique de ce lexique reste à faire: je remercie D. Marcotte, qui a précisé ce projet, pour notre fructueux échange sur la question.

¹⁷ Cf. Lefèvre 2002, n° 70 et 76, textes où se mettent en place un calendrier et une géographie spécifiques à des fêtes béotiennes, définissant le périmètre d'attraction de sanctuaires gravitant eux-mêmes dans l'orbite amphictionique. Il n'est que de monter par temps clair sur le Cithéron ou le Parnasse pour avoir une perception de cet espace toute différente de celle que peut donner une carte. Dans une perspective insulaire ou maritime, voir la conscience 'régionale' évoquée par Prontera 1989, 177, et Constantakopoulou 2007, 37; bon exemple d'étude des déplacements en Locride épiconémienne par Sánchez-Moreno 2013a–b et Arjona 2013; lecture stimulante de Frémont 1976, et, pour l'Antiquité, des contributions réunies par Geus et Thiering 2014, ou dans le cadre du colloque *Approches topographiques du fait religieux* tenu à l'Université Paris-Est Créteil (29–31 janvier 2015).

¹⁸ 1. 142. Cette juxtaposition de notions n'a d'égal que le foisonnement touffu de nos dictionnaires de géographie: confronter l'article 'région' chez George et Verger 1996, 393; Lévy et Lussault 2003, 776–80 (G. Di Méo et J.-L. Mathieu); Brunet, Ferras et Théry 2009, 421–23.

culturel, et finalement politique.¹⁹ Même si les regroupements de type amphictionique, à l'image des sanctuaires qu'ils supervisent, ont une audience d'échelle prioritairement régionale, cette dimension s'avère donc insuffisante à les définir et il paraît plus pertinent de parler d'associations internationales, car leurs membres sont dans l'immense majorité des États indépendants ou se prétendant tels, cités ou *koina*.²⁰ Mais selon quels processus ces associations se forment-elles?

L'appartenance à un *ethnos* peut être affichée comme la condition *sine qua non* pour la jouissance d'un sanctuaire.²¹ L'exemple type est ici le Panionion, sanctuaire exclusif des Ioniens d'Asie.²² On sait pourtant que les mythes relatifs à la migration ionienne sont multiples, que le pedigree des nouveaux arrivants était loin d'être pur, et qu'il existait sur place, parmi les Ioniens eux-mêmes, une certaine hétérogénéité.²³

¹⁹ Voir Baurain 1997 (remarquable synthèse qui présente les grecs 'région par région'); le concept de 'micro-région' mis à la mode par Horden et Purcell 2000 (*cf.* déjà, entre autres, Wasowicz 1975), là où d'autres parlent de 'région méditerranéenne' (Funke 2013, 458); la perspective culturelle de Dana 2011 et économique de Kowalzig 2011; Luraghi 2008 pour les Messéniens et Vlassopoulos 2007 pour le Péloponnèse en général; Greaves 2010 pour l'Ionie; Daverio Rocchi 2011 et McNerney 2013, à propos de l'espace phocidien; Helly 2013, pour le pays des Magnètes; Mili 2015, notamment 1–12 et 37–46, pour la Thessalie. D'une certaine façon, un ensemble de type amphictionique, lui-même produit de l'arbitraire humain, instaure une région de compétence en matière d'administration religieuse, autour d'un centre convenu (ou de plusieurs). Ainsi se met en place la géographie amphictionique, elle-même mouvante, et dont j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de dire qu'elle ne se superposait à aucune autre (Lefèvre 1998a, 18, et on pourrait multiplier les exemples: *cf.* pour les Chrysaoriens, Ma 1999, 69 et 175, avec Debord 2003, 140; pour les Ioniens d'Asie, les hypothèses plus ou moins contestables relayées par Stylianou 1998, 379, note à Diodore 15. 49. 1). Ainsi les Panionia, et avec elles le conseil des Ioniens, se sont-elles déplacées au gré des circonstances, et il en alla pareillement d'autres fêtes organisées par la ligue au sein d'une région culturelle définie comme panionienne: voir provisoirement Gauthier 2000, 634–35; Hornblower 2011, 170–81. Quant à l'espace juridique de l'Amphictionie, il demeure bien difficile à circonscrire: échantillons dans Lefèvre 2002, 88–90 et 319–20. Pour la notion de 'flou géographique', lire par exemple Rolland-May 1987; 2003.

²⁰ L'expression 'theoric cult centre' proposée par Kowalzig 2005 (*cf.* 2007, 386, n. 138; voir aussi les cas d'Olympie, Gehrke 2013, et de l'Argolide, McAuley à paraître) est suggestive mais partielle, comme celle d' 'inter-urban sanctuaries' (Marinatos 1993, 230), ou le 'polisübergreifend' utilisé notamment par Freitag 2001.

²¹ Épisode célèbre de Cléomène sur l'Acropole, et autre cas à Paros: R. Parker 1998; Chankowski 2008, 19 et n. 47; Hornblower 2013, 215–16. Rien ne traduit mieux que Diodore 15. 49. 2 (*cf.* Strabon 8. 7. 2) la complexité des faits et l'imbrication des aspects religieux, ethniques et politiques: les gens d'Hélîkè refusent que les Ioniens sacrifient au sanctuaire de Poséidon, contre l'avis de leurs autorités fédérales à qui elles rétorquent que le *téménos* n'est pas commun (*koinon*) aux Achaïens, mais leur bien propre (*idion*; voir Rizakis 2013, 24–26, et Mackil 2013, 194–202, en comparant avec le litige survenu au siècle suivant à Labraunda, Crampa 1969, n° 5, l. 14–18, avec les références indiquées ci-dessous, n. 41).

²² *Cf.* principalement Hérodote 1. 144–148, et Vitruve 4. 1. 4, avec les pénétrantes analyses de Ragone 1986; 2008; Gros 1993; Herda 2006; 2009, 37–43 ('Amphiktyonia', mais rappelons que le mot n'est pas employé), face à Lohmann 2012; 2014, 6 et 71–78 notamment.

²³ Quel que soit le sens dans lequel on prenne le préfixe *pan-*, sa prétention totalitaire est absurde, ainsi qu'il ressort d'Hérodote, suggérant avec malignité(?) que seul le climat fait véritablement l'unité de l'Ionie: Hall 1997, 171; 2002, 67–73; 2008, 33; McNerney 2001, 57–59; Kowalzig 2005, 46–56;

Malgré tout, le droit de participer à la ligue constituée autour du culte de Poséidon Hélicônios était subordonné au fait d'être considéré comme Ionien. Entre autres exemples, évoquons les cas de Phocée qui, d'origine phocidienne, a fait allégeance aux Codrides pour contourner le refus des Ioniens de l'admettre en leur sein, et de Chios, où le roi Hector a dû débarrasser l'île des Abantes et des Cariens qui l'habitaient.²⁴ Le destin le plus notable est celui de Smyrne, éolienne à l'origine, devenue ionienne par la force (entreprise colophonienne, rapportée de diverses manières), mais qui dut attendre l'époque hellénistique pour rejoindre la ligue au titre de treizième cité.²⁵ Quelle que soit la fiabilité, sans doute inégale, des sources qui illustrent ces péripéties, la liaison *ethnos*-sanctuaire est ici indiscutable. Mais ce critère n'est pas le seul. Hérodote insiste sur le fait que ces Ioniens ont voulu se distinguer des autres et opérer un véritable schisme, dont on a pu imaginer qu'il visait particulièrement ceux d'Europe et des îles, rassemblés à Délos.²⁶ L'introduction de cette dimension géographique procède donc d'une volonté d'ordre politique, sans doute en partie conditionnée par un contexte particulier, dominé notamment par le voisinage de puissances barbares potentiellement menaçantes. Cette attitude se matérialise par un *numerus clausus* de douze cités membres censé correspondre à l'antique répartition adoptée dans le berceau péloponnésien originel (Achaïe), et qui devient lui-même un nouveau facteur d'exclusion.²⁷ Primordial, le critère ethnique ne suffit donc pas pour être admis dans le club très fermé du Panionion.²⁸ D'autres s'y surajoutent, imposés arbitrairement par ses membres, jaloux de leurs prérogatives.

Herda 2006, 72–79; Sakellariou 2009, 481–593; Crielaard 2009; Greaves 2010, notamment 219–30; Mac Sweeney 2013, 157–97 (où l'accent est mis sur la conflictualité, mais est-ce un marqueur typiquement ionien?); Munson 2014, 346–47.

²⁴ Pausanias 7. 3. 10 et 4. 9–10.

²⁵ Franco 1993, 115–16; Mac Sweeney 2013, 187–97, qui semble croire que Smyrne put pleinement en être dès l'époque archaïque, mais cf. Moggi 2005, entre autres. Le cas de Mélia, ionienne plutôt que carienne, voire mixte, et de toute façon précocement éliminée, reste discutable. Pourtant très proche mais d'ascendance thessalienne, Magnésie resta en dehors (cf. Debord 1999, 73–74).

²⁶ Où de surcroît, ils étaient peut-être associés à des Doriens: *supra*, n. 9; Santi Amantini 1977; Bearzot 1983; Chankowski 2008, 20–23; Peigney 2013, 58–62.

²⁷ Du moins entre la destruction de Mélia, si celle-ci faisait bien partie de la ligue, et la tardive admission de Smyrne par faveur royale, ce dont la cité est très fière (cf. la formule de sanction du décret Petzl 1987, n° 577). Outre celle-ci, les cités membres sont, en suivant l'ordre hérodoteen: Milet, Myous, Priène, Éphèse, Colophon, Lébédos, Téos, Clazomènes, Phocée, Samos, Chios et Érythrées. Pour les autres communautés ioniennes mineures des environs, voire les hypothèses de Rubinstein (Rubinstein et Greaves 2004, 1054–55), qui en fin de compte se ramènent à des considérations essentiellement politiques. Sur la base dodécimale, récurrente dans ce genre d'association, voir déjà Bürgel 1877, 52–53.

²⁸ Faut-il pour autant y voir un exemple de culte pratiqué dans la diversité ethnique (Kowalzig 2007, 148–49)?

Semblables remarques peuvent être faites à propos du pendant dorien, inévitablement évoqué par Hérodote dans les mêmes pages, comme en contrepoint. De fait, l'hexapole constituée autour du Triopion présente des caractéristiques très comparables. Elle réunit originellement Halicarnasse, les trois cités rhodiennes, Cos et Cnide, qui abrite le sanctuaire commun.²⁹ Là encore, le critère ethnique est mis en avant, mais il ne suffit pas car les autres Dorien de la région (ou plutôt des environs, *prosoikoi*) en sont tenus à l'écart, comme les gens de Calymna ou de Nisyros. On se heurte donc ici aussi à un 'mur de verre' purement arithmétique, construction d'apparence abstraite et arbitraire. Encore doit-on préciser que cette limite joue par excès, mais pas par défaut, car apparemment aucune cité ne prit la place d'Halicarnasse après que celle-ci eut été exclue par la faute de l'un de ses ressortissants, coupable de s'être approprié le trépied de bronze qu'il avait gagné au concours au lieu de le consacrer dans le sanctuaire,³⁰ anecdote derrière laquelle on a pu voir un simple prétexte pour se débarrasser d'une cité considérée comme ethniquement impure.³¹ La pentapole ainsi définitivement figée constitue sans doute l'exemple le plus fermé, le plus exclusif de toutes les structures de ce genre (c'est aussi, il est vrai, le moins bien documenté). Son caractère apparemment marginal et secondaire peut expliquer qu'aucune requête d'admission ne soit connue de nous, pas même d'Halicarnasse pour retrouver sa place, ni d'une autre cité pour s'y substituer.³² Évoquons ici la position compliquée d'Iasos, sise à peu près à mi-chemin du Panionion et du Triopion, fière de ses origines argiennes mais de culture avant tout ionienne,³³ et qui resta hors des deux groupes, ne profitant pas plus des malheurs d'Halicarnasse que de la disparition de Myous, absorbée par Milet dans le dernier tiers du III^e s.³⁴

Iasos ne pouvait pas davantage se prévaloir d'une ascendance chrysaorienne. Dernier entré en scène, puisqu'il ne paraît pas remonter au-delà du III^e s., et peut-être en partie inspiré des deux précédents, le *système* des Chrysaoriens, comme

²⁹ Hérodote 1. 144, avec Bankel 2004, Herda 2006, 94–96 et Ragone 2008, 408–10.

³⁰ Pratique bien connue ailleurs: Habicht 2004, 93.

³¹ Cf. Jeffery 1961, 353; Bresson 2000, 42; 2009, 111 (incident situé entre la seconde moitié du VI^e s. et la première moitié du Ve); Debord 2003, 116–17. Halicarnasse passait pour colonie de Trézène, elle-même fort bigarrée (Hall 1997, 67–76). L'exemple delphique, avec l'engrenage implacable de sanctions qui le caractérise parfois, montre néanmoins que le motif invoqué pouvait fonder une procédure d'exclusion, que celle-ci fût instrumentalisée à d'autres fins ou non (échantillon notamment chez Lefèvre 2005, 110–12).

³² Comparer avec Smyrne (*supra*) et les multiples mouvements observés ou supposés à Delphes (*infra*).

³³ Polybe 16. 12, 2 et, entre autres, Trümper 1997, 114–17; Debord 1999, 179–80; Fabiani 2015, 1.

³⁴ Mazzuchi 2008, avec Hamon 2009. Si l'on en croit Vitruve, *loc. cit.*, Milet exerça dès lors le suffrage de Myous.

l'appelle Strabon,³⁵ se présente dans les documents officiels comme un *koinon*³⁶ ou en tant qu'*ethnos*.³⁷ De fait, ses membres se réclament du héros Chrysaôr, dont l'identité est complexe.³⁸ Mais tout en revendiquant à l'occasion leur parenté grecque,³⁹ ce sont aussi des Cariens, et Strabon explique que la fondation macédonienne de Stratonicee, près de laquelle se trouvait le sanctuaire commun de Zeus Chrysaôr, n'en faisait partie que parce qu'elle avait absorbé diverses *kômai* cariennes qui s'y rattachaient. Cette fois encore, le critère ethnique est donc primordial. Mais il est affecté de modulations qui font émerger un sous-groupe correspondant à un secteur limité de la Carie occidentale, du moins à en juger par les cités connues à ce jour pour y participer.⁴⁰ Un document distingue d'ailleurs soigneusement cet ensemble des 'autres Cariens', avec lesquels il semble avoir tracé une frontière discriminante.⁴¹ En outre, une procédure d'excommunication individuelle est prévue à Amyzon, et il n'est pas interdit de penser qu'une cité qui n'honorait pas ses obligations vis-à-vis du *koinon* se verrait infliger le même sort à titre collectif, au moins provisoirement.⁴² Chez les Chrysaoriens, des mécanismes semblables à ceux que l'on observe dans la dodécapole ionienne et la pentapole dorienne sont donc à l'œuvre: affirmation d'une ethnogénèse commune, moyennant quelques arrangements avec les mythes ou l'histoire, concentration dans un espace géographique relativement restreint autour d'un sanctuaire partagé, enfin mise en place éventuelle d'une limite arithmétique qui finit par former une frontière plus efficace que les obstacles naturels ou les barrières ethniques.⁴³ Ces trois ensembles, ionien, dorien

³⁵ 14. 2, 25, avec des expressions quasi identiques à celles qu'il utilise pour l'Amphictionie pyléo-delphique (9. 3, 7; cf. Lefèvre 2002, 326, n. 89). Sur les Chrysaoriens, voir notamment Robert et Robert 1983, 223–26; Debord 2003, 125–42; Gabrielsen 2011, avec Hamon 2012 ('à la manière d'une amphictionie'). On lira également avec profit Debord 2009.

³⁶ Şahin 2003 (*SEG* 53. 1229), l. 1 et 68; Blümel 2004 (*SEG* 54. 1092), l. 10.

³⁷ Blümel 1987, n° 101, l. 17; Lefèvre 2002, n° 99, l. 12 (sur ce texte, voir aussi Lefèvre 1996; Debord 2003, 138–40; Biard 2010).

³⁸ Plutôt le fils de Glaucos, lui-même fils d'Hippolochos, que celui de Poséidon et de Méduse: Hadzis 1997; Debord 2003, 126–28; Ragone 2008, 415–16, qui analyse subtilement les ambiguïtés distinctives avec les voisins du Mycale et du Triopion; *contra*, Gabrielsen 2011, 333, n. 11.

³⁹ Cf. Lefèvre 2002, n° 99, l. 11–13; Gabrielsen 2011, 342.

⁴⁰ Soit Amyzon, Alinda, Alabanda, Mylasa, Stratonicee, Keramos et Théra.

⁴¹ Au moins au III^e s.: Crampa 1969, n° 5, l. 14–16, apparemment en porte-à-faux avec le témoignage de Strabon (correspondant à l'état observable vers 100 av. J.-C.), selon qui sanctuaire et *systema* réunissent tous les Cariens: Robert et Robert 1983, 224–25; Debord 2003, 136–38 et 141, qui évoque les évolutions connues par la ligue et la place particulière du sanctuaire de Labraunda; Gabrielsen 2011, 335.

⁴² Robert et Robert 1983, 225.

⁴³ La base de calcul *kata kômas* en usage originellement chez les Chrysaoriens explique peut-être l'absence de *numerus clausus* repérable à ce jour, même si là aussi, la *polis* finit par devenir l'entité de référence (Debord 2003, 132–36 et 171–74).

et chrysaorien, contigus et confrontés aux mêmes menaces (des voisins puissants, quelles que soient les époques), ont contribué à structurer l'espace politico-religieux en Asie mineure occidentale. Au sud, les Lyciens s'organiseront dans une perspective différente. Reste à combler un vide au nord: le *koinon* d'Athéna Ilias y pourvoit, selon des principes qui lui sont propres (ci-après).

À côté de ces groupements de type essentiellement, mais non exclusivement ethnique, existent en effet des structures d'esprit apparemment différent. La plus ancienne d'entre elles pourrait être l'«amphictionie» constituée autour du sanctuaire de Poséidon à Calaurie, dont la formation est aujourd'hui le plus souvent située vers le tournant des VIII^e/VII^e s.⁴⁴ Les modernes ont beaucoup glosé sur sa raison d'être, y voyant des préoccupations économiques (contrôle de la navigation dans le golfe Saronique, contre la piraterie, voire pour des motivations halieutiques), politiques (opposition aux ambitions argiennes, en rapport ou non avec Phidon) ou religieuses (le sanctuaire jouissait d'un certain renom, notamment comme place d'asyle). Cette accumulation d'hypothèses tient pour partie à la composition de l'association telle que la donne Strabon: Hermionè, Épidaure, Égine, Athènes, Prasiai, Nauplie, Orchomène la Minyenne, soit sept cités auxquelles dut s'ajouter Trézène, qui exerce sa tutelle sur Calaurie jusqu'au troisième quart du IV^e s. On s'est étonné de l'expansion septentrionale que représente Orchomène, néanmoins justifiable à l'époque relativement reculée des premiers temps de la ligue, mais aussi de l'absence de Corinthe et de Mégare.⁴⁵ Le paramètre ethnique a-t-il joué un rôle quelconque? Bien plus que dans les cas considérés précédemment, l'hétérogénéité est ici de mise, dans laquelle certains spécialistes ont toutefois cru repérer un Plus Grand Commun Dénominateur: aucune des cités de la liste originelle ne se rattacherait vraiment à l'*ethnos* dorien, alors même que le centre de gravité est péloponnésien, d'où l'hypothèse d'une amphictionie où le critère ethnique jouerait comme un repoussoir.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Strabon 8. 6. 14, dont la source principale est probablement Apollodore, dans la seconde moitié du II^e s. (Baladié 1978, 26–27). Parmi les références les plus récentes, citons: Kelly 1966; Jeffery 1976, 150–52; Bintliff 1977, 350; Figueira 1981, 186–87; Foley 1988, 163; Billot 1989–90, 62–65; Tausend 1992, 12–19; Schumacher 1993, 74–76; Gadolou 2002 (avec Morgan 2003, 129); Sinn 2003, 107–26; Breglia 2005, 18–33; Mylonopoulos 2003, 427–31; 2006, 133–36; 2011, 65–67; Kowalzig 2007, 149 ('the so-called Kalaureian amphiktyony, a semi-mythical institution'); Constantakopoulou 2007, 29–37; Pakkanen 2011, 120–24, avec les études annoncées n. 61–62; Bearzot 2011, 273. Comme il arrive souvent, l'abondance de la bibliographie est inversement proportionnelle à la rareté des sources.

⁴⁵ Cela doit-il donner quelque crédit à la réciproque, à savoir que les Doriens du Péloponnèse aient pu appartenir à l'Amphictionie d'Anthéla dès avant son transfert à Delphes, que celui-ci soit lié à la 'première guerre sacrée' ou non? Voir ci-dessous, et Lefèvre 1998a, 15–16; Sánchez 2001, 467.

⁴⁶ Cf. Tausend 1992, 19 ('Nicht Dorertum in einer dorischen Umwelt'), parmi d'autres, avec les fortes réserves de Constantakopoulou 2007, 36. Pour le peuplement de l'Argolide, lire Hall 1997,

L'idée est astucieuse, peut-être trop subtile. En tout cas, elle ne tient plus après qu'Argos a pris la place de Nauplie, absorbée au VIIe s., et Sparte celle de Prasiai au siècle suivant. La documentation manque absolument jusqu'à cette inscription mutilée du IIIe ou du IIe s., où se lisent partiellement les mots '[hi]aromnamons' et 'amphict[ions]':⁴⁷ est-ce là un *revival* d'inspiration delphique, voire les débuts véritables de l'association connue de Strabon, et dont ce dernier parle au passé?⁴⁸ Du point de vue qui nous intéresse, l'*'amphictionie'* de Calaurie dénote une certaine élasticité géographique et une forme d'adaptabilité aux circonstances. Le critère ethnique, s'il a joué un rôle (négatif?) dans son processus de formation, n'y tient pas la première place.

C'est encore beaucoup plus net pour la Confédération d'Athéna Ilias, souvent oubliée des études sur notre sujet, sans doute parce qu'elle a le grand malheur de n'être illustrée que par les inscriptions.⁴⁹ Constituée, au moins dans la forme où nous la connaissons, sous le règne d'Alexandre ou peu après, elle vient combler un vide laissé au nord-ouest du groupe panionien, au sein de la nébuleuse éolienne.⁵⁰ Le centre en est le sanctuaire d'Athéna à Ilion, cité de peuplement éolien.⁵¹ À ce jour, sont connues pour avoir accompagné cette dernière, à un moment ou à un autre, neuf cités de Troade (du nord au sud: Parion, Lampsaque, Abydos, Dardanos, Rhoiteion, Skepsis, Alexandrie, Assos, Gargara), et deux en dehors (Chalcédoine et Myrléa). Il saute aux yeux que cet ensemble n'a pas d'unité ethnique (il s'y côtoie, parfois avec un certain métissage, des cités éoliennes comme Skepsis, Assos, Gargara; ioniennes comme Myrléa, Parion, Lampsaque et Abydos;

67–77. Là encore, l'empilement des strates ethniques et l'ancrage chronologique incertain de sources à la fiabilité inégale autorisent bien des exégèses.

⁴⁷ Orthographe avec *iota* plutôt qu'*upsilon* (IG), au vu du reste du texte?

⁴⁸ Hall 1995, 584–85, dont l'hyperscepticisme peut se comprendre. La plupart des cités nommées par Strabon font également partie de l'Amphictionie pyléo-delphique et les deux ensembles possèdent une assez vaste intersection (*infra*). Si cette liste est en gros toujours d'actualité au moment d'IG IV, 842 (indépendance de Calaurie, position disputée de Prasiai, entre autres incertitudes), et selon la date de ce dernier document, on pourra imaginer divers *scenarii* entre la fin des années 240 et la guerre d'Achaïe, voire avant (*cf.* Robertson 1982, 9–26: Ptolémée Philadelphie) ou après: impulsion du *koinon* achéen alors en pleine expansion pour faire pièce au monopole de l'adversaire étolien à Delphes (encore à son apogée ou déjà dans sa phase de repli?), relation avec l'intervention romaine ou initiative essentiellement religieuse (bibliographie et état de la question récents chez Mackil 2013, 108–43). Les termes techniques 'hiéromnémon' et 'amphiction' peuvent théoriquement être de tradition locale authentique et d'emploi aussi ancien, si ce n'est plus, qu'à Anthéla et Delphes, ou au contraire des imitations plus ou moins tardives (au vu des restes de l'inscription, qu'il y soit directement question du regroupement pyléo-delphique paraît toutefois douteux).

⁴⁹ Il suffira de renvoyer ici à Robert 1966; Knoepfler 2010; Lefèvre et Pillot 2015.

⁵⁰ Debord 1999, 178 et 475; Ragone 2008, 406. Les marqueurs dialectaux et archéologiques éoliens ont fait l'objet de fortes remises en question: H. Parker 2008; Rose 2008.

⁵¹ Hertel 2003; 2008.

doriennes comme Chalcédoine et Rhoiteion), et guère plus d'unité régionale.⁵² Aussi D. Knoepfler a-t-il émis l'hypothèse que le *koinon* ait été virtuellement ouvert à un large nord-ouest anatolien, soit une bonne vingtaine de cités, dont seul le hasard des découvertes épigraphiques ne nous a fait connaître qu'une petite partie.⁵³ Ces cités étaient apparemment regroupées en cinq districts assurant une forme d'équilibre géographique dans la représentation au collège des agonothètes, si important pour la vie de la Confédération dont la grande affaire était la célébration des Panathénées.⁵⁴ Est-ce le développement tardif de la ligue qui explique cette tolérance peut-être un peu artificielle, à l'image de la nouvelle Antigoneia/Alexandrie fondée à la fin du IV^e s. et destinée à en devenir membre, surtout par comparaison avec les vieilles associations dont il a été question plus haut? Or parmi celles-ci, toutes ne présentaient pas la même homogénéité et il semble que l'âge ajoute peu, sinon rien à l'affaire (*cf.* ci-dessous). Ici comme ailleurs, le périmètre du groupe est en réalité fixé par les critères qu'il détermine lui-même. En l'espèce, les membres de la confédération se définissent comme 'cités ayant en commun (*koinônein*) le sanctuaire et la panégyrie' ou 'cités ayant en commun le sacrifice, le concours et la panégyrie'.⁵⁵ Réserve faite du contexte international et des modifications qu'il pouvait induire (la paix d'Apamée paraît restreindre l'aire géographique du *koinon*), il suffisait apparemment pour adhérer d'assurer sa part du financement, en l'occurrence selon un mode de fonctionnement original. Le rayonnement de la fête, du sanctuaire et de la cité qui l'abritait n'en était que plus grand. C'est donc plutôt une tendance globalisante qui anime la Confédération d'Athéna Ilias, sans prétention à l'exclusivité ethnique ni désir de s'abriter derrière des frontières géographiques ou arithmétiques.

Dans ce sens, c'est assurément la vieille Amphictionie des Pyles et de Delphes qui est allée le plus loin. La quête de sa composition initiale, probablement autour du sanctuaire de Déméter près des Thermopyles, peut donner matière à diverses supputations.⁵⁶ À supposer même qu'il y ait jamais eu un noyau ethnique homogène,

⁵² Constat perplexe de Robert 1966, 32. Pour les problèmes spécifiques soulevés par la Troade, consulter le récapitulatif de Mitchell 2004, 1000; pour la zone pontique, Avram 2004, 975–99. Il semble qu'il n'y ait pas davantage de cohérence à chercher du côté d'une quelconque implication dans la légende troyenne.

⁵³ Mieux vaut donc éviter de se perdre en conjectures sur telle ou telle absence, au premier chef celle de l'importante cité de Cyzique (nombreux éléments de réflexion réunis chez Sève et Schlosser 2014). De fait, l'apparition inopinée de Rhoiteion, dans un document publié en 2003 (*SEG* 53. 1373, avec Knoepfler 2010), donne à réfléchir, y compris sur les autres associations comparables, même celles qui s'abritent derrière un *numerus clausus* toujours modifiable au gré des circonstances.

⁵⁴ Knoepfler 2010, 44–47 et 61–62.

⁵⁵ Frisch 1975, n° 1, l. 25–26 et 57–58 (fin du IV^e s.); n° 2, l. 7–9 et 48–49 (dernier tiers du III^e s.; *cf.* les n° 12–18).

⁵⁶ Confronter par exemple Tausend 1992, 41 et 60; Lefèvre 1998a, 13–16; Sánchez 2001, 466; Hall 2002, 151–52; Morgan 2003, 129–30 et 207: géographie, chronologie et arithmétique autorisent bien des reconstitutions, toutes hautement hypothétiques.

celui-ci dut se dissoudre au fur et à mesure que l'Association débordait de la vallée du Spercheios, accueillant les populations du nord (ensemble thessalien), du canal eubéen, avant d'intégrer au sud celles de l'isthme et du golfe de Corinthe, sans doute à l'occasion du rattachement du sanctuaire d'Apollon Pythien, lui-même lié ou non à la guerre de Kirrha/Krisa.⁵⁷ Quand nous avons les moyens de le vérifier, c'est-à-dire avec les auteurs et les listes épigraphiques du IV^e s., le résultat est un conglomérat particulièrement hétéroclite: les douze rubriques, avec deux votes pour chacune, correspondent majoritairement aux *ethnè* des environs plus ou moins rapprochés (dans l'ordre canonique antérieur à la 'troisième guerre sacrée', Thessaliens, Phocidiens, Perrhèbes-Dolopes, Béotiens, Locriens de l'Est et de l'Ouest, Achéens Phthiotes, Magnètes, Ainianes, Maliens), mais il existe aussi une rubrique réservée à la cité de Delphes, et deux autres aux catégories plus étendues des Dorides (Doride et Péloponnèse) et des Ioniens (Athènes, Eubée), normalement placées dans cet ordre avant les Perrhèbes-Dolopes. On devine là-dedans force bricolages cherchant à concilier les mathématiques avec l'extension de l'Association et le souci d'une vague cohérence ethnique, mais ici sans limitation théorique. Il est juste à relever que les Achéens du Péloponnèse n'y figurent pas, que Sparte ne dispose normalement que d'une représentation très épisodique par le truchement de la Doride, sans doute en raison de son éloignement géographique, alors que c'est son peuplement dryope qui pourrait limiter la participation de Carystos.⁵⁸ Plus tard, au gré de péripéties dépassant largement l'Association, les Macédoniens, en la personne de leur roi, y sont admis, suivis par les Étoliens: privilège gagné à la pointe de la lance, en défendant victorieusement les intérêts d'Apollon, respectivement contre les sacrilèges phocidiens et les barbares galates. La Confédération étolienne se permet même d'offrir des sièges à Chios, Magnésie du Méandre et Céphallénie, inégalement justifiables par des cou-sinages ethniques et évidemment pas par le voisinage.⁵⁹ Or ces phases macédonienne

⁵⁷ Résumé avisé de Sánchez 2001, 32–80; présentation également efficace et lucide chez Graninger 2011, 13–42, 115–35 et 151, avec une perspective thessalienne en l'occurrence fondamentale.

⁵⁸ Lefèvre 1998a, 53–55, et 59, n. 251. Pour associer les Achéens, les outils mythico-géographiques et les occasions n'ont pourtant pas manqué: voir entre autres Sakellariou 2009, 128–34; Fragoulaki 2013, 249–55.

⁵⁹ Lefèvre 1998a, 116–18. Le cas de Chios avait peut-être connu un précédent avec Priène, ce qui ferait un lien intéressant avec le Panionion (Lefèvre 1998a, 60–61). Quant à Magnésie, exclue de ce dernier, c'était une belle compensation pour elle, peut-être explicitement sollicitée (*cf.* Rigsby 1996, n° 67, avec Sosin 2009); Céphallénie semble lui avoir été associée (Rigsby 1996, n° 85; Hallof *et al.*, *IG IX* 1², 4, 1582, mais sa position vis-à-vis de la ligue étolienne est loin d'être aussi claire que ne le laisse entendre Mackil 2013, 114–15). Vers la fin du III^e s., d'autres encore ont profité de ce qui s'apparente à une sorte de braderie amphictionique organisée par des Étoliens alors en perte de vitesse (Sánchez 2001, 298–300). Les doubles affiliations sont attestées entre Delphes et Calaurie (Orchomène, Athènes, Épidaure, Égine, Argos, Sparte, d'où certaines interrogations: Musti et Torelli 1991, 213, et Lefèvre 1998a, 248, n. 386) et entre Delphes et le Panionion (Chios et Priène?); elles sont

et étolienne, apparemment les deux seules qui rapprochèrent composition du *synédriion* et contexte géopolitique, sont ensuite perçues comme des abus et l'Amphictionie retourne alors à ses frontières anciennes,⁶⁰ ainsi qu'à d'interminables chicaneries pour la répartition des sièges.⁶¹ De nouvelles réformes sont le fait des Empereurs, qui font finalement sauter le verrou arithmétique, un peu comme Lysimaque jadis avec Smyrne, mais avec une tout autre ampleur, contribuant à leur tour à brouiller une géographie amphictionique déjà bien mouvante.⁶² En raison de sa durée et d'une documentation exceptionnellement abondante, l'Amphictionie pyléo-delphique offre donc une illustration paroxystique des cas vus précédemment: appartenance ethnique et cohérence régionale s'y dissolvent dans les choix politiques, allant du *numerus clausus* consensuel à l'intervention autoritaire d'un pouvoir interne ou extérieur.

Au terme de ce rapide survol, que conclure des processus constitutifs d'une association de type amphictionique? L'aspect ethnique s'avère d'importance variable. Il est brandi comme un étendard par les Ioniens et les Doriens d'Asie,⁶³ et paraît avoir quelque cohérence chez les Chrysaoriens. Encore faut-il souligner que ces groupes ne sont que des sous-ensembles limitatifs d'*ethnè* plus vastes et que les deux premiers au moins ont tenu à l'écart certains des leurs.⁶⁴ Absolument inopérant pour la Confédération d'Athéna Ilias, pareil critère a, pour un temps peut-être, joué *a contrario* dans l'«amphictionie» de Calaurie, et il est utilisé avec souplesse à Delphes, où les délégations sont rangées par *ethnè*, réserve faite de la cité elle-même, dont

aussi envisageables entre les amphictionies d'Onchestos, Anthéla et Delphes notamment, du moins si et quand ces organisations coexistaient.

⁶⁰ Qualifiées d'*ex archè kata ta patria* (Lefèvre 2002, n° 106, l. 11), expression dont l'interprétation est sujette à discussion, mais qui montre que les Amphictionies avaient clairement et fièrement conscience d'être les dépositaires d'un patrimoine ancestral (cf. Lefèvre 2002, 264–65).

⁶¹ Sánchez 2001, 396–98; Lefèvre 2002, n° 110 (Doriens), 121–22 (Eubéens; cf. Walser 2012, 103–04), 123–26 (Locriens de l'Est).

⁶² Entrée de Nicopolis, transferts de sièges finalement portés à trente, sans justification ethnique ni géographique explicite, si ce n'est la volonté de rapprocher l'Amphictionie de l'idéal panhellénique; Sánchez 2001, 428–36; Lefèvre 2002, 452–55 et 466–67; Ferrary 2011, 11; Gordillo Hervás 2012, 45–50; Knoepfler 2012 (frontières internes). Pour un possible fondement archaïque à cette prétention, voir Fowler 1998 et Hall 2002, 152–53 et 169 (à confronter avec Prontera 1991); Kowalzig 2007, 196–201 (mais Pausanias 10. 7. 6 n'établit pas d'équivalence entre Amphictionies et Grecs: Echembrotos a remporté le prix des Amphictionies, les organisateurs, après avoir chanté devant des Grecs de divers horizons, les spectateurs; Echembrotos lui-même est d'ailleurs arcadien et se range dans la catégorie des 'autres Grecs'; pour l'assimilation rhétorique entre Grecs et Amphictionies, voir notamment Lefèvre 1998a, 163–64; 2005, 125–26).

⁶³ Plus ou moins légitimement (reconstructions généalogiques, réinterprétation de mythes polysémiques, origines réelles ou revendiquées, etc.), mais l'essentiel était d'y croire et d'y faire croire (cf. Patterson 2010, 22–44).

⁶⁴ Au vu de la documentation actuellement disponible, rappelons-le: *supra*, n. 53.

l'identité est problématique et qui dispose d'une rubrique spéciale.⁶⁵ L'*ethnos* est donc souvent un point de repère, voire plus, mais ses carences apparaissent vite, quand il n'est pas purement et simplement ignoré.⁶⁶ C'est là qu'intervient le critère géographique, entendu comme exigence de proximité et/ou d'accessibilité, en complément du critère ethnique, de manière inclusive (forte dilatation à Calaurie, à Ilion et surtout dans l'Amphictionie pyléo-delphique prédisposée à cela en raison de sa double implantation), ou exclusive (tendance à la contraction au Panionion, au Triopion et chez les Chrysaoriens). Selon que l'on est dans le premier ou le second cas, la notion de région est à géométrie très variable: formant une ellipse d'environ 300 km de long en latitude, la 'liste de base' de l'Amphictionie de Delphes n'est régionale que par ses origines (bien incertaines, rappelons-le) et par son domaine de compétence privilégié, qui est le binôme Anthéla-Delphes. Des analyses géographiques plus ou moins divergentes peuvent également être conduites sur les autres groupements. Elles trouveront leurs limites assez rapidement et ne conduiront guère plus loin que les observations ethniques.

⁶⁵ Kyriakidis 2011. Contre l'*opinio communis* dominée par une forme de primitivisme (cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, 58), j'ai voilà près de 20 ans avancé l'idée que cette présentation formelle n'était pas nécessairement, ou pas seulement un vestige d'une époque prépolitique, assertion de toute façon improuvable, mais qu'elle pouvait refléter l'organisation vernaculaire des régions originelles de l'Amphictionie, où les cités coexistaient déjà dans des ensembles plus vastes et plus ou moins bien définis, mais liés par un patrimoine commun, notamment religieux (Lefèvre 1998a, 17–20; cf. Daverio Rocchi 2013, 144, n. 22). J'ai donc plaisir à constater que Hall 2008, 34, creuse le même sillon: le processus de coagulation amphictionique a pu intervenir entre la phase de 'dispersed' et de 'consolidated ethne', et l'on pourrait même considérer que le principe de répartition ethnique fut délibérément adopté et maintenu parce qu'il était dans la galaxie amphictionique en formation le meilleur moyen de rationaliser la représentation, en observant le plus souvent l'*isosephia*, parmi une poussière de cités naissantes ou déjà constituées. Peut-être y eut-il aussi un phénomène de *mimesis* réciproque avec les associations à peu près contemporaines, tel le Panionion (et, par ricochet, Délos?), dont personne ne s'est jamais étonné qu'elles fussent organisées sur une base politique autant qu'ethnique.

⁶⁶ Si ce que d'aucuns disent d'Onchestos est vrai (*supra*, n. 12), on peut donc considérer avec Funke 2013, 465, n. 13, que l'inter-ethnisme (éventuellement par le biais des cités membres comme à Calaurie) est une caractéristique des amphictionies *stricto sensu* (cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 2005, 57–59). Mais il n'est que de songer à Ilion pour s'apercevoir que ce n'est pas une caractéristique exclusive, réserve faite de la chronologie, qui n'est de toute façon pas dirimante: voir la n. précédente et par exemple le fait qu'à peu près à la même époque, les Chrysaoriens se donnent une coloration ethnique, alors qu'il n'y en a aucune pour Athéna Ilias, pareil contraste se retrouvant durant l'archaïsme entre le Panionion et l'Amphictionie, preuve que les mêmes processus divergents sont à l'œuvre à travers les siècles. L'analyse de ces phénomènes complexes doit donc autant que possible restituer à chaque période et à chaque ensemble ses spécificités, en tenant compte des lacunes et de l'hétérogénéité de la documentation. Mais en la matière, il est frappant de constater combien les continuités sont fortes (cf. Lefèvre 2002, 365, entre autres); en outre, les périodes les plus anciennes étant fort mal connues, comme le regrettait déjà Strabon 9. 3. 7 à propos de l'Amphictionie, on ne peut s'interdire quelques projections rétrospectives ou quelques extrapolations, *mutatis mutandis*. Pour la notion de *koinon* polyethnique à l'époque impériale, voir Knoepfler 2012, 245.

Au bout du compte, c'est une frontière invisible, parfois trans-ethnique, inscrite dans une géographie *sui generis* et souvent d'une grande plasticité, qu'ont tracée ces associations: installer Sparte sur un strapontin de la Doride, radier Halicarnasse, marginaliser Magnésie, Iasos ou les Achaiens du Péloponnèse, cela revient à se mettre d'accord sur des bornes fixées ensemble.⁶⁷ À Delphes par exemple, l'*amphikitioneia* se décrète, ou non, et il en allait très probablement de même ailleurs et à toutes les époques.⁶⁸ Le but est de se réserver la jouissance commune du sanctuaire consacré au dieu tutélaire,⁶⁹ et dont l'administration sera partagée, selon des modalités fluctuantes et le plus souvent mal connues.⁷⁰ En général, cela se matérialise par une représentation, proportionnelle (Chrysaoriens) ou d'esprit égalitaire (Panionion,⁷¹ Athéna Ilias, Amphictionie), à un conseil délibératif, où la cité hébergeant le sanctuaire (Priène, Ilion, Delphes) peut avoir une place plus ou moins grande, et par un système de contributions.⁷² On comprend donc l'analogie parlante, et *so British*, naguère établie par G.T. Griffith avec un 'Old Boy's club' qui se fixe des règles à son avantage et s'y tient tant que c'est son intérêt.⁷³ Bref, du

⁶⁷ En prenant comme critères la langue, les coutumes (cf. Bresson 2009, 112, n. 27), ou d'autres encore, non sans opportunisme. Le curseur pouvait être déplacé par une réforme interne, plus ou moins consensuelle, mais aussi par la force des événements, par la volonté d'un intervenant extérieur tout-puissant, ou par tous ces éléments à la fois (guerre de Mélia ou guerres sacrées, entrisme d'Argos et de Sparte à Calaurie, admission de Philippe ou des Étoliens à Delphes, intégration de Smyrne du fait de Lysimaque, ou de Nicopolis par la volonté d'Auguste, etc.). Ce qui vaut pour l'espace vaut aussi, dans une large mesure, pour le temps: exemple pyléo-delphique chez Lefèvre 1998a, 197–204.

⁶⁸ Voir, entre autres, Diodore 16. 60. 1, avec Lefèvre 2005, 112–19; Lefèvre 2002, n° 7, avec Nielsen 2008.

⁶⁹ Expression quasi oxymorique d'Hérodote à propos de Poséidon Hélicônios au Panionion: *koinè exairèmenos* (1. 148; le verbe est banal en matière financière, à propos d'argent mis de côté: cf. Robert et Robert 1950, 16–18; Migeotte 2006). Il existe toutefois des degrés dans l'exclusive: celle-ci touche apparemment l'accès pur et simple au *hiéron* dans le cas du Panionion et du Triopion, peut-être aussi chez les Chrysaoriens (*supra* n. 21 et 41); apanage cultuel et surtout administratif à Calaurie, Ilion et Delphes.

⁷⁰ Pour Delphes, Lefèvre 1998a, 42–46; 2002, 247–51; Migeotte 2014, 47–50. L'une des conséquences (et motivations?) les plus palpables consiste en l'indivision des richesses sacrées, quelle que soit leur forme. Les autres aspects économiques, voire stratégiques, sont plus difficiles à mettre en évidence: voir le cas hypothétique de Calaurie évoqué ci-dessus, et celui de l'Amphictionie qui établit une sorte de passerelle théorique (dans tous les sens du terme, et très concrètement deux fois par an lors des pylées: Lefèvre 1998a, 193–204; Sánchez 2001, 50–57, avec Lefèvre 2002, 463) entre une zone ultrasensible du canal eubéen et le golfe de Corinthe. Mais il manque une traduction amphictionique explicite de ces enjeux avant les entreprises de Philippe et, surtout, l'expansion étolienne, toutes deux exceptionnelles à divers titres (cf. l'axe Héraclée/Oianthéia, nimbé de panhellénisme et de scrupules amphictioniques, que tracent Démétrios Poliorcète et la Confédération dans Lefèvre 1998b; pour la fondation d'Héraclée elle-même, Lefèvre 2011, 120–21; Fragoulaki 2013, 150).

⁷¹ À quelques nuances près: voir notamment Moggi 1976, n° 11; 2005 (cf. aussi le lexique byzantin édité par Cramer 1835, 480–81).

⁷² Lefèvre et Pillot 2015, en attendant d'autres études à paraître.

⁷³ Hammond et Griffith 1979, 452; cf. Ragone 2008, 413 ('snobismo dell'esclusione').

moins aux époques où la documentation permet de s'en faire une idée, tout cela est éminemment politique, au sens où tout dépend de la manière dont était appréhendée la gestion de l'intérêt commun, ce qui n'altère en rien la vocation fondamentalement religieuse de ces organisations.⁷⁴ Cette logique discriminante, doublée de pratiques communes parfois séculaires, a produit un subtil mélange de rigidité et de souplesse.⁷⁵ Manifestement, elle a aussi contribué à développer un niveau d'identité distinct, qui se superposait aux autres. Cela peut facilement être mis en évidence à Delphes où s'affirme une identité amphictionique, produit d'un communautarisme transversal qui dans une certaine mesure transcende *ethnè* et *poleis*, naturellement sans s'y substituer.⁷⁶ Pour ces gens aussi, l'identité était une quête permanente et appartenir à la 'crème des Hellènes',⁷⁷ par le biais paradoxal de ces sanctuaires internationaux cultivant l'exclusion, était très valorisant.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Lefèvre 1998, 143, n. 1*bis*; Debord 2003, 131–32; Funke 2013, 463. C'est dans cette mesure que l'on peut s'accorder sur le *soft sense of 'political'* évoqué par S. Hornblower (cf. déjà Freitag 2001; Lefèvre 2011, 121–22). L'idée que les groupements de type amphictionique aient pu servir à stabiliser les relations entre leurs membres, voire au-delà, récemment remise au goût du jour par Funke 2007, 190–91 (cf. 2009, 295–97; 2013, 456), mérite un développement circonstancié que je proposerai ailleurs (cf. déjà, entre autres, Lefèvre 2002, 40–41). Signalons brièvement ici qu'elle est dans une certaine mesure acceptable, mais qu'il paraît au moins aussi pertinent de raisonner en termes de neutralisation et d'espace de médiation: le 'hub' évoqué par Hornblower 2007, 39, se dotait là en quelque sorte d'une connectique à haut débit (ressource parfaitement exploitée par les Cyrénéens notamment: Laronde et Lefèvre 2009), dont on se souviendra toutefois qu'elle pouvait s'avérer passablement désstabilisatrice (cf. le dramatique enchaînement conduisant à la guerre phocidienne et à celle d'Amphissa). Cela n'est d'ailleurs pas sans rappeler notre univers contemporain, où se mesurent chaque jour les bienfaits et les dangers de l'hyper-médiatisation. Voir aussi l'hypothèse de Sinn 2000, 179, et la réaction de Mylonopoulos 2003, 430, n. 99; 2006, 136, n. 92.

⁷⁵ En ce sens, les groupements de type amphictionique ne font que donner un cadre institutionnel aux comportements induits par les grands sanctuaires (cf. la bonne synthèse de Marinatos 1993, 230). Parmi leurs caractéristiques, la mise en place d'institutions durables s'avère en effet essentielle (cf. la définition proposée dans Lefèvre 1998a, 269, et Chankowski 2008, 24, n. 76). Quant à leur dénomination officielle, il est possible qu'on ait parfois recherché le mimétisme delphique sans en avoir les fondements équivalents (Délôs?), ou au contraire qu'on ait fonctionné de façon très comparable, mais en évitant de s'arroger un titre trop lourd à porter (Ilion?). Beaucoup reste à comprendre.

⁷⁶ Lefèvre 1998a, 173–76 (cf. Funke 2009a, 297; 2009b, 129), ce qui explique sans doute en partie la tribu *amphictyonis* de Thourioi: Lefèvre 2005, 124, n. 60. Pour les Chrysaoriens, voir Bresson 2003, 177, n. 32; Savalli-Lestrade 2012, 54.

⁷⁷ Jehne 1994, 131.

⁷⁸ Voir encore la lettre d'Hadrien à la cité locrienne de Naryka (Knoepfler 2006; 2012, 224–28; Chaniotis 2009, 269; Lefèvre 2011, 126–27; Zachos 2013, 540–42). Dans l'ensemble, l'appétence paraît avoir été grande: sans doute avec quelque malice, Hérodote affirme que seule Smyrne frappa à la porte du Panionion, mais si l'on peut ajouter foi au détail de son récit, il ressort de Pausanias que les Phocéens au moins avaient fait de même auparavant. À Calaurie, Argos et Sparte s'empressèrent de prendre la place de Nauplie et Prasiai. Vu leur éloignement, la présence à Ilion, même éphémère, de Chalcédoine et de Myrléa suppose que ces deux cités l'avaient sollicitée, peut-être avec un appui royal ou équivalent. Enfin, il est notoire qu'on se disputait un siège à Delphes.

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ZUR TRIBUTVERANLAGUNG IM ATTISCHEN SEEBUND

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Abstract

The characterisation of the year 454/3 BC as being only the year in which the ‘cash-desk’ of the Delian League was moved to Athens is defective and therefore misleading. One has to add the assignment of the competence to have at disposal the money as well as the competence to assess the cities of the League.

I.

Das Jahr 454/3 bedeutete einen tiefen Einschnitt in der Geschichte des Attischen Seebundes und damit der gesamten Ägäis.¹ Dasjenige Ereignis, das diesen Einschnitt nach der Ansicht der antiken und modernen vor allem bewirkt hat, war die in diesem Jahr erfolgte Verlegung der Kasse des Seebundes von Delos, dem bisherigen auch sakralen Mittelpunkt nach Athen,² wo sie im Opisthodom des Parthenon aufbewahrt wurde.³ Der Anlass für diese Verlegung war ein Antrag von Samos im durch alle Bundesstädte gebildeten Bundesrat auf Delos, der wohl deshalb gestellt wurde, um ihn einem womöglich drohenden Zugriff Persiens zu entziehen.⁴

Erst mit der neuzeitlichen Publikation der inschriftlich erhaltenen Tributlisten kam ein weiteres Element hinzu. Diese Listen setzen nämlich in demselben Jahr

¹ Der vorliegende Text, die Wiederaufnahme meines ersten althistorischen Themas nach vielen Abschweifungen, ist die zusammenfassende Darstellung der Argumentationslinie einer größeren geplanten Studie. Allgemein bekannte moderne Literatur habe ich nicht zitiert, wohl aber bewusst solche des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts, aus Reverenz gegenüber einigen großen Gründern unserer Wissenschaft. Alexandru Avram versteht das gewiss – wer weiß, vielleicht löst man eines Tages auch das Rätsel des KA- im unten erwähnten Thudippos-Dekret (siehe Avram 1999, 22). – Die neuerdings mit guten neuen Argumenten von Nikolaos Papazarkadas vorgeschlagenen Herabdatierungen wichtiger Inschriften betreffen dieses Datum nicht, Papazarkadas 1999.

² ‘Die Schatzkammer war das Heiligthum von Delos, woselbst auch die Versammlungen gehalten wurden, an welchen alle Bundesgenossen Theil hatten’ (Böckh 1817, 427).

³ ‘Die Unterwerfung der Bündner hatte sich der Hauptsache nach bereits vollzogen, als im Jahre 454 die Bundeskasse nach Athen verlegt und in dem als Schatzkammer wiederhergestellten Hinterhause (Opisthodomos) des von den Persern halb zerstörten Tempels untergebracht wurde’ (Busolt 1897, 204–05).

⁴ ‘schien der Bundesschatz in dem offenen Delos zu exponiert, und die Bundesversammlung beschloß demgemäß auf Antrag der Samier, ihn nach der Akropolis von Athen in Sicherheit zu bringen’ (Beloch 1927, 173).

ein; sie verzeichneten Jahr für Jahr für jede einzelne tributpflichtige Stadt die konkrete Höhe derjenigen Geldzahlung, die, ein Sechzigstel des Tributs, als Weihegabe statt dem Apoll von Delos der Athena Polias auf der Akropolis von Athen gespendet wurde. Diese Tafeln wurden demonstrativ auf der Akropolis aufgestellt, die Geldzahlungen selbst waren vorher in einer öffentlichen Zeremonie mit großen Säcken in die Orchestra des Dionysos-Theaters gebracht worden. Ja, mit diesem begann sogar eine Art neuer Zeitrechnung, denn die Listen wurden, mit eins beginnend, von Jahr zu Jahr durchnummeriert.

Ein dritter Vorgang, der ebenfalls in diesem Jahr erstmals in öffentlichkeitswirksamer Weise dokumentiert wurde, der aber in der Wissenschaft eine weit geringere Rolle spielt, war die Veranlagung zu diesen Tributzahlungen. Alle vier Jahre wurden die Städte mit Ausnahme derer, die eine eigene Kriegsflotte stellten, einzeln, Stadt für Stadt, nach der Höhe der zu leistenden Zahlungen neu eingeschätzt. Das geschah nach den Kriterien der städtischen Einkünfte und des Ausmaßes des bebauten Bodens, und diese Veranlagungen wurden ebenfalls publiziert. Das geschah, wie die Liste der Einkünfte, in den ersten Jahrzehnten auf Delos, wohl auf vergänglichem Material, ab dem Jahr 454 aber wie diese demonstrativ auf steinernen auf der Akropolis aufgestellten Tafeln. Erhalten ist zwar nur eine Tafel aus dem Jahr 425/4, die genau so aufgebaut ist wie die Tributlisten und von der vorausgesetzt werden kann, dass sie Vorgänger in den früheren Veranlagungsperioden von 454 an gehabt habe.

II.

Die Forschung konzentrierte sich bisher sowohl was die gezahlten als auch was die veranlagten Tribute betrifft vor allen Dingen auf die Anzahl der tributpflichtigen Städte und deren Identifizierung sowie auf die Höhe des jeweiligen Tributs, wahrlich wichtige Sachverhalte. Für die Struktur des Bundes sind jedoch genauso wichtig und weit weniger intensiv behandelt die Fragen nach der Kompetenz Athens, über den Bundesschatz zu verfügen,⁵ und vor allem die nach der Kompetenz, die Städte im Alleingang zu veranlagten. Vielfältig belegt ist, dass Athen nach dem Jahr 454 nach Gutdünken über das Geld des Bundes verfügte. Das war eine grundlegende Änderung der Bundesstruktur, denn bisher hatte das Synhedrion auf Delos darüber entschieden, jetzt tat es die athenische Volksversammlung, also der Demos von Athen. Eigens thematisiert wird dieser Übergang der Verfügungsgewalt auf Athen sowohl in den Quellen als auch in der Forschung kaum; wahrscheinlich deshalb, weil er als eine selbstverständliche Konsequenz der Überführung des

⁵ 'The place of the treasury was not the issue, but the right to dispose of it' (Rubel 2013, 184).

Schatzes nach Athen erscheint.⁶ Der Vorgang war ja auch insofern sachgerecht, als die Bundesflotte mit der Ausnahme der Schiffssteller aus athenischen Kriegsschiffen bestand, deren Bau und Unterhalt Athen viel Geld kostete. Den Zeitgenossen allerdings war es zunächst nicht selbstverständlich erschienen, wie sich aus den Protesten darüber ergibt, dass Perikles wegen der Ausschmückung der Akropolis Zweckentfremdung des Bundesschatzes vorgeworfen wurde, allerdings wurde später der Bundesschatz mit anderen Kassen verschmolzen, womit weitere Diskussionen obsolet wurden.

In der Forschung noch weniger behandelt ist die nicht minder bedeutsame Frage, wer eigentlich verbindlich beschließen konnte, welche Stadt wie viel Geld nach Athen zu zahlen hatte. Die bekannten Quellen, die von der ersten Veranlagung durch Aristides handeln (Thukydides 1. 96. 1, 5. 18. 5; Aristotle *Ath. Pol.* 23. 5; Plutarch *Aristides* 24. 3–4), betreffen aber nur die dann durch die Forschung ausgiebig diskutierte Frage nach der Anzahl der Mitglieder und der Gesamthöhe des Tributs. Zutreffend wird angenommen, dass die Veranlagung deshalb widerstandslos geschehen sein dürfte, weil alle beteiligten Griechenstädte in diesen Jahren unmittelbar nach den Perserkriegen noch nicht wissen konnten, ob der Friede dauerhaft sein würde. Schiffe und Beiträge wurden freiwillig geleistet, und wenn man zu Recht annimmt, dass für die konkrete Veranlagung die der persischen Herrschaft übernommen wurde,⁷ hatte das wohl eher technische Gründe.

In der Folgezeit änderte sich vieles, die ursprüngliche Solidarität im gemeinsamen Siegesgefühl und in der Befürchtung noch bevorstehender weiterer Kämpfe nahm ab, ebenso Freiwilligkeit und Konfliktlosigkeit der ersten Jahre; Städte, die bisher Schiffe gestellt hatten, wurden zu Tributpflichtigen. Bei der Veranlagung konnte man sich daher nicht mehr auf die Autorität des Aristides berufen, sondern musste für etwaige Konflikte ein geregeltes Verfahren anstreben, hinter dem eine von allen anerkannte oder zumindest geduldete Autorität stand. Im allgemeinen wird ohne weitere Argumentation angenommen, dass es der Bundesrat auf Delos war, der über die jeweilige Festsetzung der zu leistenden Beiträge entschieden habe. Das wird im Ganzen richtig sein, jedoch sollten einige Argumente hinzugefügt werden.

Hätte es denn eine Alternative gegeben? Das wird man verneinen müssen, denn insbesondere ist es nicht vorstellbar, dass in dieser frühen Phase Athen allein die Entscheidung getroffen hätte. Zwar hatte Athen durch seine Strategen die militärische Führung, und zudem hatte Athen die Letztentscheidung über die Einstufung

⁶ 'die Uebertragung der Kasse von Delos nach Athen setzte den Attischen Staat in den unbeschränkten Besitz derselben' (Böckh 1817, 429).

⁷ Raaflaub 1999.

von Schiffstellern und Phoroszahlern gehabt (Thukydides 1. 96. 1). Jedoch befand sich der Bundesschatz auf Delos und stand unter dem Schutz des delischen Apoll, und es fragt sich sehr, ob der aus der Veranlagung, Zahlung, Verwaltung und Verfügung bestehende Gesamtvorgang dadurch auseinandergerissen worden sei, dass ausgerechnet die Veranlagung herausgerissen worden wäre. Dem steht nicht entgegen, dass die Hellenotamiai, die Verwalter des Schatzes, von Anfang an Athener waren (Thukydides 1. 96. 2). Im Gegenteil ist gerade diese Nachricht des Thukydides ein Beleg dafür, dass alles andere bei dem Synhedrion lag. Dass die Hellenotamiai Athener waren war die große Ausnahme, eine weitere gab es nicht.

Ein weiterer Beleg dafür, dass die athenischen Instanzen nicht zuständig waren, ist die Inschrift über die Veranlagung des Jahres 425/4, das Thudippos-Dekret (IG I 3, 71). Es beginnt mit dem üblichen Präskript von athenischen Volksbeschlüssen, denn darauf, auf dem attischen Demos und seinen Organen, beruhte seine Legitimität und seine Autorität. Eine Symmachie, deren Mitglieder freiwillige Beiträge für den gemeinsamen Kampf leisten, stützt sich auf die Legitimität und Autorität ihrer gemeinsamen Institutionen und ihrer gemeinsamen Schutzgöttin. Das waren der delische Apoll und das Synhedrion, nicht der attische Demos.

III.

Die übliche Formulierung, dass das Charakteristikum des Jahres 454 die Verlegung der Kasse nach Athen sei, ist zwar griffig, aber irreführend, weil sie nicht einmal die halbe Wahrheit darstellt. 454 änderte sich nämlich keineswegs nur der Aufbewahrungsort einer Kasse, wie es bei jeder beliebigen Vereinskasse auch geschehen kann, sondern zweitens die Kompetenz, über das Geld zu verfügen, sowie drittens, die Höhe der Beträge im einzelnen festzusetzen. Die beiden Faktoren müssen immer zusammen mit der Verlegung des Schatzes genannt werden. Das ist zwar umständlich, entspricht aber der historischen Wirklichkeit.

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THE DATE OF HERODOTUS' VISIT TO MACEDONIA*

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In memory of Dimitar Popov

Abstract

The purpose of the article is to draw attention to three major problems. First, it focuses on the question if Herodotus visited Macedonia. After analysing the information provided by the *Suda* lexicon, as well as the data from the *Histories*, the author arrives at the conclusion that Herodotus did visit Macedonia and personally communicated with its ruler. The second problem is related to the question when exactly he visited this country. On the basis of Herodotus' evidence (9. 44. 1–45. 3) the author demonstrates that the said visit took place during the last years of Alexander's rule. At the end of the article the author concludes that at the time of Herodotus' visit to Macedonia Alexander I ruled only Crestonia and therefore had already lost his control over Bisaltia and the silver mine situated near Lake Prasias.

The question about Herodotus' sources concerning his evidence of the Macedones and their rulers has been often discussed in the literature. It is assumed that Herodotus visited Macedonia¹ and personally communicated with its ruler Alexander.² Some authors, however, are sceptical about the presumed meeting between Herodotus and Alexander, and even question the possibility that he ever visited Macedonia.³ The present paper is an attempt to determine whether Herodotus visited Macedonia, and if the answer is positive, when his visit took place – i.e. during the rule of Alexander, or during that of his son, Perdiccas. For that purpose, some key points of the *Histories* relevant to the Macedones, their land and their ruler Alexander will be studied.

* I am most grateful to Miltiades Hatzopoulos, Ioannis Xydopoulos and *AWE*'s anonymous referees for their helpful comments on earlier versions of this paper. Naturally, I am responsible for any shortcomings and errors that remain.

¹ Stein 1859, 18 *ad* 5. 22; Jacoby 1913, 250, 260–61, 438; How and Wells 1928, 5 and *ad* 5. 22; Daskalakis 1965, 147–49, 155, 209; Hammond and Griffith 1979, 11; Schrader 1981, 43, n. 83; Borza 1982, 8–9 and n. 5. See also Pearson 1942, 4.

² Jacoby 1913, 250, 255, 261, 438; Daskalakis 1965, 147–49, 155; Hammond and Griffith 1979, 98–99; Borza 1982, 8–9, 12.

³ See, for example, Scaife 1989, 129, n. 3: 'if the visit occurred at all'.

Brief Biographical Information about Herodotus

The basic biographical information about Herodotus is found in the *Suda* lexicon. The entry devoted to Herodotus makes it clear that he was a native of the Dorian *polis* of Halicarnassus,⁴ son of the reputable Lyxes and Dryo, and brother of Theodorus.⁵ At some point, under the pressure of the local tyrant Lygdamis, he was forced to leave Halicarnassus and settle in Samos. Later he returned to his native city and took part in the overthrow of the tyrant. However, due to some problems with his fellow citizens he left Halicarnassus again and joined the colonists who founded the Athenian colony of Thurii, where he died (*Suda* s.v. Ἡρόδοτος). The author of another entry in the *Suda* specifies that his mother's name was Rhæo and the epic poet Panyassis was his close relative (*Suda* s.v. Πανύασις).⁶

There is other evidence which may help scholars to specify the chronology of the events mentioned in the *Suda*. Evidence concerning Herodotus' date of birth is of particular importance, for it may answer the question during the rule of which Macedonian ruler he visited Macedonia. Aulus Gellius, quoting Pamphila, states that at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (*initio belli Peloponnesiaci*), Hellanicus was aged 65, Herodotus was 53 and Thucydides was 40 (Gellius 15. 23). It is tempting to accept this evidence and assume that Herodotus was born in 484 BC. Diels, however, believes that it is a synchronisation whereby Pamphila, whose source might have been Apollodorus, not only demonstrates that the authors in question were living at one and the same time, but also that the most important events during their lives happened when they were 40 years of age – Thucydides was 40 years old at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War and Herodotus was the same age when he participated in the founding of Thurii.⁷ This supposition seems plausible, as it is not very likely that Hellenistic authors possessed precise information about the age of their predecessors. Herodotus' date of birth can be specified (to a certain degree), considering that the overthrow of Lygdamis happened before 454/3 BC, for in this year the citizens of Halicarnassus (Ἀλικαρνασσιοί) were already obliged to pay their *phoros* to the Delian League.⁸ The *Suda*'s evidence indicates that at this time Herodotus was active in politics, therefore he was at least 20 years of age.⁹ If this is the case, then it can be presumed that he was born before 475 BC, i.e. he might have visited Macedonia not only during the rule of Perdiccas II but also during that of his father, Alexander.

⁴ See also the very beginning of Herodotus' work (Herodotus 1. 1. 0) – Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνησέως ἱστορίας ἀπόδεξις ἥδε ...

⁵ See also Lucian *De Domo* 20: Ἡρόδοτον Λύξου Ἀλικαρνασθέν.

⁶ See different stemmas by Jacoby 1913, 217.

⁷ Diels 1876, 12–14, 47–54.

⁸ Meiggs 1972, 552.

⁹ Jacoby (1913, 219) believes that at this time Herodotus was about 30 years of age.

Herodotus' participation in the foundation of Thurii is dated with a high degree of accuracy, since Pliny the Elder specifies that this act was performed 310 years after the founding of Rome (Pliny *NH* 12. 8. 18),¹⁰ i.e. in 444/3 BC. However, the precise year of his death remains debatable. The latest securely dated event in his work takes place in 430 BC (Herodotus 7. 137. 2–3), suggesting that the final revision of *Histories* and Herodotus' subsequent death must be placed after that date. Moreover, Herodotus mentions the ravaging of Attica (without Decelea) by the Lacedaemonians (Herodotus 9. 73. 3), an event related to their annual invasions in that region, in the years 431–425 BC (Thucydides 2. 19. 1–2, 2. 55. 1, 2. 57. 1–2, 3. 1. 1–2, 3. 26. 1–4, 4. 2. 1). The clarification about Decelea is a sign that Herodotus was not familiar with its fortification by the Spartans in 413 BC.¹¹ Moreover, he makes no mention of the plague in Athens in the summer of 430 BC, though there is an appropriate place in his work for recording this tragic event.¹² This fact and the possibility that the *Histories* were not completed due to the death of Herodotus lead Jacoby to date his death between 430 and 424 BC.¹³ Other scholars place both the death of Herodotus and the completion of his work to the time after the end of the Archidamian War.¹⁴

Did Herodotus Visit Macedonia?

The *Suda* is the only source claiming that Herodotus visited Macedonia. The author of the entry devoted to Hellanicus specifies that he, together with Herodotus, stayed in the court of the Macedonian ruler Amyntas at the time of Euripides and Sophocles, and lived at the time of Perdiccas.¹⁵ Undoubtedly, a mistake was made here. Due to chronological reasons it was not possible for Hellanicus and Herodotus to stay in the court of a Macedonian ruler named Amyntas – the death of Amyntas I is dated from 498 to 495 BC, while the brief rule of Amyntas II and the coronation of Amyntas III are dated in late 390s BC. From a chronological standpoint, the only possible candidate was Amyntas, the son of Alexander I and the brother of Perdiccas II. Syncellus, however, explicitly states that he led an ordinary life,¹⁶ i.e. he never ascended to the Macedonian throne, which contrasts sharply with the

¹⁰ For Herodotus and Thurii, see also Strabo 14. 2. 16; Plutarch *De Exilio* 13; *Suda s.v.* Ἡρόδοτος.

¹¹ Thucydides 7. 19. 1–2. How and Wells 1928, *ad* 9. 73.

¹² Herodotus 7. 133. 1–2. Jacoby 1913, 232.

¹³ Jacoby 1913, 230–32, 372–79.

¹⁴ Todd 1922, 35–36; Fornara 1971.

¹⁵ *Suda*: Ἑλλάνικος ... διέτριψε δὲ Ἑλλάνικος σὺν Ἡροδότῳ παρὰ Ἀμύντῃ τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους Εὐριπίδου καὶ Σοφοκλέους ... ἐξέτεινε δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν Περδίκκου χρόνων ...

¹⁶ Syncellus I. p. 262 D (Dindorf): Ἀμύντας δὲ πάντα τὸν βίον ἰδιωτικῶς ζήσας ...

information in the *Suda* – Ἀμύντα τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ. Due to the discrepancy and some other reasons, Jacoby considers the evidence in the *Suda* to be unreliable.¹⁷ Other scholars hold the opinion that the Amyntas mentioned in the *Suda* should be replaced by Alexander I.¹⁸

An interesting supposition is the one made by Pearson, for it does not require corrections to the *Suda*'s evidence. In his view, the discrepancies in the chronology were due to the fact that the author of the entry on Hellanicus used two different sources – Pamphila and Eusebius. Pearson proposes the following solution to the problem: Hellanicus was born at the time of Amyntas I and visited the Macedonian court during the rule of Perdiccas II.¹⁹ If the specification made by the anonymous author of the entry in the *Suda* (σὺν Ἡροδότῳ) is taken into account, it can be assumed (though Pearson does not reach this conclusion) that Herodotus' visit to Macedonia also took place during Perdiccas' rule. This reconstruction of the events, however, faces some other chronological problems noted by Pearson.²⁰ If Pamphila's statement is to be believed, it should be accepted that Hellanicus was born in 496/5 BC (Gellius 15. 23). A *scholion* to a work of Aristophanes makes it clear that Hellanicus' Ἀτθίς (also known as Ἀτθίδες or Ἀττικὴ συγγραφή) was not published before 407/6 BC (*Schol.* Aristoph. *Ranae* 694). Finally, Ps.-Lucian states that Hellanicus lived to the age of 85.²¹ All this evidence is an indication that the information provided by some of the quoted authors is not correct. Therefore, the joint visit of Hellanicus and Herodotus (if the *Suda*'s statement is to be regarded as reliable) to Macedonia during the rule of Perdiccas (according to Pearson) remains debatable. Apart from this, if Hellanicus was born in 496/5 BC, this would not mean that his birth was a fact during the rule of Amyntas I, since the death of this Macedonian ruler and the coronation of his son Alexander, can be dated from 498 to 495 BC.²² This also calls into question Pearson's hypothesis.

The fact that the *Suda* makes a mistake about the name of the Macedonian ruler, whose guests were Hellanicus and Herodotus, does not mean that their visit should

¹⁷ Jacoby 1913, 226: 'Vielleicht ist nichts zu ändern und die Nachricht als Ergebnis der literarischen Fiktion zu betrachten. Im besten Falle handelt es sich um einen Schluss aus dem Werke, das persönliche Beziehungen zu Alexandros, Amyntas' Sohn, verrät.' See also Jacoby 1912, 106–08; 1913, 250.

¹⁸ Diels 1876, 54; How and Wells 1928, 5; Schrader 1981, 43, n. 83; Borza 1982, 8, n. 5, 9, 12. Daskalakis (1965, 216, n. 2) shares the same opinion. He, however, assumes that Herodotus may have visited Macedonia during Perdiccas' rule. See also Stein 1859, 5: 'irrig st. Ἀλεξάνδρῳ od. Περδίκκῳ'.

¹⁹ Pearson 1939, 152–54.

²⁰ Pearson 1939, 153–54; 1942, 5. See also Jacoby 1912, 107–11.

²¹ Lucian *Macrobian* 22: Ἑλλάνικος ὁ Λέσβιος ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ πέντε ...

²² Hammond and Griffith 1979, 60, 104; Borza 1992, 103 and n. 16.

be called into question, too. This conclusion is also true regarding the possibility that the statement about the joint stay of the two authors in Macedonia was simply a synchronicity, whose aim was to demonstrate that Hellanicus and Herodotus lived and worked at one and the same time. It appears reasonable to assume that they might have visited the Macedonian court separately. Finally, though Jacoby's conclusion has some grounds: 'Im besten Falle handelt es sich um einen Schluss aus dem Werke, das persönliche Beziehungen zu Alexandros, Amyntas' Sohn, verrät', it should be borne in mind that the author of the same article in the *Suda* explicitly states that not only Herodotus, but also Hellanicus visited Macedonia. However, there is no information at all about any relations between Hellanicus and some of the Macedonian rulers. This fact, if nothing else, indicates that the anonymous author might have had additional information about Herodotus' visit to Macedonia, and accordingly, did not reach this conclusion independently by interpreting data contained in the *Histories*. If this is the case, then the *Suda's* information can serve as evidence that Herodotus really visited Macedonia and communicated with its ruler, either Alexander, or his son Perdiccas.

In Herodotus' work one can find indirect information about his visit to Macedonia. He quotes his Macedonian sources three times. In Book 5 of the *Histories*, by specifying that the descendants of Perdiccas I themselves claimed they were Greeks, Herodotus tries to prove the Greek origins of the Macedonian rulers.²³ The expression αὐτοὶ λέγουσι indicates that Herodotus obtained the information about the Greek origins of the dynasty, the confirmation from the Hellanodicae, and the proof offered by Alexander during the Olympics, from some member of the ruling dynasty.²⁴ Herodotus' source might have been the Macedonian ruler himself, either Alexander, or Perdiccas. Moreover, due to the use of the plural it can be presumed that the sources were more than one. It is reasonable to assume that if Herodotus had really spent some time in the Macedonian court, he would have made contact not only with the ruler, but also with some other members of the ruling dynasty.

²³ Herodotus 5. 22. 1–2: 'Ελληνας δὲ εἶναι τούτους τοὺς ἀπὸ Περδίκκω γεγονότας, κατὰ περ αὐτοὶ λέγουσι, αὐτὸς τε οὕτω τυγχάνω ἐπιστάμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι ἀποδέξω ὡς εἰσὶ 'Ελληνες, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οἱ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίῃ διέποντες ἀγῶνα 'Ελληνοδίκαι [codices A B C P; in the remaining codices it is written 'Ελλήνων] οὕτω ἔγνωσαν εἶναι. Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀθλευόμενον καὶ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἱ ἀντιθευσόμενοι 'Ελλήνων ἔξερχόν μιν, φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἀγωνιστέων εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλλὰ 'Ελλήνων. Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε ὡς εἴη Ἀργεῖος, ἐκρίθη τε εἶναι 'Ελλην καὶ ἀγωνιζόμενος στάδιον συνεζέπιπτε τῷ πρώτῳ.

²⁴ As Ioannis Xydopoulos brought to my notice, one should not ignore the possibility that at the time of Herodotus the story about the Argive origins of the Argeadae was already widespread in south Greece (by a Macedonian source) and therefore he might have obtained this information from there and not from Macedonia. See also Xydopoulos 2006, 53. On the other hand, if Herodotus had really visited Macedonia, then it would be reasonable to assume that his source derived from Macedonia.

Probably all of them (αὐτοὶ λέγουσι) confirmed before him (αὐτός τε οὕτω τυγχάνω ἐπιστάμενος) their Greek origins. Apart from this, the expression αὐτοὶ λέγουσι can confirm (indirectly) that the meeting between Herodotus and the members of the dynasty took place in Macedonia, for it does not sound likely that he met a group of Macedonian nobles (official deputation?) somewhere in Greece and they agreed to inform him in details about the deeds of the Argeadae.²⁵

In Book 8 Herodotus fulfils his promise given in Book 5 – to prove the Greek origins of the dynasty (ἐν τοῖσι ὅπισθε λόγοισι ἀποδέξω ὡς εἰσὶ Ἑλλήνες). He narrates a story of three brothers, namely Gauanes, Aeropus and Perdiccas, who escaped from the Peloponnesian Argos and settled in Macedonia.²⁶ The fact that Herodotus honours his promise given in the fifth book is an indication that in both cases his source was the same, i.e. the members of the dynasty and why not the ruler himself, who maintained their Greek origins. It is significant that in Book 5 he mentions that Alexander proved his Argive origins at the Olympics (Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε ὡς εἴη Ἀργεῖος) and in Book 8 he tells about the origins of the ruling dynasty. At the same time, while he narrates the story of the three brothers, Herodotus specifies that they settled near a place called the garden of Midas, where roses grew by themselves, each bearing 60 blossoms, and says that according to the Macedonians (ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων) this was the exact place where Silenus was taken captive (Herodotus 8. 138. 3). The specific information about the roses and the capture of Silenus leaves the reader with the impression that this is a digression which has no connection with the deeds of the three brothers. In fact, the structure of Herodotus' narrative is as follows: the brothers arrived in an area of Macedonia and settled near the gardens of Midas. Next, comes the digression in question – roses with 60 blossoms grew in the gardens, and Silenus was taken captive there. Finally, Herodotus returns to the deeds of the brothers – they subjugated this land and imposed their power over the rest of Macedonia.²⁷ If the information about the capture of Silenus is a digression, then Herodotus' Macedonian source (ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων) might not have been connected with the local nobles and the ruler. Therefore, this part of Herodotus' narrative (8. 137. 1–139. 1) might have been compiled from two different sources – the first was the Macedonian court

²⁵ Hammond and Griffith (1979, 98) believe that Herodotus met Alexander in Eion or Greece. See, however, Hammond and Griffith 1979, 11: 'When Herodotus visited the court and made inquiries...'

²⁶ Herodotus 8. 137. 1–139. 1. For this legend, see Kleinknecht 1966; Rosen 1978, 11–15; Hammond and Griffith 1979, 6–7; Zahrnt 1984, 345–48; Greenwalt 1986; Borza 1992, 80–84; Hatzopoulos 2003; Vasilev 2012.

²⁷ In fact the entire story devoted to Perdiccas I and his brothers (Herodotus 8. 137. 1–139. 1) is a digression demonstrating the Greek origins of the Argeadae. Therefore, the specification about the gardens of Midas and the capture of Silenus is a digression in the digression.

and the second was the citizens of the capital or of some other Macedonian city visited by him. However, it is also possible that the entire information derives from the Macedonian court.

The third place where Herodotus quotes his Macedonian source is part of the seventh book of the *Histories*. This passage is part of a list enumerating all the people participating in Xerxes' campaign against Greece. Herodotus narrates as follows: οἱ δὲ Φρύγες, ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι, ἐκαλέοντο Βρίγες χρόνον ὅσον Εὐρωπήιοι ἐόντες σύνοικοι ἦσαν Μακεδόσι (Herodotus 7. 73. 1). The expression ὡς Μακεδόνες λέγουσι appears in a context which makes it impossible to specify if this information is derived from the Macedonian court. Phrygians were well known to the Greeks and during Herodotus' time Brygi peopled Macedonia itself.²⁸ The identification of the Phrygians with the Brygi and the belief that in ancient times the Phrygians lived with the Macedones in Europe most probably was commonly accepted in Macedonia. This, along with the lack of any explicit statement (similar to 5. 22. 1–2), makes it difficult to establish whether in this case Herodotus' source is derived from the Macedonian court or from ordinary people of some Macedonian city.

Herodotus' visit to Macedonia was not accidental. Probably, it was part of his intention to explore the Aegean coast and obtain a different type of information.²⁹ Herodotus mentions twice in the *Histories* that he visited Thasos.³⁰ A visit to Abdera³¹ and Potidaea³² is highly probable, whereas a stay in Acanthus³³ and (possibly) in Eion appears also possible, but less probable.³⁴ The description of the way of life of the

²⁸ Herodotus 6. 45. 1: Μακρονίῳ δὲ καὶ τῷ πεζῷ στρατοπεδευομένῳ ἐν Μακεδονίῃ νυκτὸς Βρύγοι Θρήμικες ἐπεχείρησαν: καὶ σφῶν πολλοὺς φονεύουσι οἱ Βρύγοι, Μακρόνιον τε αὐτὸν τραυματίζουσι. οὐ μὲν οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ δουλοσύνην διέφυγον πρὸς Περσέων: οὐ γὰρ δὴ πρότερον ἀπανεστῆ ἐκ τῶν χωρέων τουτέων Μακρόνιος πρὶν ἢ σφῶας ὑποχειρίους ἐποιήσατο. For the possibility that the specification (ἐν Μακεδονίῃ) is related to Herodotus' time, see Vasilev 2011, 101.

²⁹ For the presumable travels of Herodotus in this area, see Jacoby 1913, 259–61.

³⁰ Herodotus 2. 44. 4: ἀπικόμεν δὲ καὶ ἐς Θάσον, ἐν τῇ εὖρον ἱρὸν Ἡρακλέος ὑπὸ Φοινίκων ἰδρυμένον, οἱ κατ' Εὐρώπης ζήτησιν ἐκπλώσαντες Θάσον ἔκτισαν; 6. 47. 1: εἶδον δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ μέταλλα ταῦτα ...

³¹ Herodotus 8. 120. 1: ὡς αὐτοὶ λέγουσι Ἀβδηρίται ...

³² Herodotus 8. 129. 3: αἴτιον δὲ λέγουσι Ποτειδαῖται ...

³³ Herodotus 7. 117. 2: τοῦτ' ὃν δὲ τῷ Ἀρταχάτῃ θύουσι Ἀκάνθιοι ἐκ θεοπροπίου ὡς ἤρωι, ἐπονομάζοντες τὸ οὐνομα. See also his description of the digging of the canal of Athos (7. 23. 1–24. 1).

³⁴ Herodotus 8. 118. 1–120. 1. Here Herodotus gives an account of Xerxes' withdrawal from Greece, which he considers false. In Hammond and Griffith's view (1979, 98), the fact that according to this alternative account Xerxes sailed for Asia Minor from Eion, along with the description of the deeds of the Persian *hyparch* Boges (Herodotus 7. 107. 2), are an indication that Herodotus visited Eion. Taking into account Herodotus' travels in this area, Hammond's supposition appears plausible. The main problem, however, is that Herodotus does not quote an Eionian source when he narrates the story about the return of Xerxes to Asia Minor by sea, as he does about Abdera, Potidaea and Macedonia.

Paeonians dwelling in Lake Prasias (Herodotus 5. 16. 1–4) can also serve as an indication that in this case Herodotus has first-hand experience.³⁵ This conclusion is also true both about the short route from Prasias to Macedonia (Herodotus 5. 17. 2) and the story of the fate of the sacred chariot of Zeus left in Siris (Herodotus 8. 115. 4). On the other hand, it is possible that Herodotus obtained his information about the borders of Macedonia and the way of life of the Paeonians dwelling in Lake Prasias during his stay in the Macedonian court – for some time during Alexander's rule the Macedonian borders reached the lake in question. As to the story about the sacred chariot of Zeus and the location of the different Paeonian tribes in the area of the lower Strymon and Pangaeum, Herodotus' source might have derived from some of the Greek cities situated close to the area in question.

From the foregoing examination it can be concluded that at certain times Herodotus explored the north Aegean coast and visited Macedonia. Probably most of his information about Macedonia was obtained from the Macedonian ruler who was ruling at that time and from the Macedonian nobles.

The Date of Alexander's Death and Perdiccas' Ascension

If we assume that Herodotus visited Macedonia and personally communicated with its ruler, this will inevitably raise the question who exactly his host was – Alexander, or Perdiccas. To answer this question one must clarify (at least approximately) the year of Alexander's death and Perdiccas' coronation. It is well known that *ca.* 505 BC Amyntas still ruled over Macedonia (Herodotus. 5. 94. 1). However, during Xerxes' campaign against Greece (480) not Amyntas, but Alexander was the ruler of Macedonia (Herodotus 7. 173. 3, 8. 34. 1, 8. 136. 1, 8. 140A. 1–140B. 1, 8. 143. 1–3, 9. 45. 1–3). Chronologically viewed the latest evidence for Alexander is related to the events of 465–463/2 BC. Probably at that time the Athenian *strategos* Cimon succeeded in suppressing the revolt on Thasos. According to Plutarch (*Cimon* 14. 2), after this success Cimon had good opportunity to invade Macedonia and cut off a great part of it, but due to the fact that he had done nothing, he was accused of having been bribed by the Macedonian ruler Alexander.³⁶

The chronology of the rule of Perdiccas is also debatable. His first appearance in the sources is related to the events of 432 BC, when his lands were attacked by the Athenians, his brother Philip and Derdas, who was the ruler of Elimea (Thucydides 1. 59. 1–2). It is possible that a year, or two earlier he was already in a state of war

³⁵ See also Jacoby 1913, 260–61; Hammond and Griffith 1979, 98.

³⁶ Plutarch *Cimon* 14. 2 – ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ῥαδίως ἐπιβῆναι Μακεδονίας καὶ πολλὴν ἀποτεμέσθαι παρασχόν, ὥς ἐδόκει, μὴ θελήσας αἰτίαν ἔσχε δώροις ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου συμπεπεῖσθαι, καὶ δίκην ἔφυγε τῶν ἐχθρῶν συστάντων ἐπ' αὐτόν.

with the Athenians.³⁷ The latest information about Perdiccas is connected to the events of the late summer of 414 BC when he supported the Athenian general Euetion in his unsuccessful attack against Amphipolis (Thucydides 7. 9. 1).

From the quoted evidence it becomes clear that the death of Alexander and his succession by Perdiccas should be dated in the period of 463/2–434/2 BC. The chronology of this event can be specified if the year of the death of Archelaus is taken as a starting point and if the duration of the rule of some of the Macedonian rulers is taken into account. Diodorus states that Archelaus was unintentionally killed by his favourite Craterus in 400/399 BC, after a rule of seven years (Diodorus 14. 37. 6). The first part of this evidence is usually considered true, whereas the second part (seven years of Archelaus' rule) is ignored, for if this statement is considered to be reliable then the beginning of Archelaus' rule must be dated in 407/6 BC. This date contradicts another statement of Diodorus', who claims that in 411/10 BC Archelaus succeeded in capturing Pydna (Diodorus 13. 49. 1–2; see also Xenophon *Hellenica* 1. 1. 12). However, Diodorus (7 fr. 15) also states that Archelaus ruled 17 years. This statement can also be rejected if Thucydides' information about Perdiccas' participation in the events at the end of the summer of 414 BC is taken into account. Therefore, it is more reasonable to accept the evidence of Syncellus, who states that Archelaus ruled over Macedones for 14 years.³⁸ It does not contradict Thucydides and allows scholars to presume that Archelaus ascended the Macedonian throne in 414/3 BC, which was the year of Perdiccas' death.

It is more complicated to establish the duration of Perdiccas' rule. A passage from Athenaeus makes it clear that even in ancient times there was a clash of opinions about this question: according to Nicomedes of Acanthus, Perdiccas ruled 41 years; Theopompus mentions 35, Anaximenes 40, Hieronymus 28 and Marsyas and Philochorus 23.³⁹ Moreover, Marmor Parium gives 41 years (*FGH* 239 A 58), Syncellus 23 (p. 247 B [Dindorf]) and Diodorus (7 fr. 15) only 22.

This evidence can be systematised into two groups: the first includes the authors mentioning 22, 23 and 28 years of Perdiccas' rule and the second – those mentioning 40 and 41 years. Data provided by Theopompus (35 years) can be placed in a third group, or included in the second. Taking into account the year of Perdiccas'

³⁷ Thucydides 1. 57. 2–3. Hammond and Griffith 1979, 122: 'Certainly in late 434 he was at war with Athens ...'

³⁸ Syncellus I. p. 260 B (Dindorf) – Μακεδόνων ἰδ' ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀρχέλαος; 263 A (Dindorf) – μετὰ γὰρ Περδίκκην Ἀρχέλαος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη ἰδ' ...

³⁹ Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae* 5. 217d–e – Νικομήδης, ἔτη μάλιστα, Θεόπομπος δὲ λέει, Ἀναξιμένης μάλιστα, Ἱερώνυμος καὶ, Μαρσύας δὲ καὶ Φιλόχορος καί. See, however, some doubts expressed by Beloch (1923, 53): 'Anaximenes 40 (sollte nicht 30 zu lesen sein, da die Zahlen in absteigender Reihe sich folgen?)'.

death (414/3 BC), and the duration of his rule according to the sources, the following dates for his coronation are possible: 442/1 BC, 437/6 BC and 436/5 BC for the first group, 449/8 BC for Theopompus and 455/4 BC and 454/3 BC for the second group. The discrepancy in the sources, as to the duration of the rule of Perdiccas, was probably due to the possibility that his brothers disputed his power over Macedones.

Alexander had at least five sons: Perdiccas, Philip, Alcetes, Menelaus and Amyntas. Syncellus explicitly states that Amyntas led an ordinary life, i.e. he never participated in the struggles for power in Macedonia.⁴⁰ Almost nothing is known about Menelaus apart from the statement of Aelian (if it is really related to him), who claims that he was a bastard.⁴¹ However, the rest of Perdiccas' brothers – Alcetes⁴² and Philip⁴³ – were in possession of their own ἀρχή and probably took part in the struggle for succession in Macedonia after the death of Alexander. Due to this fact, the later dates are generally considered as the years of the stabilisation of Perdiccas' rule and not related to the death of his father (most probably born not later than 530 BC). Though this conclusion appears plausible, it should be noted that even after the latest date (436/5 BC) Philip continued to rule his own ἀρχή and pursued an independent, even hostile, policy towards his own brother (Thucydides 1. 57. 3, 1. 59. 2).

Thus, it can be presumed that if the later dates were related to the stabilisation of Perdiccas' rule, then the earlier dates were related to the death of Alexander. If this is the case, then his death must be dated in 455/4 BC, 454/3 BC or 449/8 BC. The first two dates appear more plausible, for they are based on three different sources – Nicomedes, Marmor Parium and Anaximenes, whereas the third date is only based on Theopompus, whose information is probably derived from a completely different tradition. Therefore, it seems reasonable to assume that Alexander met his either natural or violent⁴⁴ death in the period of 455–453 BC.⁴⁵ At that time

⁴⁰ Syncellus I. p. 262 D (Dindorf): Ἀμύντας δὲ πάντα τὸν βίον ἰδιωτικῶς ζήσας ...

⁴¹ Aelian *Varia Historia* 12. 43: Μενέλαος ὁ Φιλίππου πάππος ἐς τοὺς νόθους ἐτέλει. See also Justin 7. 4. 3.

⁴² Plato *Gorgias* 471b: ὅς γε πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτον αὐτὸν τὸν δεσπότην καὶ θεῖον μεταπεμψάμενος ὥς ἀποδώσω τὴν ἀρχὴν ἣν Περδίκκας αὐτὸν ἀφείλετο.

⁴³ Thucydides 2. 100. 3: ὁ δὲ στρατὸς τῶν Θρακῶν ἐκ τῆς Διοβήρου ἐσέβαλε πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὴν Φιλίππου πρότερον οὖσαν ἀρχήν, καὶ εἶλεν Εἰδομενὴν μὲν κατὰ κράτος, Γορτυνίαν δὲ καὶ Ἀταλάντην καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα χωρία ὁμολογίᾳ διὰ τὴν Ἀμύντου φιλίαν προσχωροῦντα τοῦ Φιλίππου υἱέος παρόντος: Εὐρωπὸν δὲ ἐπολιόρκησαν μὲν, ἐλεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο.

⁴⁴ For the possibility that Alexander died a violent death, see Curtius 6. 11. 26: Quis proavum huius Alexandrum, quis deinde Archelaum, quis Perdiccan occisos ultus est?

⁴⁵ Hammond and Griffith (1979, 104) date the death of Alexander *ca.* 452 BC, partly due to their previous statement that during his participation in the Olympics (496 BC) he was not yet the Macedonian ruler (Hammond and Griffith 1979, 60). Borza (1992, 134) dates Alexander's death *ca.* 454 BC. See also Borza 1992, 103, n. 16.

Herodotus was between 20 and 30 years old, an age suitable for travelling and rationalising the information he would obtain. If he had visited Macedonia at a certain time after the death of Alexander, but before 444 BC (due to his participation in the foundation of Thurii) then his age would have been even more suitable for the exploration of the area in question.

Alexander or Perdiccas

After making these preliminary notes, for the purposes of this paper attention should be paid to Herodotus' narrative again, in particular to the events connected to Alexander. Alexander is first mentioned in the *Histories* with regard to a Persian embassy sent to Macedonia. According to Herodotus, after conquering part of Paeonia, the Persian commander-in-chief, Megabazus, sent seven noble Persians to Macedonia with the task to demand 'earth and water' for the Great King. Amyntas gave them what they had asked for and invited them to be his guests. However, their arrogant behaviour angered his son Alexander. He convinced his father to leave the banquet and have a rest because of his age. Later that night, the Persian emissaries were killed on the order of Alexander. He, however, saved his life by giving a large sum of money and his own sister Gygaea to the Persian noble Bubares who was assigned the task of finding them (Herodotus 5. 17. 1–21. 2). After narrating this story Herodotus adds that the descendants of Perdiccas I were Greek. To support his view he emphasises the statement of the Argeadae, the decision of the Hellenodicae, and the fact that Alexander proved his Argive origins (Herodotus 5. 22. 1–2).

The story of the murder of the seven Persian envoys and their servants is rightly considered implausible and rejected by most scholars. It is a widely accepted opinion that this story was made up by Alexander I sometime after the Persian defeat at Plataea (479 BC). By popularising this fiction the ruler of Macedonia tried to offer the Greeks an excuse both for his participation in Xerxes' campaign (480/79 BC) and for the already inconvenient Persian-Macedonian marriage contract. It appears that Alexander's propaganda was based on two points – his Greek origins, and as a result of this, his important role as a secret friend and protector of the Greeks during Xerxes' campaign.

The passages from Herodotus' narrative mentioning the Greek origins of the dynasty are important for the present paper: the banquet with the Persian emissaries,⁴⁶ the participation of Alexander in the Olympics (Herodotus 5. 22. 1–2),

⁴⁶ Herodotus 5. 20. 4: πρὸς δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖ τῷ πέμψαντι ἀπαγγεῖλητε ὡς ἀνὴρ Ἕλληνα, Μακεδόνων ὑπαρχος, εὖ ὑμέας ἐδέξατο καὶ τραπέζῃ καὶ κοίτῃ. In codices A B C P V U it is written Μακεδων. For this issue, see the discussion by Tripodi 2012.

the digression devoted to the Argive origins of Perdiccas I and his brothers (Herodotus 8. 137. 1–139. 1), and the nocturnal visit of Alexander on the eve of the battle of Plataea.⁴⁷ The fact that Herodotus repeatedly reminds about the Greek origins of the Argeadae cannot be accidental. Probably it was due to the fact that at the time of Herodotus the Greeks considered the Macedonians and their rulers to be barbarians,⁴⁸ which was a serious obstacle to Alexander's propaganda – he was a Greek who secretly helped the Greeks during Xerxes' campaign against Greece. If this is the case, then it appears reasonable to assume that Herodotus visited Macedonia during the rule of Alexander, who from 479 BC onwards, i.e. to his death, was really interested in stressing (whenever possible) his Greek origins and his role as a secret friend and protector of the Greeks.⁴⁹ Even more than twenty years after the dramatic events of 480/79 BC, irrespective of the current political situation, it was probably of paramount importance for the old Macedonian ruler to present his deeds before the Greeks in a favourable light. For his son and successor Perdiccas part of these problems lost their sharpness, for he was not a Persian vassal and did not participate in Xerxes' campaign. This fact, however, does not mean that it was not he who was Herodotus' source, for after the death of Alexander all Macedonian rulers continued to claim their Argive origins. Apart from this, Perdiccas was not interested (in the late 450s BC) in ignoring the stories which were a product of Alexander's propaganda. At the very beginning of Perdiccas' rule these stories not only did not damage the reputation of the dynasty, but they probably enhanced it, since at that time the Athenians and their allies were still in a state of war with the Persians (the Peace of Callias was negotiated in 449 BC) and therefore the stories invented by Alexander were still useful for the Argeadae. In that case, the quoted evidence about the Greek origins of the dynasty and the help offered by Alexander to the Greeks⁵⁰ cannot answer the question which Macedonian ruler was the host of Herodotus during his stay in Macedonia.

It appears that this problem may be solved if the story about the nocturnal visit of Alexander to the Athenian camp before the battle of Plataea is taken into account. According to Herodotus, on the night before the battle Alexander rode to the

⁴⁷ Herodotus 9. 44. 1–45. 3: αὐτός τε γὰρ Ἑλλήν γένος εἰμι τῶρχαῖον ...

⁴⁸ Herodotus 5. 20. 4: ἀνὴρ Ἑλλήν, Μακεδόνων ὑπαρχος; 5. 22. 2: Ἀλεξάνδρου γὰρ ἀεθλεύειν ἐλομένου καὶ καταβάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, οἱ ἀντιθευσόμενοι Ἑλλήνων ἐξεργόν μιν, φάμενοι οὐ βαρβάρων ἀγωνιστέων εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀλλὰ Ἑλλήνων ...

⁴⁹ Probably, Alexander stressed his Greek origins for political reasons. First, it gave him the opportunity to establish a closer contact with the Greek world as an equal partner. Second, by stressing his origins Alexander tried to convince the Greeks that during Xerxes' campaign he really helped them (though secretly) – he was a Greek who was concerned about the fate of the whole of Greece.

⁵⁰ Apart from the evidence quoted so far see also Herodotus 7. 173. 3, 8. 34. 1, 8. 140A. 1–140B. 4.

Athenian outposts and wanted to speak with their commanders.⁵¹ After the appearance of the commanders he told them about his Greek origins as well as about his concern for the destiny of the whole of Greece, and informed them that Mardonius intended to launch an attack in the morning. Yet, if for some reasons he did not do it, he advised them not to attack first, for the Persians would soon run out of provisions. Finally, he added that if the Greeks were successful in winning the war, they should not forget the danger he was exposing himself to and should find a way to save him from the Persian yoke (Herodotus 9. 44. 1–45. 3).

First, it should be noted that Herodotus' source for this story was probably Macedonian⁵² – he mentions again the Greek origins of Alexander, his anxiety about the fate of the whole of Greece, and the risks which he took during his nocturnal visit. Apart from this, this was a monologue without the participation of the Athenians. Moreover, Herodotus' narrative does not make it clear who were the Athenian commanders communicating with Alexander. Most probably Herodotus heard this story in Macedonia, where he personally communicated with the Macedonian ruler.

Second, the story of Alexander's nocturnal visit is viewed differently by the scholars. Some consider it true,⁵³ others reject it,⁵⁴ and still others believe that the Macedonian ruler acted as a Persian agent.⁵⁵ The fact that Alexander arrived at the Greek camp unaccompanied, as well as his personal participation in the events in question, seems extremely doubtful. At that time the Macedonian army was not a factor of importance and therefore it is not logical to assume that they camped separately from the Persians and their Greek allies. According to Herodotus, it was the Persian camp from which the Macedonian ruler arrived at the Greek camp (Herodotus 9. 44. 2). Thus, the question may be put as to how Alexander, together with his horse, managed to escape unnoticed from the Persian camp and get back to it later. And why did he have to risk losing his throne and his life going there himself, since he could have sent a loyal man of his (the way he did it at Tempe), which would in no way make his service to the Greeks less significant? This is rather an invented story aiming at justifying the actions of the Macedonian ruler, whose soldiers during that battle fought against the Athenians (Herodotus 9. 31. 5). Herodotus says nothing about simulated actions on their part, the way he does

⁵¹ According to Plutarch (*Aristides* 15. 2), Alexander insisted on speaking to Aristides.

⁵² Borza (1992, 110) shares the same opinion.

⁵³ Geyer 1930, 45; Glotz 1938, 89; Daskalakis 1965, 194–98; Edson 1970, 26; Scaife 1989, 131, n. 7; Badian 1994, 118–19; Xydopoulos 2006, 55–56.

⁵⁴ Woodhouse 1898, 43–44; Paribeni 1947, 36; Borza 1992, 110; Vasilev 2010, 58; Zahrnt 2011, 773. Vasilev 2015, 205–06.

⁵⁵ Barron 1988, 605–06; Green 1998, 258–60.

about a greater part of the Greeks who were in the Persian army (Herodotus 9. 67. 1). It appears that until the very end of the battle Alexander was carrying out the duties of a loyal vassal of Xerxes.⁵⁶

Given that this story was probably a product of Alexander's propaganda, it seems normal that Herodotus (again) tells about the Greek origins of Alexander, his anxiety about the fate of Greece, and his dangerous nocturnal visit. However, far more important for the present paper is the request of Alexander to the Athenians: Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι ... ἤν δὲ ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος ὅδε κατὰ νόον τελευτήσῃ, μνησθῆναι τινα χρὴ καὶ ἐμεῦ ἐλευθερώσιος πέρι. In this sentence two messages delivered by Alexander to the Athenians can be found. The first is obvious – Alexander was enslaved by the Persians and asked the Athenians to liberate him if they were successful in winning the war. By claiming that he had been enslaved by the Persians and was not able to win his freedom alone, the Macedonian ruler tried to justify his pro-Persian behaviour during the war.

The second message is far more interesting. It is a well-known fact that after the expulsion of the Persians from Greece, the united Greek forces did not mount a military campaign in Macedonia either to help the Macedonian ruler⁵⁷ or to punish him for the support he had provided for Xerxes. The quoted passage leaves the reader with the impression that Alexander gave a slight hint about the ingratitude of the Athenians – though he took a great risk warning them about the intentions of Mardonius, and explicitly asked them to help him after the war, they did nothing to return the favour. Therefore, it turns out that by popularising the story of Alexander's nocturnal visit, the Macedonian source of Herodotus' not only emphasised his merits for the Greek cause, but also tried to hurt the ungrateful Athenians, whose aggressive policy in the lower Strymon area turned them, in the course of time, into an enemy of Macedonia.

If this observation is correct, then Herodotus' visit to Macedonia and his conversation with its ruler should be related to a particular period of time, when the relations between the Athenians and his host were strained. According to the explicit remark of Thucydides, Perdiccas was a friend and ally (ξύμμαχος καὶ φίλος) of the Athenians until they made an alliance with his brother Philip and Derdas (before the summer of 432 BC).⁵⁸ It is possible that the relations between Perdiccas and the Athenians became strained over the foundation of Amphipolis (437/6 BC),

⁵⁶ See also Vasilev 2015, 205–06, where my arguments for the rejection of this story are expressed in detail.

⁵⁷ Most probably Persian garrisons were not put into Macedonia and its ruler had a privileged status of a vassal. See Vasilev 2015, 114–17, 154–59.

⁵⁸ Thucydides 1. 57. 2: Περδίκκας τε ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς ἐπεπολέμωτο ξύμμαχος πρότερον καὶ φίλος ὢν.

which event was not in the Macedonian ruler's interest.⁵⁹ Before this event it was hardly possible for Perdiccas to confront the Athenians – based upon the calculations made above, most probably he stabilised his rule in 437/6–436/5 BC, if Philochorus, Syncellus and Diodorus are to be trusted, or in 442/1 BC, if one follows Hieronymus. If the statement of Thucydides, as well as the unstable internal political situation of Perdiccas, is taken into account, then it is logical to assume that he became an Athenian ally immediately after the death of his father and did not change his position, at least until the foundation of Amphipolis (437/6 BC), or until 436/5 BC, which was the latest date for the stabilisation of his rule in Macedonia.

From the foregoing examination it turns out that if Herodotus had visited Macedonia during the rule of Perdiccas, his visit must have taken place after 437/6 BC, when the relations between this Macedonian ruler and Athens were strained. However, it does not seem very probable that he explored the Thracian coast and Macedonia later than 437/6 BC.⁶⁰ In 444 BC, Herodotus took part in the foundation of Thurii and it appears that his travels in the area in question had already taken place.

It is very tempting to presume that Herodotus' host was not Perdiccas, but some of his brothers – Alcetes, or Philip, who had their own ἀρχή. Probably at that time (before 444 BC) both of them were discontented with the fact that Perdiccas was an Athenian ally (if they were able to pursue independent policy). Therefore, by telling these stories to Herodotus, either Alcetes or Philip may have tried to hurt the Athenians for their ingratitude towards Alexander.⁶¹ The *Suda*, however, explicitly states that Herodotus' host was the ruler (though a mistake was made as to his name) – Ἀμύντα τῷ Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖ and there is no evidence about a coronation of Alcetes or Philip. Furthermore, it can be expected that if Herodotus had visited Macedonia during the struggle for succession between Alexander's sons, he

⁵⁹ Thucydides 4. 102. 3; Diodorus 12. 32. 1, 3. See also Hammond and Griffith 1979, 122.

⁶⁰ Herodotus mentions nothing about the foundation of Amphipolis (437/6 BC) though there is an appropriate place in his work for recording this event – in Book 5, where he narrates the story about Aristagoras' enterprise in Thrace (5. 126. 1–2). Cf. the model adopted by Thucydides (4. 102. 1–3). This may mean that Herodotus visited these lands before 437/6 BC. See also How and Wells 1928, ad 5. 126.

⁶¹ See, however, Hatzopoulos 2011 who holds the opinion that Perdiccas appointed Philip as 'Lieutenant General' in the eastern parts of Macedonia in the hope that he would restore his power in the 'New Lands', or at least he would defend them against the Athenians. If this observation is correct, then it is not logical to assume that in this early stage of Perdiccas' rule (before 444 BC) Philip pursued an independent policy. According to Hatzopoulos, the foundation of Amphipolis by the Athenians (437/6 BC) was 'the final straw, which must have sealed Philip's fate'.

would have noted the current political situation (in one form or another), which contrasts sharply with the stable rule of Alexander.

From what has been said so far, it can be concluded that Herodotus' visit to Macedonia must have taken place during the rule of Alexander, at the time when his relations with Athens were strained. Plutarch's evidence quoted above (ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ῥαδίως ἐπιβῆναι Μακεδονίας καὶ πολλὴν ἀποτεμέσθαι παρασχόν) (Plutarch *Cimon* 14. 2) indicates that in 465–463/2 BC the relations between these two countries were strained.⁶² Most probably during the next decade, i.e. to the death of Alexander, Macedonia and Athens were enemies. Therefore, Herodotus' visit to Macedonia should be dated in the period from 463/2 to 455–453 BC. Bearing in mind that Herodotus was born before 475 BC, but probably not before 484 BC, the second half of this period, i.e. the years after 460 BC, appears more plausible, for at that time his age would be more suitable for travelling and rationalising the information he would obtain. The suggested date can be specified if Herodotus' information about the short route from Lake Prasias to Macedonia is taken into account, and if some disputable questions as to the expansion of Alexander in the lands of the Bisaltae are analysed.

The Silver Mine and the Short Route from Prasias to Macedonia

In regard to a Persian embassy in the court of Amyntas, Herodotus describes in the fifth book of the *Histories* the short route from Lake Prasias to Macedonia:

Μεγάβαζος δὲ ὡς ἐχειρώσατο τοὺς Παίονας, πέμπει ἀγγέλους ἐς Μακεδονίην ἄνδρας ἑπτὰ Πέρσας, οἱ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἦσαν δοκιμώτατοι ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. ἐπέμποντο δὲ οὗτοι παρὰ Ἀμύντην αἰτήσοντες γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ Δαρείῳ βασιλεῖ. ἔστι δὲ ἐκ τῆς Πρασιᾶδος λίμνης σύντομος κάρτα ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίην. πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ ἔχεται τῆς λίμνης τὸ μέταλλον ἐξ οὗ ὕστερον τούτων τάλαντον ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ἐφοίτα, μετὰ δὲ τὸ μέταλλον Δύσωρον καλεόμενον ὄρος ὑπερβάντα εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίῃ (Herodotus 5. 17. 1–2).

This evidence is of paramount importance for the determination of the Macedonian frontiers *ca.* 450 BC, i.e. at the time of Herodotus' visit to Macedonia. Hammond links the description of the short route from Prasias to Macedonia with the story of the Persian embassy to the court of the Macedonian ruler, thus setting the eastern Macedonian border during the rule of Amyntas close to Dysoron

⁶² This evidence may have reflected the desire of some circles in Athens to compromise Cimon. However, the fact that the name of Alexander himself was involved in this story indicates (if nothing else) that *ca.* 463/2 BC the relations between the Athenians and the Macedonian ruler were strained. See also Borza 1992, 122–23. For the rejection of Plutarch's view, see Xydopoulos forthcoming.

Mountain.⁶³ Herodotus, however, uses present tense when he describes the route in question, which is an indication that this description reflects the state of affairs during his own time.⁶⁴ Thus, it is logical to assume that: first, at certain times during his rule Alexander (ὕστερον τούτων) conquered the lands between Prasias and Dysoron and took control of the silver mine situated there, from which he gained a silver talent a day (τάλαντον ἀργυρίου Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἡμέρης ἐκάστης ἐφοίτα). Second, during Herodotus' visit to the Macedonian court (in the period of 460–455/3 BC) the eastern border of Macedonia reached Dysoron Mountain (μετὰ δὲ τὸ μέταλλον Δύσωρον καλεόμενον ὄρος ὑπερβάντα εἶναι ἐν Μακεδονίῃ), i.e. Alexander had already lost his control over Bisaltia and the mine situated there.⁶⁵

If Dysoron is Krusha Mountain and Butkovo is Lake Prasias,⁶⁶ this means that the silver mine was situated somewhere in the lands of the Bisaltae – according to Herodotus, Bisaltia was the land situated west of Strymon, near Argilos and that above this city.⁶⁷ This location of Bisaltia can be confirmed by another piece of evidence from Herodotus, which makes it clear that in 480 BC the king of the Bisaltae and the Crestonian land refused to join Xerxes' army and fled to Rhodope.⁶⁸ Herodotus also states that the River Echedoros rose in the lands of the Crestones.⁶⁹ It is identical with the present-day Gallicos, which rises in Krusha

⁶³ Hammond and Griffith 1979, 58.

⁶⁴ Leake 1835, 212–13; Jacoby 1913, 260–61; Hatzopoulos and Loukopoulou 1992, 20–21; Vasilev 2011, 99–100; Delev 2014, 197.

⁶⁵ Another version is also possible: Herodotus' description of the borders of Macedonia might have reflected the situation at the time when he was writing the *Histories*, and not at the time of his visit to the Macedonian court. Thus, it can be assumed that Bisaltia was lost not in the last years of Alexander's rule, but during the Perdiccas' rule. It is impossible to judge, however, if Herodotus obtained current information about the borders of Macedonia several years, or even decades, after his visit to Macedonia, and if this new evidence was added to his work. It seems more plausible to accept that the description of the short route from Prasias to Macedonia and the limitation of Macedonia to Dysoron reflected the state of affairs at the time of Herodotus' visit to Macedonia, i.e. at the very end of Alexander's rule.

⁶⁶ For the identification of Dysoron with Krusha Mountain and Prasias with Lake Butkovo, see Vasilev 2015, 94–103. *Contra* Papageorgiou 1970; Hatzopoulos 2008, 15–20, 22–27; and Borza 1995, 89–91.

⁶⁷ Herodotus 7. 115. 1: ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἐπορεύετο ὁ στρατός, ἐνθαῦτα πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμέων ἐστὶ αἰγιαλὸς ἐν τῷ οἰκημένῃ Ἀργίλῳ πόλιν Ἑλλάδα παρεξήκει· αὕτη δὲ καὶ ἡ κατύπερθε ταύτης καλεῖται Βισαλτία.

⁶⁸ Herodotus 8. 116. 1: ἐνθα καὶ ὁ τῶν Βισαλτέων βασιλεὺς γῆς τε τῆς Κρηστωνικῆς Θρημὺς ἔργον ὑπερφυὲς ἐργάσατο· ὃς οὔτε αὐτὸς ἔφη τῷ Ξέρξῃ ἐκὼν εἶναι δουλεύειν, ἀλλ' οἶχετο ἄνω ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὴν Ῥοδόπην, τοῖσι τε παισὶ ἀπηγόρευε μὴ στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

⁶⁹ Herodotus 7. 124. 1: ἐπὶ ποταμὸν Ἐχρίδωρον, ὃς ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ἀρξάμενος ῥέει διὰ Μυγδονίης χώρας καὶ ἐξίει παρὰ τὸ ἔλος τὸ ἐπ' Ἀξίῳ ποταμῷ; 127. 2: ἐκ Κρηστωναίων ῥέων Ἐχρίδωρος ...

Mountain – very close, on the other side of this mountain, is situated Butkovo. The fact that the king of the Bisaltae ruled over the Crestones is a sign that in 480 BC, and at the time of Herodotus as well, the lands of the Bisaltae spread along the right bank of the River Strymon from Argilus to Butkovo or even to the southern flanks of Belasitsa. In Thucydides' view, however, Bisaltia does not reach Argilus and the mouth of Strymon, where he localises a part of Mygdonia.⁷⁰ Thucydides does not specify the borders of Bisaltia, but bearing in mind that in his view the coast from the Rentina Pass to the mouth of the Strymon is Mygdonia, it is logical to assume that the lands of the Bisaltae were situated in a north/north-western direction, i.e. at Butkovo and on the southern flanks of Belasitsa.⁷¹

The conquest (ἐκράτησαν) of Bisaltia by the Argeadae is mentioned in a chronologically uncertain passage of Thucydides.⁷² If it is combined with the information provided by Herodotus, it can be assumed that the conquest of this area was made during Alexander's rule. However, the data provided by Herodotus and Thucydides do not answer the question when exactly Alexander conquered Bisaltia and took control over the silver mine near Lake Prasias. The fact that in the Decadrachm Hoard 68 silver Bisaltaean octodrachms whose minting is dated in the period 480/75–460 BC⁷³ were treasured is a sign that the expansion in the lands of the Bisaltae was realised *ca.* 460 BC, when their coinage ceased.⁷⁴ This means that during the two decades preceding the year 460 BC the Macedonian ruler possessed another source of silver, which was rich enough to satisfy his needs for the realisation of his own coinage. Probably, *ca.* 460 BC not only Bisaltia, but also Crestonia was conquered. In 480 BC, Crestonia was under the rule of the Bisaltaean king, who was brave enough to refuse to take part in Xerxes' campaign against Greece. Judging by the coinage of the Bisaltae, it appears that in the next twenty years they

⁷⁰ Thucydides 2. 99. 4: πέραν Ἀξιοῦ μέχρι Στρυμόνος τὴν Μυγδονίαν καλουμένην Ἡδῶνας ἐξέλασαντες νέμονται. See, however, Hammond's (1972, 192, n. 2) interpretation: 'Thucydides said that the conquest was up to the Strymon at the expense of the Edoni and (in a separate sentence) that the Macedonians now hold the so-called Mygdonia.'

⁷¹ Thucydides (4. 109. 3–4) mentions Bisaltae in Athos: πόλεις δὲ ἔχει Σάνην μὲν Ἀνδρίων ἀποικίαν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν διώρυχα, ἐς τὸ πρὸς Εὐβοίαν πέλαγος τετραμμένην, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Θουσσὸν καὶ Κλεωνὰς καὶ Ἀκροφόρους καὶ Ὀλόφυζον καὶ Δῖον· αἱ οἰκοῦνται ξυμμεικτοῖς ἔθνεσι βαρβάρων διγλώσσων, καὶ τι καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν ἐνὶ βραχὺ, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Πελασγικόν, τῶν καὶ Λημνόν ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας Τυρσηγῶν οἰκησάντων, καὶ Βισαλτικὸν καὶ Κρηστωνικὸν καὶ Ἡδῶνες· κατὰ δὲ μικρὰ πολίσματα οἰκοῦσιν. This, however, cannot be the Bisaltia mentioned by him, which was conquered by the Argeadae (2. 99. 6), for Thucydides enumerates a number of tribes inhabiting Athos. Most probably here it is about a Bisaltaean enclave, about which we know neither when nor how, settled in Athos.

⁷² Thucydides 2. 99. 6: ἐκράτησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔθνων οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι, ἃ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχουσι, τὸν τε Ἀνθεμούντα καὶ Κρηστωνίαν καὶ Βισαλτίαν καὶ Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν πολλήν.

⁷³ Fried 1987, 9. See also Kagan 1987, 23 who dates their minting between 470 and 460 BC.

⁷⁴ See also Vasilev 2011, 103; 2015, 96; Xydopoulos forthcoming.

were at the zenith of their power. Therefore, Crestonia was not conquered in the period of 480–460 BC. Here, it was rather a simultaneous conquest of Crestonia and Bisaltia *ca.* 460 BC.⁷⁵

Probably, Alexander had control of Bisaltia and obtained large amounts of silver from the mine near Prasias for a couple of years, since if it was a matter of shorter period of time, one can hardly expect that Herodotus' Macedonian source (the ruler himself, or some of his relatives) would have stressed this fact. If Alexander had conquered Bisaltia *ca.* 460 BC and controlled that part of it where the silver mine was situated, at least for a few of years, then Herodotus' visit to Macedonia should be dated to the very end of his rule, i.e. 455–453 BC. At the time of Herodotus' visit Alexander possessed Crestonia only, whereas the Bisaltae inhabiting the lands beyond Krusha Mountain, which were difficult to control, had already won their independence a year or two earlier. However, for some reasons (the exhaustion of the source of silver, or a different political situation making the minting of coins useless) the Bisaltae did not restore their coinage.

Conclusions

From the foregoing it can be concluded that Herodotus visited Macedonia at the very end of Alexander's rule. He personally communicated with the Macedonian ruler and some Macedonian nobles. His personal contact with Alexander, along with the fact that in the *Histories* he narrates stories about his deeds, does not necessarily prove that Herodotus was enchanted by Alexander, or respectively, that he had any deep sympathy for him.⁷⁶ Herodotus himself states that he recorded everything he had heard, but he did not feel obliged to believe it.⁷⁷ Therefore, it is possible that Herodotus simply narrated the stories heard in Macedonia without expressing any emotions, which unconsciously turned him into a herald of Alexander's propaganda. This conclusion, however, does not mean that he had no personal opinion about the origins of the Argeadae, for the expressions αὐτός τε οὕτω τυγχάνω ἐπιστάμενος καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν τοῖσι ὀπισθε λόγοισι ἀποδέξω ὥς εἰσὶ Ἕλληγες and Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέδεξε ὥς εἴη Ἀργεῖος indicate that he was convinced that they were really descendants of Themenus of Argos (Herodotus. 5. 22. 1–2).

⁷⁵ See also Vasilev 2011, 102–03.

⁷⁶ *Contra* Hammond and Griffith 1979, 59: 'probably through his sympathy for Alexander...'; 99 – 'Alexander charmed Herodotus...'

⁷⁷ Herodotus 2. 123. 1: ἐμοὶ δὲ παρὰ πάντα [τὸν] λόγον ὑπὸκειται ὅτι τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπ' ἐκάστων ἀκοῇ γράφω; 7. 152. 3 – ἐγὼ δὲ ὀφείλω λέγειν τὰ λεγόμενα, πείθεσθαι γε μὲν οὐ παντάπασιν ὀφείλω, καὶ μοι τοῦτο τὸ ἔπος ἐχέτω ἐς πάντα λόγον.

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DEDICATING STATUES IN THE GREEK CITIES FROM THE BLACK SEA AREA DURING THE LATE CLASSICAL AND EARLY HELLENISTIC PERIODS

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Abstract

The present paper is concerned with statue bases of late Classical and early Hellenistic periods discovered in the Greek colonies of the Black Sea area. They belong to a period of intense activity, particularly in bronze sculpture, especially under the influence of the leading artistic centre of the time, Athens. As epigraphic study shows, these statues represented individuals in a larger proportion than deities, one of the most common occasions being the end of priestly service. The practice of monumental sculptural dedications manifested itself frequently within small groups (i.e. families) over several generations, but in the 4th century BC, the community began to have an increasing role, especially in the cities of the western and north-western coasts of the Black Sea.

The practice of dedicating statues is well documented since Archaic times. *Kouroi* and *korai* that embellished the sanctuaries of the Greek cities in this period are an early form of ideal representation that could pass for a deity or a worshipper: in few cases an inscription or an attribute making the difference. Towards the end of the 5th/beginning of the 4th century BC, a new category of statue appeared: honorific statues. The present paper deals with the early period of the practice of dedicating statues in the Black Sea cities, the upper chronological limit being the 4th century BC, when the first statue dedications occur in the abovementioned area, and the lower chronological limit is the end of the 3rd century BC. From the 2nd century BC onwards, the habit of dedicating statues suffered several transformations: on the one hand the number of dedications increased significantly, due to the so-called 'inflation of honours', the funding of such undertakings being left to those honoured or to their relatives; on the other, it was influenced by the cult of the Hellenistic dynasts.

From the outset, it must be stated that the sculptural discoveries in the Black Sea colonies during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC are extremely rare. Instead, a large number of statue bases have been preserved. By analysing the support of the statue, as well as the inscription that accompanies it, new data can be obtained, expanding our knowledge of Greek statuary from the Black Sea area. For this purpose the main

questions concern the three participants in the process of dedicating a statue: the sculptor who made it; the clients who commanded and financed the undertaking; and the spectators to whom the image was addressed.

Study of statue bases from the Black Sea cities has been mainly the preserve of epigraphists, with the focus on the information offered by the inscriptions. A significant number of statue bases discovered since 19th century, but meanwhile lost, are known through descriptions, drawings and photographs published in corpora of inscriptions. Interest in statue bases as archaeological items, namely as support for statues, has rarely been manifested – and then only in exceptional cases, in which they were brought as supplementary evidence in an iconographical dossier, as is the case with the iconography of Apollo *Ietros* from the western coast of the Black Sea.¹ Besides this, the only notable interest has been that of Mikhail Treister.² He gathered and studied 43 bases of bronze statues of all periods from the Greek colonies of the northern coast of the Black Sea, among which 17 are of the late Classical–early Hellenistic period, in a series of articles formulating a typology and making observations about metal workshops and about the context of their display.

Although interest in statue supports has manifested itself in Classical Archaeology ever since the 19th century, especially in German-language literature,³ research on statue dedications is quite recent: on the one hand, epigraphic studies rarely included observations about the monument, traces on the upper surface of the base, or about the display context; on the other hand, archaeological studies have followed questions concerning the typology and chronology of the monument, without taking into account either the inscription or the context and function of the monument. Therefore, statue bases have received special attention only quite recently.⁴ The sculpture is no more regarded as an art object *per se*, but is considered in the context of social relations and of the monumental space of the city, which it defines.⁵ For the Black Sea area, it is not just that statue bases have rarely been brought into the discussion, rather there is a lack of a study that encompasses the whole perspective of inscriptions, monuments and contexts.

¹ Alexandrescu Vianu 2000, 85, cat. 101.

² Treister 1988; 1999; 2002.

³ Bulle 1898; Jacob-Felsch 1969; Eckstein 1969; Walter-Karydi 1980; Schmidt 1995; von Steuben 1999; Kissas 2000.

⁴ The statue bases have a special chapter in the volume dedicated to the Hellenistic and Roman sculpture from Didyma (Filges 2007, 93–110).

⁵ A. Stewart 1990; 1994; Smith 1991; Zanker 1994; 1995a–b; Eule 2001; P. Stewart 2003; Queyrel 2003; Ma 2013; Leybold *et al.* 2014.

The present study focuses on 44 statue bases of 4th–3rd centuries BC from the northern and the western coasts of the Black Sea. They all are monolithic rectangular bases, few of them with profile. Slabs with dedications that may have belonged to a base statue have not been taken into account, since it is not clear what their original purpose was. The limits of the study are defined by the unequal and incomplete information. Almost half of the statue bases are now lost. These are known only from the descriptions of the first publishers. In other cases, they are incorporated into city walls, or even the walls of modern buildings, rendering a complete analysis of the monument impossible. Another difficulty is that, except for one case from Chersonesos, the initial display context is not known. On the other hand, mentions of statue dedications in honorific decrees are supplementing this gap in our knowledge concerning original display, type or who financed a statue.

Information about dedicatory practices from beyond the Black Sea helps to complete the present analysis. Also taken into account are several cases where the display context has been exceptionally preserved; these can offer a basis for comparing the data from the few archaeological sites preserved from the Black Sea area, mainly sanctuaries (Histria, Olbia, Dionysopolis), with the statue dedication practice from outside the Black Sea. The few literary references that have preserved the memory of these statues have been also taken into account (Apollonia, Leuce).

The Sculptors

The only sculptor attested by literary sources to have worked for a city in the Black Sea was Kalamis, most probably a Boeotian. Ancient authors often mention his activity, especially in Artica. He cast a monumental bronze statue for the eponymous deity of Apollonia Pontica, looted by Lucullus in 72 BC and set up in Rome (Strabo 7. 319; Appian *Illyr.* 30; Pliny *NH* 34. 39).⁶ A clue about the appearance of this statue is given by a series of bronze and silver Hellenistic coin issues of Apollonia Pontica.⁷

The names of three other sculptors are known from the inscriptions on three statue bases from the 4th century BC: Stratonides Athenaios, who cast a statue dedicated to Apollo *Ietros* at Olbia (*IOlb* 65A), Praxiteles Athenaios, whose name is preserved on a very fragmented statue base (*IOSPE* I² 271), and Polycrates, who made a monumental statue dedicated to Athena *Soteira* at Chersonesos (*IOSPE* I² 406). The *ethnikon* of the first two, as well as the fact that these dedications were

⁶ Their notes concern exclusively technical details, without any description. The statue had a 30 cubit height and a value of 500 talents.

⁷ Karajotov 1995, cat. 29, fig. 24; Oppermann 2004, 96, pl. 26.2.

made in the same period in which the two Athenian sculptors have been active, make plausible the hypothesis according to which the two statues from Olbia were made by the same two sculptors known in Classical Athens: Stratonides and Praxiteles.⁸ The first was the creator of a statue dedicated to Asclepius in the god's sanctuary on the Acropolis (*IG* II² 4373), the second is none other than the famous creator of Apollo *Sauroktonos*. Praxiteles worked for other cities outside Attica also: an Eros by Praxiteles stood, according to Pliny (*NH* 36. 22), in Parion from the Propontis. Given the lack of *ethnikon*, Polycrates, took the name of a famous artist,⁹ but whether he was a local or an itinerant sculptor is a problem that can hardly be untangled. Certainly, in the cases of Kalamis, Stratonides and Praxiteles we are dealing with Athenian sculptors who worked also for Pontic cities in the 4th century BC. The fame of the Athenian artists is confirmed by the perpetuation of famous Athenian sculptors' names in the Black Sea prosopography.¹⁰

With few exceptions, such as the case of the statue dedicated by Megisto, daughter of Epikydes, from Callatis (*ISM* III 76), which clearly shows the insertion of a statue plinth, the traces of metal and the form of holes on the upper surface of the bases seem to indicate that these sculptors were employed mainly for bronze statues.¹¹ Furthermore, honorific decrees mention the erection of this particular type of statue: εἰκῶν χαλκῇ.¹² The advantages of indirect bronze casting and the increasing demand for bronze statues during the 4th century BC led to an impressive number of sculptures,¹³ a reality that can be traced also in the cities along the Black Sea shore.¹⁴ Several hypotheses have been taken into account regarding the process of their making:¹⁵ a) either they were imported as finished products; b) or imported in pieces and assembled and mounted on their bases, either by assistants of the sculptor or by the sculptor himself; c) or they were made on the spot, a workshop having been installed especially for this purpose.

⁸ Levi 1965, 86–95; Calder 1971, 325–27; Vinogradov 1997, 256–57.

⁹ Calder 1971, 326. A certain Polycrates was, according to Pliny (*NH* 34. 91), a sculptor from Athens, the author of bronze statues of athletes, warriors, hunters and priests (cf. Todisco 1993, 42). Another similar case from Chersonesos is Kephisodotos, the author of an honorific bronze statue for Ariston, son of Attias, erected in the first half of the 2nd century AD (*IOSPE* I² 423).

¹⁰ Another Kephisodotos is attested in a list of names from Panticapaeum, 3rd century BC, *CIRB* 110; a Polycrates at Callatis and Olbia in the 2nd and 3rd centuries BC (cf. *LGPV* IV, 284).

¹¹ A hypothesis criticised by Marszał 1990 (*non vidi*), cited by Treister 1996, 306, n. 141. On mounting technique, see Richter 1950, 158.

¹² Seven mentions only for Histria: *ISM* I 1, 3, 12, 19, 31, 59, 61.

¹³ A. Stewart 1990, 3; Zimmer 1990, 73; Mattush 1996, 18, 72; Treister 1996, 232.

¹⁴ Over a third of the bases analysed by Treister (1999) are dated by their inscriptions in the late Classical and early Hellenistic period.

¹⁵ Carter 1974, 328; Treister 1988, 156; 1996, 241; Philipp 1990, 96.

Palaeographical analysis shows that at least the bases were inscribed by local stone carvers.¹⁶

The fact that the casting process of a bronze statue required numerous personnel, as one can see on the Foundry cup in the Berlin Museum, but also a casting pit of considerable dimensions, seems to favour the first hypothesis.¹⁷ Yet the discovery of clay casting-forms and casting pits at Phanagoria, Panticapaeum¹⁸ and Vani¹⁹ gives weight to the hypothesis of itinerant sculptors who installed provisory workshops in the Pontic cities. Furthermore, the contribution of local artisans in the work of a male torso from Vani has been noted.²⁰ The necessary raw materials (metal, wood), which were available in the area, must have contributed significantly to the local enterprise as well.

The only certainly imported material was the statue support. From the general description of the bases given in publications a range of limestone and marbles can be distinguished, among which several examples of black marble.²¹ The contrasting effect given by a black support to a bronze statue suggests that probably the statue was gilded.²² Gilding of statues is attested epigraphically in the Black Sea area only for Roman times (by a fragmentary inscription from Olbia: *εἰκόνα ἐπίχρυσον* [*IOSPE* I² 63]). However its use during Classical times is sustained by the hypothesis

¹⁶ Calder 1971, 327; Vinogradov 1997, 256–57.

¹⁷ The model used for casting was the original sculpture. The process of casting the pieces, their assemblage, cold reworking, being rather the skills of a craftsman than of an artist, were most probably left to the sculptor's assistants, apprentices or to a collaborator-specialist in bronze casting. On bronze casting techniques, see Richter 1950, 136–37, 141–43; A. Stewart 1990, 33–42; Mattush 1996, 10–18; Treister 1996, 230. On collaboration in Greek sculpture, see Goodlett 1989, *passim*. For the controversial question of importation *vs.* manufacture on the spot of bronze statues in the Black Sea area, see Calder 1971, 328.

¹⁸ The remains of a 4th-century BC metal workshop were discovered at Panticapaeum on the first terrace of Mt Mithridates (Treister 1984; 1988, 154–55, figs. 7–9). About the burned clay mould for the casting of a life-size foot discovered in Phanagoria, see Treister 1988, 154, n. 17.

¹⁹ The remains of the 2nd–1st-century BC casting pit were discovered in Vani (Lordkipanidze 1990, 193). For another 3rd–2nd-century BC foundry near Vani (in Sakanchia) (Lordkipanidze 1994, 234, n. 21).

²⁰ In the rendering of the pubic hair (*cf.* Mattush 1996, 210, pl. 6.4; Ridgway 2002, 202, n. 39).

²¹ Among these, six bases are of black marble: two at Histria (*ISM* I 169, 172), one in Olbia (*IOSPE* I² 191), two in Panticapaeum (*CIRB* 10, 113) and one in Phanagoria (*CIRB* 974), all of the 4th–3rd centuries BC. Concerning origin, analysis of the Histrian base has established an area outside the Dobrudja (Alexandrescu Vianu 2000, 85, cat. 101, pl. 43a). The most plausible hypothesis could be Boeotia, a series of funerary stele made of black marble in the museum of Thebe sustaining this attribution. I thank to Richard Posamentir for this suggestion, made during a visit to Histria.

²² The colour contrast between the black background and the gilded statue was known and used in antiquity, the best example being the statue of Zeus in Olympia. Not only was the base of black Eleusinian stone, the pavement around it was also made of black stone in order to counterbalance the great dimensions of the statue. In addition, according to Pausanias (5. 11. 3), the base was decorated with embedded golden figures that were glittering on the darkened background (Shoe 1949, 349).

of Lippold²³ concerning the high price mentioned by Pliny for the statue of Apollo that Kalamis made for Apollonia Pontica (500 talents).

The use of a model for casting statues led to 'serial production': traces on two bases from Histria and Olbia for Apollo *Ietros* show similar postures and dimensions.²⁴ The statue bases from the western Pontic cities belong to the same typology identified by Treister for the North Pontic coast:²⁵ complete sockets for both feet, or a complete socket for a foot and one of varied shaped for the other foot, sometimes with the trace of an attribute, most of them probably belonging to standing male statues. Only in one case, a base from Leuce island, do the traces on the upper side indicate a possible equestrian statue.²⁶

Next to the bronze statues must have stood others made of marble, although the epigraphic evidence, as well as the traces left on the upper side of the bases, do not reveal much of their existence. Apart from these, another type of honorific image is the painted image (εἰκόνες γραπταί), which, judging by their occurrence in epigraphic documents,²⁷ seem to have been a practice of the late Hellenistic and Roman times.

The Commissioners

The dedicatory formula that makes known who, what and to whom the dedication is made, sometimes mentioning the occasion, the eponymous priest or the sculptor, may often omit one of these, but never the dedicant. This may be the whole community, a part of it (tribe, associations) or private persons. As they are addressed to the gods they may be considered votives, although some of them have a clear honorific character. By raising statues the city honoured those who distinguished

²³ Lippold 1919, 1534; Calder 1971, 328.

²⁴ Calder supposed that the statue from Histria was a copy after the Olbian one (Calder 1971, 329).

²⁵ Treister 2002, 163–67.

²⁶ According to Treister, 8% of the analysed statue bases of all periods are from equestrian statues (Treister 2002, 169). Epigraphically this type of representation is attested in a decree honouring Nikeratos, son of Papias, from the end of the 2nd/beginning of the 1st century BC (ἀνδριάς ἑφιππος: IOSPE I² 34).

²⁷ Decree for Aba, daughter of Hekataios from Histria, *ISM* I 57, 2nd century BC; probably also in the decree for Apollonios from Callatis, *ISM* III 31, middle of the 1st century AD: ἐτίμα||[σε] ν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀναστάσει εἰ|κόνω[ν] χαλκέων τε καὶ γραπτῶ[ν ἐν τῷ ἐπισαμῳ]||[τά]τω τόπω. A 1st-century AD painting from Panticapaeum shows a painter in his workshop surrounded by portraits, some of them rounded with the typical ornamentation of the Macedonian shield, since the name *eikon enoplos* (Sokolov 1974, 110). More on honorific painted images in Ma 2013, 255–56. An *eikon enoplos* is attested at Mesambria, in the honorific decree for the physician Glaukos, son of Athenaios, *IGB* I² 315, 1st century BC.

themselves in military, and diplomatic actions (for example Histria: Dioskourides son of Strouthion [*ISM* I 12]; Dionysios son of Strouthion [*ISM* I 19]), or who gave financial support to the community in times of crisis (Diogenes son of Diogenes, also from Histria [*ISM* I 1]). The glory gained in battle is remembered, for example, in an epigram on a statue base from Histria, erected in the 4th century BC by the city for Menecharmos, son of the Eusthenes (*ISM* I 171). Another Histrian was honoured two centuries later in Apollonia Pontica, with a bronze statue showing him in full arms, standing on a ship's prow: Hegesagoras son of Monimos, the *navarch* of the Histrian fleet, who came to support Apollonia in the war against Mesambria (*IOSPE* I² 388*bis* = *ISM* I 64). In the second quarter of the 4th century BC, the Olbians were honouring (with an equestrian statue in the sanctuary of Achilles on Leuce island) a person whose name has not been preserved, for the merit of 'liberating the island, and giving it back to the Greeks' (*IOSPE* I² 325); and towards the beginning of the same century they were raising a statue for Heuresibios, who 'gave liberty back to his city and people' without shedding blood.²⁸

Judging by the extant epigraphic evidence, during the 4th–3rd centuries BC, private dedications seem to be more frequent in the northern Pontic cities than on the west coast. An explanation could be the state of preservation: the epigraphic record of most of the West Pontic cities starts in the Hellenistic period (Tyras, Tomis, Callatis, Dionysopolis, Odessos). Hence at Histria the number of public dedications surpasses private ones (eight to five), at Olbia it is the reverse (three to seven), and in the Bosporean cities (Panticapaeum, Phanagoria and Hermonassa) all 21 statue dedications are made by private persons, usually family members.

The family relationship is expressed in the dedicatory formula through: 1) *υπερ* + the name of the honoured person in the genitive; 2) the name in the accusative; or 3) in the nominative placed at the beginning. In the last two cases the statues represent the honoured persons. The nominative, used commonly for statues of gods, heroes, athletes and famous personages in later periods, appears rarely in private dedications and only during the 4th and the 3rd centuries BC, probably as a consequence of the votive and funerary dedications habit.²⁹ The formula *υπερ* + the name of the honoured person in the genitive was also confined to

²⁸ Dubois 1996, cat. 10. The text of the inscription, fragmentarily preserved, is made of rhymes using terms reminiscent of the epigram on the Tyraktonoi statue base in Athens. The Olbian statue of Heuresibios was thus connected by Y.G. Vinogradov with the overthrow of the Scythian protectorate and of the Olbian party that governed the city with Scythian help (Vinogradov 1997, 221). At the same time the cult of Zeus Eleutherios was introduced in the city, members of the Heuresibios family being elected priests and making numerous dedications to this god (see Dubois 1996, cat. 7–9, 11).

²⁹ Ma 2013, 21–22, 167 with the literature.

Rhodes and its surroundings on the Asia Minor coast, and in the Black Sea area, which seems to indicate a possible Rhodian cultural influence.³⁰ Finally, the dedicatory formula using the accusative became the most common since the second half of the 4th century BC.

The range of private family dedications is wide: sons are dedicating for their father,³¹ fathers for a son,³² daughter³³ and wife,³⁴ a wife for her daughter,³⁵ a brother for his brother,³⁶ a nephew for his uncle.³⁷ A few cases lack mention of the degree of relationship.³⁸ Several dedications emphasise the line of succession, mentioning also the grandfather: Eunikos son of Eudoros, son of Protogenes from Olbia (*SEG* 42. 716); Antibion, son of Bion, son of Simias from Chersonesos (*IOSPE* I² 410). The deeds of a worthy grandfather had probably their own contribution to the image of the honoured citizen; being the descendant of a noble family was one of the merits often evoked by the honorific decrees. Mention of the line of succession on the statue base had a particular meaning, especially when the statue belonged to a priest and it was displayed in a sanctuary, the family's social identity and its relations to the cult being stressed in this manner. Both Eunikos and Antibion were priests, Eunikos of Apollo *Delphinios* at Olbia, and Antibion of Parthenos at Chersonesos. Besides, with few exceptions (Hermonassa: *CIRB* 1039), those honoured with such dedications were priests.³⁹ Erecting a statue at the end of the sacerdotal service had not only a votive purpose, but a commemorative one too. As already remarked,⁴⁰ these were functioning as marking points in the local history of the city, where the years were counted after the eponymous priests. They were also marking family history and its place in that of the city, in a context in which they were an expression of family pride, a statement of its own identity and legitimacy in the eyes of the community.⁴¹

³⁰ Ma 2013, 166.

³¹ Olbia: *IOSPE* I² 189; *SEG* 42. 714. Chersonesos: *IOSPE* I² 410; Panticapaeum: *CIRB* 6, 113; Hermonassa: *CIRB* 1039.

³² Histria: *ISM* I 110; Olbia: *SEG* 42. 715.

³³ Panticapaeum: *CIRB* 11.

³⁴ Olbia: *IOSPE* I² 190; Chersonesos: *IOSPE* I² 406; Hermonassa: *CIRB* 1037.

³⁵ Panticapaeum: *CIRB* 14.

³⁶ Panticapaeum: *CIRB* 9, 23.

³⁷ Olbia: *IOSPE* I² 191; Phanagoria: *CIRB* 1015.

³⁸ Olbia: *SEG* 42. 716; Panticapaeum: *CIRB* 8, 10, 21, 24, 25; Phanagoria: *CIRB* 974.

³⁹ Olbia: *IOSPE* I² 189–191; *SEG* 42. 716. Histria: *ISM* I 172; Chersonesos: *IOSPE* I² 410; Panticapaeum: *CIRB* 6, 8, 10, 21, 25; Phanagoria: *CIRB* 974; Hermonassa: *CIRB* 1040.

⁴⁰ Ma 2013, 174.

⁴¹ Löhr 2000, 217.

Another occasion for a statue dedication was a vow made to the deity (ευχή, ευξάμενος, -η).⁴² The expression betrays the overcoming of a difficult situation, when the help of the god has been requested, a crisis moment either concerning the health, or a successful undertaking such as a service, a journey or a battle. It is the case of the statue dedicated to Apollo from Labrys by Leukon, son of Satyros, after the victory against Oktamasades (*SEG* 43. 515).

The deities who received statue dedications during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC were the main civic deities, either old cults dating from the beginnings of the city (Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite, Demeter, *Meter Theon*, *Meter Phrygia* in the Milesian colonies, Athena and Parthenos in Megarian colonies), or newly established ones. Although most of the statues are dedicated to them, only a small number could be interpreted as representations of deities (nine). Sixteen are representations of humans, and 19 are undecided (among these, eight were made at the end of priestly service). The identification of a human is assured by terms like *eikon* or *andrias*, by the nominative, or the accusative of the name stating the quality of the honoured person (*ton euergheton*, *tom patera*, *ton hyion*, *ton theion*, *ton andrianta*, *ton eikona*), or by the context of the inscription (for example *ISM* I 171). The identification of the god's statue is explicit by the term *agalma* (*CIRB* 1040), *euhe* or *euxamenos*, the monumental dimensions of the statue (Chersonesos: *IOSPE* I² 406), or by the traces left on the upper side of the base, as in the case of a dedication for Apollo *Ietros* at Hermonassa, which, although made for the dedicant's wife, rather indicates a male statue (*CIRB* 1037).

The difficulty in interpreting the traces on the upper side of the statue base when the epigraphic information is incomplete is obvious in the case of two bases from Histria and Olbia. It has already been stated in the literature that the statues dedicated to Apollo *Ietros* were images of the god, a Hellenistic Apollonian coin type giving a general picture about the iconography of this particular god in the Milesian colonies on the western Pontic coast. Yet the trace of the attribute, figured as the laurel branch touching the ground, could also have been the attribute of a citizen, frequently rendered on Attic pottery⁴³ and in funerary and votive sculpture. A noteworthy analogy for the traces on the upper side of the Histrian and Olbian bases is given by a base from Olympia that carried a statue of the philosopher Gorgias.⁴⁴ Other examples are the statue of Diogenes⁴⁵ and the coin images of Bias from Priene and of Stesichorus from Himera.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, taking into

⁴² Histria: *ISM* I 109; Phanagoria: *CIRB* 1015; Hermonassa: *CIRB* 1043; Labrys: *SEG* 43. 515.

⁴³ Hollein 1988.

⁴⁴ Löhr 2000, cat. 96, 83–85.

⁴⁵ Zanker 1995a, 171, fig. 94.

⁴⁶ Zanker 1995a, 158, fig. 86.b, d.

account the fact that at Histria, besides the statue dedicated to Apollo *Ietros* by Theoxenos, the son of Hippolochos, another statue base mentions a dedication of another son of Hippolochos for Leto (*ISM* I 170), the circular deepening on the upper side indicating rather a female statue, one might consider that the two were part of a statuary group of Apollo's family, and therefore that the hollow corresponding to the attribute on the base of Theoxenos was, in fact, the laurel branch of Apollo.

Excepting the coin issues from Apollonia, there are no reflections of the iconography of Apollo *Ietros* on coins or terracottas. As for statues representing the individuals, one may only suppose generic representations of the citizen: the aged man in a *himation*, the *ephebe*, the woman whose draping indicated difference in age and marital status. The diversity of circumstances was reflected in the diversity of representations: the admiral on the ship's prow, the mounted Olbian commander, the priest.

Nine among the 45 statue dedications were made by women (*ISM* I 172; *CIRB* 8, 21, 1040, 1043). To these may be added the dedications made by family members in their name. Dedicating a statue at the end of the priesthood marked an important stage in their life, especially when the priesthood required a certain marital status, distinguishable in the reference or in the omission of the filiations (*thygater*, *gyne*: *ISM* I 109). Exceptions like the case of Aristonike from Panticapaeum (*CIRB* 14), daughter of Xenokrites and mother of Demetria, might be due to a family hierarchy that emphasised the line of succession. This may be the reason why there are no dedications made for mothers, although unequal preservation of the epigraphic evidence cannot be ruled out either.

The practice of monumental sculptural dedications manifested itself frequently within small groups, usually families, during several generations, such as the case of the sacerdotal family of Hippolochos from Histria,⁴⁷ of Heuresibios from Olbia,⁴⁸ of Phaidimos from Hermonassa (*CIRB* 1038, 1043), or of the Bosporan royal family.⁴⁹ This was not a peculiarity of the Black Sea cities but a 4th-century BC development in the whole Greek world. Given that such monuments were not within everyone's means, the statuary groups erected during the 4th century BC have been seen as an expression of individualist tendencies opposed to the community, which marked the beginning of the decline of the *polis*.⁵⁰ Although scholars disagree about whether the relationship between the elites and the civic community

⁴⁷ Alexandrescu Vianu 1988; 1989.

⁴⁸ Vinogradov 1997, 212.

⁴⁹ Two dedications of Leucon I, as former priest (*CIRB* 25), and commemorating the victory from Labrys (*SEG* 43. 515); another dedication of Komosarye (*CIRB* 1015).

⁵⁰ Borbein 1988, 85–90; A. Stewart 1990, 22; Löhr 2000, 221–26.

was antagonist or complementary,⁵¹ it is commonly accepted that these private monuments were a display in the public space of the wealth and social status of small, elite groups.

Such a costly undertaking led, in the case of public dedications, to significant delays between the decision to raise a statue and its actual erection. In a 3rd-century BC decree from Histria, honouring Dionysios, son of Strouthion, it is stressed that the decree shall be carved 'for now' on a stele, and later on, 'once the statue is set up', on its base (*ISM I 19*). The same expression occurs in another decree from Histria, issued by an association of youths in the honour of their gymnasiarch, son of Theognetos (*ISM I 59*). Consequently, towards the end of the Hellenistic period the honoured citizens took on the raising of statues at their own expense. Suffice to remember here the honorific decree for Apollonios from Callatis: 'the Demos ... honoured him through bronze statues and inscriptions ..., which he took on his own expenses, unwilling to bring any harm to the public finances' (*ISM III 31*).

The Display Context

The final actors in the process of statue dedications, the receivers, the public to whom these images were being addressed, are revealed by the display context. Unfortunately, with the sole exception of the monumental statue base for Athena at Chersonesos,⁵² statue bases have not been discovered *in situ*. They have been reused since ancient times, either as supports for other stelai and statues, or as building material. The statue base for Apollo *Ietros*, dedicated by Leochares at Olbia in the second half of the 4th century BC, was reused a century later for another statue representing Demos.⁵³ Traces of reuse are to be seen on a base from Chersonesos, which seems to have undergone the process thrice:⁵⁴ first for three stelai, then the block was cut for a bronze statue base, and finally the upper surface was reworked in order to set up a larger statue.

The display context is pointed out by the name of the god in the dative from the statue base, or by the final dispositions from the honorific decrees. All inscriptions on statue bases mention the name of the god to whom they were dedicated. Consequently, they were set up either in sanctuaries or in public places related to cults, such as the *agora*, the gymnasium or the theatre. Most of the honorific decrees specified the erection of the statues in the *agora* or in the main sanctuaries of the

⁵¹ Ma 2013, 213–33.

⁵² Zolotarev and Bujskikh 1995, 155, fig. 2.

⁵³ *IOlb* 65A, 65B, Levi 1965, 86–95, figs. 6–7.

⁵⁴ *IOSPE I²* 410; Treister 2002, 169.

city, for which space was increased in the 4th century BC by the introduction of new cults (such as the Great Gods of Samothrace).

The decrees specified that the statues should be set up in the most prominent locations (*epiphanestatos topos*). What we might understand by this expression in relation to the topography of the public places is hampered by the lack of archaeological contexts that could allow considerations about the relation between the statue and other dedications, and about its place within the monumental space. For the most visible location, the busiest place is not always the most receptive.⁵⁵ In order to be seen the statue needed its own space, the perception depending to a large extent on its setting. An innovation of 4th-century sculpture was, according to Adolf Borbein,⁵⁶ the concern for the display of the image by handling the monumental space. Thus, not only did the sculptor adapt his technique to exhibit the statue from multiple viewpoints (*Mehransichtigkeitkeit*), but also the architect brought his contribution to create a proper placement. First, the distance between statue and viewer was enlarged by setting the statue on a podium. The statue bases from the Pontic cities varies between 26 and 50 cm in height. This must have been doubled by the height of the podium, which, starting with the 4th century BC, was rectangular or circular. Their presence in the archaeological evidence can hardly be guessed. Nevertheless, it is suggested by two bases that attest the existence of statuary groups. One of them preserves the dedication of Epikrates, son of Nikeratos from Olbia (*IOSPE* I² 190), who raised two statues for his wife and daughter, the position of the inscriptions on the support confirming that we are dealing with a statuary group. Probably to the same group belonged another statue, dedicated by the same Epikrates, son of Nikeratos, that represented his uncle, a former priest (*IOSPE* I² 191). The second base sustained the statues of two gods dedicated by Komosarye at Phanagoria (*CIRB* 1015). To these another statuary group that might be added is that of the Apollo and Leto statues from Histria, which, despite their separate setting on two different bases, were probably part of a monument erected by members of the same family.

As to monumentality, most statues were of human size or slightly under, and only a few colossal. For instance, the right foot on the statue base from Chersonesos dedicated to Athena measures 49 cm, hence a statue 3 m high has been supposed. A bit smaller, but anyway of human stature, was the statue dedicated to Achilles on Leuce island. Similar were also the statues of Antistassis from Panticapaeum and of Bion from Chersonesos.

⁵⁵ Ma 2013, 67–69.

⁵⁶ Borbein 1973.

The inscription on the base is generally very brief, seldom versified, or is a shortened form of the honorific decree. Its placement on the base in relation to the statue is usually frontal, but not always. On the base for the statue of Athena from Chersonesos it was carved on the back of the statue, probably because the statue was meant to be seen from another viewpoint, from afar, while the inscription was intended for a closer view.⁵⁷

A few archaeological contexts from the Black Sea area give us an idea about the setting of statues in public space, especially in sanctuaries. Most relevant is the case of the recently discovered temple of *Meter Theon Pontike* from Dionysopolis that functioned between the 4th century BC and the 4th century AD. The statue and stele bases are concentrated in the *pronaos*, and only exceptionally in the *naos*.⁵⁸ Such a display was aiming to shelter the statues from bad weather⁵⁹ and did not offer great prominence. Moreover, the setting in the sanctuary, where access was restricted to a small group of worshippers, was limiting considerably the visibility of the monument, therefore the term of *epiphanestatos topos* in the context of a building has another perception in comparison with a setting in the open space. Having a close connection with a certain god, the dedications were relevant for a certain group of worshippers, but when these were the main civic deities they concerned the whole city. The close relation between a dedication and its display context is revealed by the statue honouring the Histrian admiral Hegesagoras, son of Monimos, which was set up in the sanctuary of Apollo *Ietros* at Apollonia, glorifying the saviour of the sanctuary in the battle against neighbouring Mesambria.

According to the best preserved archaeological contexts from other Greek sites the statues were being set up inside but also outside temples, near altars, grouped, or in a row along a sacred way. Such was the case in the Histrian sanctuary during Hellenistic times.⁶⁰ Yet the preserved bases were supporting stelai (some of them honorific decrees); the only statue base discovered *in situ* in the sacred area belonged to a statue of the cult of Aphrodite, set up deep inside the temple's *naos*.⁶¹ Most of

⁵⁷ The statue was discovered *in situ* on a terrace facing the sea, from the sanctuary situated in the north-eastern corner of the city (see Treister 2002, 169). See also Zolotarev and Bujskikh 1995, 155, fig. 2. Another later case is the base for Mithridates Eupator statue from Nymphaeum, where the inscription was carved on the lateral side (*SEG* 37. 668).

⁵⁸ Lazarenko *et al.* 2013, 42, figs. 36–37. Here, next to the goddess's cult statue three other statues were images of priestesses rather than of Demeter or Aphrodite, as has been supposed.

⁵⁹ Another reason for sheltering the statues in enclosed spaces was their values, some of them were gilded or made entirely of precious metals, such is the case of a silver statue of *Meter Theon* from Dionysopolis, restored during Roman times (see Lazarenko *et al.* 2013, 36, 53).

⁶⁰ Alexandrescu 2005, fig. 2.2, 3.1.

⁶¹ Alexandrescu 2005, 114, 173.

the honorific statues were on the other side displayed in the *agora*. The decree for Dionysios, son of Strouthion, makes a supplementary mention: 'a bronze statue of him shall be set up in the *agora*, next to the statue of Demos and to the other statues around it' (*ISM* I 19). One can envisage here a sort of a gallery of illustrious personalities of the city, organised around the figure of the personification of the Histrian civic community. As John Ma⁶² has recently pointed out, the integration of the individual monument in a row of other similar monuments corresponds to a certain political conception, and furthermore to a building programme for the monumental space, in which the individual does not differentiate himself but is part of the community. The role of the community in deciding the place of the individual within the public space seems obvious in this case. The statues were most probably arranged according to the relationship between them. For instance, the statues of the sons of Apollonios from Chersonesos were set up in the sanctuary of Apollo from Olbia, next to the statue of their father.⁶³ But how much these later interventions affected the coherence of the initial building programme is hard to guess. Certainly, by the 2nd century BC the paradigm of the display of honorific statues changed drastically at Histria. In public decrees occur phrases that the honorific monument should be set up 'in the place chosen by him' or 'where he will find suitable' (*ISM* I 59). By this time the expense of the honorific statues was left to the beneficiaries, and also the right to choose the dimensions or the way (iconographical type) in which they had to be rendered. The civic community, once involved in the process of managing monumental space, withdrew itself, the setting of the statues being no more a matter for judicious allocation.

A few literary references, the sculptors' signatures and the study of the statue bases show that, during the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods, although they were at the borders of the Greek world, the cities from the Black Sea area came under the influence of the leading artistic centre of the time, Athens. The habit of dedicating statues in the Pontic colonies has, no doubt, its origins in the Archaic Ionian world, but it was only during the 4th century BC that it became noteworthy, as a result of the widening spread of the practice of honorific statue dedication, and of technical innovations in bronze casting. The relatively great number of statue bases for this time points to impressive activity by itinerant sculptors activate in provisory workshops all around the Black Sea. Most of them were supporting bronze statues, representing individuals in a larger proportion than deities, one of the occasions most commonly mentioned being the end of priestly service. Thus, the practice of monumental sculptural dedications manifested itself frequently

⁶² Ma 2013, 121–29.

⁶³ Probably of Apollo *Delphinios*, situated north of the *agora*.

within small groups, usually families, during several generations, but an increasing role began to be played during the 4th century BC by the community (*demos*), especially in the cities of the western and north-western coast of the Black Sea.

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Abbreviations

- IGB I² G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Sofia 1970).
 IOlb T.N. Knipovich and E.I. Levi, *Inscriptiones Olbiae (1917–1965)* (St Petersburg 1968).
 ISM *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae*.
 I D.M. Pippidi, *Histria și împrejurimile* (Bucharest 1983).
 III A. Avram, *Callatis et son territoire* (Bucharest/Paris 1999).
 LGPN IV P.M. Fraser, E. Matthews and R.W.V. Catling, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, IV: Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea* (Oxford 2005).

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LES PATRONYMES DE FABRICANTS DANS LE TIMBRAGE AMPHORIQUE HÉRACLÉOTE

YVON GARLAN

Abstract

In the study of Greek amphora stamps, the contributions of ‘external’ criteria (stratigraphical, etc., etc.) must prevent us from forgetting those of ‘internal’ criteria depending of the various systems of stamping: first of all patronyms – despite their scarcity within the Heracleian material. The present paper will be focused on the filiation of the Eukleïôn and Theumenes lineages.

C’est en 1979 qu’enhardi par ma découverte et ma fouille récentes du dépotoir de l’atelier amphorique de Koukos dans l’île de Thasos (et brisant avec certaines ‘censures’ occidentales...) je demandai et obtins une courte mission d’étude des timbres amphoriques grecs trouvés en Bulgarie et en Roumanie – ‘petits’ pays qui, tout comme l’Union Soviétique, s’illustraient à ce sujet. Excellamment accueilli et guidé dans l’un et l’autre par Mihaïl Lazarov et Gheorghe Poenaru Bordea (tous deux aujourd’hui décédés), je fis ainsi la connaissance de deux jeunes chercheurs roumains, d’Alexandru Avram et du regretté Niculae Conovici, trop tôt disparu, aussi déterminés qu’intimidés: nous parlâmes sans doute beaucoup de Koukos et posâmes dès lors les bases durables d’une certaine connivence dans nos travaux respectifs en même temps que contractâmes de solides liens d’amitié.

Par la suite, j’ai assez rapidement abandonné mes premiers centres d’intérêt (la guerre et l’esclavage en Grèce ancienne) en faveur des timbres amphoriques grecs – d’abord par passion pour un nouveau sujet qui me semblait avoir été souvent mal traité et aussi par nécessité de choisir un thème géographiquement compatible avec mon éloignement des grandes bibliothèques—alors qu’Alexandru Avram étendait parallèlement ses recherches à divers aspects de l’épigraphie, de l’archéologie et de l’histoire pontiques.

Le hasard fit alors que l’amphorologue bulgare Petar Balabanov me proposa en 2007 de m’associer à Alexandre Avram et à lui-même pour la publication d’une belle découverte faite par les archéologues bulgares à la fin du XXe s. à Kostadin Tchechma près de Debel: il s’agissait de plus d’un millier de timbres présumés d’origine héracléote¹ et communément dits ‘englyphiques’ (parce qu’ils présentent

¹ Principalement étudiés par les chercheurs soviétiques et, plus largement, pontiques: Grakov 1926; Brashinskii 1965; 1984; Vasilenko 1970; 1974; Pavlichenko 1999; Kac 2007, 232–49, 429–33; 2013; à paraître; Corsten 2010; Gavrilo 2011; Avram 2013.

l'originalité de se présenter en creux, et non en relief comme la quasi totalité des timbres amphoriques grecs). On ne s'étonnera donc pas ici des sites de découverte et de production amphoriques auxquels je me consacre essentiellement depuis près de dix ans.

Héraclée Pontique (la moderne Eregli, sur la côte septentrionale de la Turquie) constituait en effet, au IV^e s. av. J.-C., un des grands centres de production d'amphores timbrées dans le monde grec (après Rhodes, Cnide, Thasos ou Sinope). Mais leur étude avait été jusqu'alors relativement délaissée par les amphorologues modernes et portait davantage sur leurs contextes externes que sur les données fournies par les timbres eux-mêmes.

Il est vrai que celles-ci sont bien moins nombreuses et variées que dans d'autres grandes cités émettrices: les emblèmes y sont assez rares et d'usage apparemment capricieux;² les fabricants homonymes viennent à peine d'y être reconnus au changement de leurs cadres (au lieu d'être rectangulaires ils sont 'figurés', c'est-à-dire en formes de cercles, de croix, de feuilles cordées, de losanges ou de triangles);³ les indications patronymiques se comptent également sur les doigts d'une seule main (alors que celles de Sinope se comptent par dizaines sinon par centaines!).

Les fabricants à patronymes dans le timbrage héracléote

Dans la documentation dont je dispose actuellement, n'existent en effet que quatre noms de fabricants à patronymes, dont la plupart ne me paraissent pas exploitables:

- a) Le fabricant Hèr(akl)édas, dont le nom est fréquent tout au long de la production englyphique, semble bien être dit fils de Phi(-) au temps d'un magistrat portant aussi le nom d'Hèr(akleidas I?)⁴ (Fig. 1).

Ἡρ(ακλ)-
 ἐδᾶ Φι(- -).
 Ηρ(- - -)

Il est en effet impossible de compléter le nom du patronyme parmi les fabricants, plus ou moins fréquents, dont le nom commence de cette façon—Phi(inos), Phi(liskos), Phi(lôn), Phi(lokratès), Phi(lopoimèn)—ainsi que de compléter et d'identifier le nom du magistrat (très probablement Hèr(akleidas I).

² Garlan 2007.

³ Garlan 2012–13. Mais il va de soi que chacun des fabricants homonymes, l'un figurant sur un timbre rectangulaire et l'autre sur un timbre figuré, pouvait librement produire des 'variantes' de son propre type.

⁴ a) Kostadin Tchchema, MS Inv. n° 1140; b) Gavrilov 2011, 6, 64, n° 92.

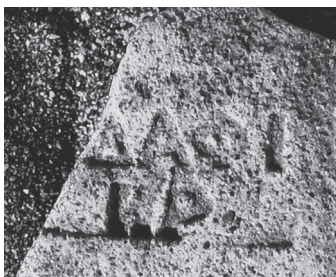


Fig. 1: Les deux lignes inférieures d'un timbre associant le fabricant *Hērakléda Phila(-)* au magistrat *Hēr(akleida) I.*



Fig. 2: Fragment d'un timbre du fabricant *Thuos H[- - -]* et du magistrat *Ἐπί Σιλῆνο.*

b) Le fabricant Saturos, dont le nom est également assez courant dans l'épigraphie héracléote, est suivi du patronyme *Phila(-)*, inconnu par ailleurs dans mon catalogue des timbres héracléotes—au temps d'un magistrat portant encore le nom d'Hèraklé[ida] (II?):⁵

Ἡρ(ακλ - -).
Vase↓
Σατύ(ρο) Φιλ(α - - -)

c) Le fabricant Thus (au génitif *Thuos*) est suivi sur la première ligne d'un *êta* dont le nom me semble impossible à compléter⁶ (Fig. 2): en Hèrakleitos, Hèraklêôn, Hèris, Hèrodôros, Hèrondas, Hèphaïstîôn ou, surtout, en un des nombreux fabricants s'appelant Hèrakleidas ou Hèraklêdas?

Θύος. Η[- - -].
Ἐπὶ Σιλῆ[νο]

⁵ Elizavetovskoe 1977, K. 71, T. 3: AKM (Brashinskii 1980, 118, n° 100).

⁶ Kac 2013, n° 800.

d) Des associations héracléotes contenant un fabricant à patronyme, j’ai donc choisi d’étudier ici celle dont l’interprétation me semble la plus assurée et la plus instructive: c’est-à-dire celle qui, dans un cadre rectangulaire, relie Θευμένης (I) (écrit également Θεμένης ou Θεομένης) à son fils (et à son petit-fils?) Εὐκλείων (ou Εὐκλέων) et à son petit-fils (ou arrière petit-fils?) Theuménès II.

Afin de permettre aux lecteurs de suivre plus aisément ma démonstration, je vais d’abord la leur présenter sous forme d’un tableau que je commenterai dans la suite de mon article.

Fabricants héracléotes portant les noms d’Eukléïôn ou de Theuménès
(Magistrats généralement classés dans l’ordre alphabétique à l’intérieur des groupes).

Groupes	Magistrats	Fabricants	Précisions et <i>fabr. homonymes</i>
A	Aristoklès	Eukléïôn Theum(-)	Vasilenko 1970, 218.
	Aristoklès	Eukléïôn	
	Sôsis	Eukléïôn	
B	The(-)	Euklei(ôn).	
	Mol(ossos)	Eukléïôn	
	Stu(phôn)	Eukléïôn	
C	Sans	Eukléïôn	
	Sans	Eukléïôn	
	Sans	Eukléïôn	
D	Alkéτας	Eukleiôn	
	Kallias	Eukléïôn	
	Skuthas I	Eukléïôn	
E	Kuros	Eukléïôn	
	Lukôn II	Eukléïôn	
F	Andronikos	Eukléïôn	
	Andronikos	Eukléïôn	
	Ekhémos	Eukléïôn	
	Théodôros	Eukléïôn	
	Karakudès	Eukléïôn	
	Silanos	Eukléïôn	
	Ménoitios	Eukléïôn	Brashinskii 1984, 3. IOSPE 960.
G	Ménoitios	Théoménès II	CERCLE: Theuménès III
	Euruphôn	Théoménès II	CERCLE: Theuménès III
	Euphronios?	Théoménès II?	CERCLE: Theuménès III?
	Hèracleidas II	[Théoménès II]	CERCLE: Theuménès III
	Philoxénos	Theuménès II	CERCLE: Theuménès III
	Arkhippos	Théoménès II	
	Damatrios II	Théoménès II	
	Euphronios	Théoménès II	
	Matris	Théom[énès] II	
	Strou(-)	Theumé(nès) II	
	Spintharos	Theuménès II	

Commentaire du tableau précédent

Sur les timbres du magistrat Aristoklès⁷ (gr. A) on trouve d'abord deux timbres relatifs au fabricant Εὐκλείων (ou Εὐκλέων):

- l'un mentionnant (en abrégé) son patronyme Θεομένès (I),

Εὐκλείων
Θεομ(ένεος). Ἀρισ[τ]-
οκλέος

- et l'autre en étant privé:

[Α]ριστοκλή-
[ς]. Εὐκ[λεί]ων

Ces deux timbres semblent indiquer qu'Eukléion a succédé à son père Theum(é-
nès) I durant l'année de fonction du magistrat Aristoklès, c'est-à-dire au tout début
du timbrage héracléote à magistrats.

Les timbres de la Fig. 3 se lisent de la façon suivante:

- | | | |
|--------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| a) [Ε]ὐκλέων | b) Ἀματρι[ο]. | c) Ηρακλεί(δας) Θεομένης |
| Massue | Massue? | Cratère |
| [Σ]τύφων | Θεομένης | |

On comprend ainsi que le nom de Theuménès I ne soit pas davantage men-
tionné sur les timbres amphoriques héracléotes — à la différence de celui d'Eukléion
que j'ai retrouvé sur 22 types de timbres de forme rectangulaire (forme 'normale'
du timbrage héracléote), très probablement imprimés à l'aide d'une seule matrice.
Compte tenu des lacunes existant nécessairement dans nos collectes documentaires,
on peut penser que la carrière d'Eukléion s'est prolongée une trentaine d'années
(ou serait même, comme le pensent certains, à partager entre le fils et le petit-fils,
homonymes, de Theuménès I?).

Ce nom de fabricant héracléote disparaît en tout cas sous le magistrat Μενοίτιος,
que l'on connaît associé d'abord à Eukléion, puis à Theuménès II (petit-fils ou
arrière petit-fils de Theuménès I).

⁷ Cf. Nikonion 1961 (Musée archéologique d'Odessa 74897); Chersonèse 1947/98; Ermitage (IOSPE 859). Vasilenko 1970, 218 et 222, fut le premier à identifier ce patronyme.

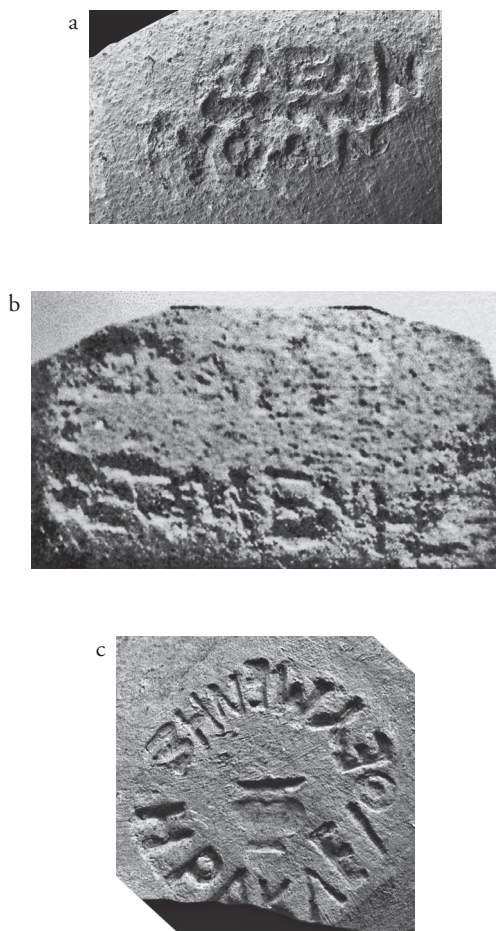


Fig. 3: Associations des fabr. *Eukléôn*, *Théoménès* (II) et *Theuménès* (III) aux mag. *Stuphôn*, *Damatrios* (II) et *Herakleidas* (II), sur des timbres amphoriques héracléotes.

Mais de ce Théoménès II il nous faut distinguer un Théoménès III qui, pendant au moins 4 ans ou 5 ans, sous les magistrats Ménoitios,⁸ Euruphôn,⁹ Euphronios,¹⁰ Hérakleidas¹¹ II (Fig. 3c) et Philoxénos – ou Xénos,¹² coexiste avec les mêmes magistrats que Théoménès II: mais, comme l'indiquent les cercles qui leur servent de cadres 'figurés', il s'agit là d'homonymes de Théoménès II qui nous garantissent que les magistrats concernés suivent de près (dans un ordre indéterminé) le magistrat Ménoitios qui inaugure notre groupe G.

Dans le cas présent, la prise en compte des indications patronymiques et des fabricants homonymes nous ont donc offert des moyens supplémentaires de classer judicieusement les timbres des fabricants Eukléïon (I et II?), Theuménès II et Theuménès III, qui se mélangent le plus souvent de façon fantaisiste chez nos prédécesseurs.

Conclusion

Dès la première moitié du XXe s., B. Grakov avait distingué sept moyens de classement chronologique des timbres amphoriques grecs, que ses successeurs ont volontiers pratiqués pour aboutir à des résultats variés plus ou moins assurés: moyens fondés sur des preuves externes ('paléographiques', 'numismatiques', 'grammaticales', 'historiques', 'stratigraphiques' et 'morphologiques') plutôt qu'internes ('synchroniques', c'est-à-dire relatives à la seule association des noms propres sur les timbres plurinominaux).

Ce petit article que je sou mets en particulier à la sagacité d'Alexandre Avram a pour seule ambition de montrer que les moyens 'synchroniques', nécessitant une connaissance profonde des systèmes de timbrage amphorique grec, peut encore nous apporter des données essentielles sur la chronologie relative des timbres héracléotes.

⁸ Association qui m'a été signalée par une lettre de V.I. Kac en 2014 (Μενοίτιος - Canthare - Θεομμένης).

⁹ Elizavetovskoe, Musée régional des beaux-arts de Rostov 1981-XIV, 11.

¹⁰ Elizavetovskoe 1971/6–10, maison du marchand de vin: AKM (Brashinskii 1980, 170, n° 374, pl. XXVIII).

¹¹ Hermonassa 1969-241 (Musée Pouchkine EF 424).

¹² Je n'ai pas la documentation permettant de décider si *Xénos* et *Philoxénos* constituent deux fabricants distincts.

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THE SO-CALLED ‘PAINTER OF THE ANTHESTERIA’ REVISITED

PIERRE DUPONT

Abstract

A detail of the scene represented on a small-sized sherd of North Ionian black-figure from Panticapaeum helps us to reinterpret the one depicted on other fragments from Berezan by the same painter or circle and, indirectly, the iconographic programme of the famous ‘Karnak Vase’ previously published by John Boardman. It seems that we are faced with a simple grape-harvesting scene and not with an illustration of the second day of the Anthesteria. More or less related to the Northampton group, these scattered finds seem to be issued, if not from the hand of the same painter, at least from the same circle. The Clazomenian chemical pattern of the Panticapaeum sherd invalidates the former attributions of origin, *viz.* to a Greek workshop of the Nile Delta (Boardman) or alternatively to Etruria (Cook).

During one of my *komandirovki* to Russia in the last years of the former Soviet Union, thanks to the kindness of the curator Vladimir Tolstikov, I had the opportunity to sample some East Greek sherds in the collection of the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow. Among these pieces was a small fragment of a North Ionian black-figure closed vase, presumably issuing from an amphora and excavated in Panticapaeum¹ (Fig. 1).

Despite its small size, this scrap raises two types of problem: first, on the iconographic point of view; secondly, concerning its area of manufacture.

The figured scene depicted can obviously be interpreted as a grape harvest, first of all after the climbing vine overloaded with oversized bunches of grapes and more precisely after the basket grasped by what seems to be a grape-picker, only the red cap and the right hand of whom are preserved. This type of scene as well as its particular style, closely connected with the Northampton Group, both reminded me of some larger sherds from Berezan in the Odessa Archaeological Museum collection, formerly published by the late A.M. Taradash.²

¹ Pushkin Mus. inv. no. N.1165; field inv. M.47, B.IX/7. Dim. 3. 5 × 2. 1 cm. Finely levigated greyish creamy clay; outer surface lustrous light orange; dense shiny black glaze; incised details; purple adding for the cap of the grape-picker. Quite curiously, this fragment is missing both in the publication of the East Greek collection by Sidorova 2000 and in Tugusheva’s more recent contribution to CVA (Tugusheva and Tolstikov 2014).

² Taradash 1982.



Fig. 1: Fragment of North Ionian black-figure closed vase excavated in Panticapaeum.

At that time, Taradash quite rightly established a connection with the previously published 'Karnak Vase' by John Boardman, who, in his paper, developed a long commentary of the figured scenes,³ which associates on one side a representation of vine arbour scattered with oversized grapes and on the other the remains of a procession in honour of Dionysos carried on a boat borne by satyrs. The combination of these two themes led him to interpret them as stages of the same Greek festival, *viz.* the Anthesteria.

However, the basket carried by a grape-picker on our little sherd from Panticapaeum points to a simple scene of the grape harvest, similar to the one illustrated on a nice black-figure cup in the Cabinet des Médailles,⁴ and one can assume that this was also the case on the fragments from Berezan. As for the Karnak Vase, the same flood of oversized grapes seems to contradict an interpretation of the scene as an episode of a festival supposed to take place in February or thereabouts. As for the fragments depicting what has been quite rightly interpreted as a procession of Dionysos, the connection with the second day of the Anthesteria appears less from secure in any case.⁵

Furthermore, the connection rightly put forward between the Karnak Vase and the Northampton Group of Ionian black-figure applies to both Pontic finds from Berezan

³ Boardman 1958.

⁴ Sparkes 1976, fig. 13; De Ridder 1902, 212–16, no. 320, pl. IX.

⁵ Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 12–13. But most probably such a procession of Dionysos might well have accompanied the Oschophoria as well.

and Panticapaeum as well, thus suggesting a common attribution of origin. But, at the same time, Boardman's exotic hypothesis of a centre of manufacture located in the Nile Delta for the Karnak Vase becomes barely plausible. In the same manner, chemical analysis of our little sherd from Panticapaeum reveals that its pattern differs totally from the chemical pattern of the Nile Delta, which is quite characteristic. The same assessment applies to the second alternative attribution of origin to Etruria, as tentatively put forward by the late Robert Cook for the Northampton Group.⁶ Conversely, Cook shared neither Zahn's view 'that the Northampton Group represents a late, Atticising phase of the Clazomenian black-figure school' nor Langlotz and Kunze's one opting for Samos.⁷ The fabric is unusually good for Ionian black-figure but the style differs from the Ionian Little Masters. As for the chemical pattern of our Panticapaeum example, if indeed it does not fit with our reference for Samos, it reveals clear trends with one of our reference groups for Clazomenae, more precisely one with a high quicklime content, corresponding to the island settlement.

Thus, the new light thrown on North Ionian black-figure styles by our little sherd from Panticapaeum confirms the scruples of my Cambridge mentor himself, who several times told me how deeply he regretted having prematurely written his paper on Clazomenian pottery.

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⁶ Cook 1952, 149–50.

⁷ Cook 1952, 149–50.

THE ANCESTRAL APOLLO CULT IN ANCIENT THRACE: A RESULT OF INTERNAL COLONISATION?*

PETRA JANOUCHOVÁ

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to examine the status of the ancestral cult in ancient Thrace, the identity of its dedicants and the reasons for its existence in the Thracian interior. Special focus is on the so-called sanctuary of Apollo at Dodoparon, which, according to the epigraphical evidence, held a unique position in comparison with other similar sites in Thrace. Analysis of personal names, expressions of identity and geographical connections presents the cult of Apollo in the wider Dodoparon area as a product of internal colonisation of ancient Thrace from the northern Aegean.

The evidence of the ancestral cult in the Greek environment is often associated with the process of colonisation.¹ Religious tradition, such as the practice of inherited religious customs, provides a vehicle for the construction and maintenance of a sense of communal identity and awareness of one's own origin and kinship ties in a new environment. Cultic practice contributes to the preservation of family and small-scale community traditions, but also facilitates their alteration and recreation by the colonists. Thracian society has been perceived as open to the Hellenising ideas of the Greek colonies on the northern Aegean and Black Sea coasts. The existence of an ancestral cult in inland Thrace, however, documents that the process of colonisation continued also under the Roman empire and left evidence in the epigraphic record. This epigraphy-based study of the cult of Ancestral Apollo illustrates how the incoming ideas were disseminated, modified and adopted in inland Thrace. The presence of multiple cultic places dedicated to Ancestral Apollo in the interior

* This study was supported by the Charles University, Prague, project GA UK No 546813. A preliminary version of this text has been presented in 2012 at the 'Fifth International Symposium on Settlement Life in Ancient Thrace' in Yambol. I would like to thank Adela Sobotkova for her constant support and valuable consultations over many years. I am also immensely grateful to Shawn A. Ross, Barbora Weissova and Elaine Lin, who helped me during various stages of my research. I would like to thank also the journal's anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions. I am fully responsible for any shortcomings and remaining errors.

¹ Malkin 1987, 17–29; 2001, 8–9.

of Thrace points to continued exchange of ideas and migration of people between the northern Aegean, the Propontic region and Thrace throughout antiquity.²

The Ancestral Gods and the Formation of Local Identity

In the ancient Greek world, ancestral gods were often invoked and consulted during the colonisation of new lands, the settling into new territories, or when foreign environments were encountered.³ The ancestral cult helped to consolidate the identity of newcomers through religious practice and establish new social structures that they could rely on. This kind of self-identification was formed in a foreign environment as an *ad hoc* reaction to the encountered otherness. The new identity was fluid, and evolved and changed over time as the circumstances shifted.⁴ The ancestral cult existed in many forms, but the best attested is the cult of Apollo, represented by the epithets *Patroos* or *Archegetes*.

The epithet *Patroos* denotes Apollo as ‘coming’ or ‘inherited from fathers’, and implies a family-protecting cult with a central focus on traditional values, often being associated with gods Apollo or Zeus. Literary sources indicate that the earliest sanctuaries and shrines to Apollo *Patroos* had been built in the 8th century BC on Sicily and in the 6th century BC in Athens.⁵ Epigraphic evidence for Apollo *Patroos* can be found in Attica, Epidauros, Lydia, Cappadocia, Cilicia and Thrace. With the exceptions of Attica and Epidauros, the cult existed mainly in regions situated on the fringes of the Greek world, which connects the cult of Apollo *Patroos* with colonising processes.⁶

Similar associations can be made not only with the epithet *Patroos*, but also the related titles such as *Genetor*, *Archegetes*, *Archegos* and *Genikos*. All of these names are epigraphically connected with Apollo and Zeus, in a variety of contexts and in different geographic locations. Apollo *Genetor* was celebrated on Delos as ‘creator’,

² I use the term ‘internal colonisation’ to describe movements of population within Thrace itself, in other words the colonisation of nearby regions by local residents. The opposite of internal colonisation is ‘external colonisation’ by non-residents, often coming from distant areas, for example the colonisation of Thracian Chersonesos by Athenians (Herodotus 6. 34–37).

³ Malkin 1987; Aeschylus *Persai* 404–405 refers to the freeing of ‘the temples of fathers’ gods and the tombs of ancestors’ during the Persian invasion to Greece.

⁴ Herodotus 1. 172; Barth 1969, 10.

⁵ Pausanias 1. 3. 4; Hedrick 1988, 185–94; Lawall 2008, 396–401, Graf 2008, 88. Apollo *Patroos* was documented in the 4th century BC in Athens, where his temple was built on the Athenian Agora near the Stoa of Zeus.

⁶ *RE* 1949, s.v. *patroioi theoi*, coll. 2254–2262 (M. Haase). ‘Theoi patrioi’, in *Brill’s New Pauly* <http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/theoi-patrioi-e1209030> (consulted 31 October 2014).

and a 'giver of fruits' (*karpon doter*) and was often conflated with Apollo *Patroos* due to their similar role (Diogenes Laertius 8. 13).

The epithet *Archegetes* (or *Archagetas* in Doric dialect) was known as a 'leader', a 'founder', a 'patron' or a 'progenitor' of newly established communities during the Greek colonisation, being associated mostly with Apollo or Heracles. The Greek god Apollo was often invoked as the leader deity in both the mother city and the colony with a special emphasis on the continuity of cultic tradition in the colony.⁷ As the historical sources reveal, Apollo *Archegetes* was the main deity associated with the Naxian colonisation of Sicily (Thucydides 6. 3). Moreover, the cult spread as far as Sicily on one side of the Mediterranean, and to Pamphylia and Phrygia on the other side. The cultic sites were established in a wide range of Greek cities, such as in Megara, Halicarnassus, Erythrae, Cyzicus, Delos, Thera and Pontos.⁸ A confirmation of the status of the leading deity of colonisation is the fact that the majority of metropolises consulted Apollo's oracle in Delphi prior to the colonising process. Greek cities appealed to Apollo not only for consultation but also for divine protection and approval; the god lent the colonists religious authority and justified the colonising process.⁹

The epithet *Genikos* or its variant *Geniakos* is derived from the word *genos*, a 'family', or *genias*, a 'progeny'. The role of this deity was similar to *Archegetes* and *Patroos*, with special focus on family and community, as one of the inscriptions explicitly puts it (for example *IGB* III.2 1766). The two terms are attested only by epigraphical evidence from Thrace, as seen in Table 1. The same applies also in the case of the epithet *Progonikos*, which has also the meaning of 'ancestral' or 'derived from parentage'. This term occurs in a religious context only in Thrace and Asia Minor and is limited to deities such as Zeus, anonymous *heros*, Apollo and Artemis (*IMyl* 902.2).

All in all, the ancestral cult of Apollo was connected with the Greek colonisation of the Mediterranean. The cult helped its practitioners articulate the sense of continuity in a new environment and crystallise new forms of mixed identities.¹⁰ Settlers usually brought their religious belief to the new land and used it to distinguish their community from the local one(s). Their religious customs, however, changed over time under the pressure of contacts with the local culture and religion, as may be the case also in Thrace.¹¹

⁷ Malkin 1987, 24, 241–50.

⁸ For the area of Pontus, see Robert 1969, 1579–80 (*non vidi*).

⁹ Lucian *Astrology* 23; Malkin 1987, 92.

¹⁰ Sometimes referred to as hybrid. For further discussion and bibliography, see Malkin 2014, 289.

¹¹ Ilieva 2010, 145–48.

Local identity in Early Roman Thrace

Ancient Thrace was the object of colonising tendencies already during the Archaic period, and the process never fully ceased.¹² Via mutual contacts with the incoming settlers the local inhabitants encountered many new ideas, leading to reciprocal cultural exchange.¹³ One of the prominent new elements was the religious custom of the colonisers, which over time spread within the local communities as is documented by the following epigraphic evidence.

In Thrace proper, 22 inscriptions have been recovered mentioning the ancestral cult in any form; see Table 1 for a detailed record and Fig. 1 for their spatial distribution.¹⁴ The Greek god Apollo was mentioned six times (either as Apollo or as Phoebus), Zeus three times, Asclepius once, Artemis once, *heros Archagetas* nine times, and an unknown ancestral god twice. Prosopographical records point to mixed onomastic habits, as we encounter Greek and Thracian names used together with Roman names (traditionally perceived as 'Romanised' Thracians or Greeks).¹⁵

All inscribed monuments belong to the first three centuries AD and are connected with people who had either been relocated from their original community (soldiers in multiple cases, resettled individuals, etc.) or who were members of family clans maintaining a particular cult. People mentioned in the texts have usually been interpreted as the members of local Thracian communities who had, through long-term exposure adopted Greek and Roman prosopographic customs. Such customs include using names traditionally associated with the population of the

¹² Tiverios 2008. For a general overview, see Isaac 1986; Archibald 1997; Tsitskheladze 2006; and many more.

¹³ Ilieva 2007, 218–19; 2009, 116.

¹⁴ The descriptions of the geographical borders of Thrace are not consistent in ancient sources. Nevertheless, the main rivers such as the Struma or the Danube created well-defined boundaries for Thracian territory in antiquity and as such they are often used as unambiguous borderlines. The region of ancient Thrace is located in the territory of the modern-day states of Bulgaria, Turkey and Greece, respectively covering the area outlined by the Struma in the west (Thucydides 2. 97), the Aegean coast in the south, the Bosphorus in the south-east (Thucydides 2. 97), the Black Sea coast in the east (Thucydides 2. 96–97), and the Stara Planina mountain range/the Danube in the north (Istros, Herodotus 5. 10): Brixhe and Panayotou 1994, 180–83.

¹⁵ Inventories of personal names from the area of Thrace: *LGPN* IV; Detschew 1957; Beshevliev 1970; Dimitrov 2009; Parissaki 2007; and the recent corpus of Thracian personal names Dana 2014 (*non vidi*), which provides a critical re-evaluation of existing data but also new records from recent finds (see Dana 2011 for presentation of the corpus and methodology). About the adoption of Roman prosopographic habits, see Topalilov 2013, 186; Dana 2013, 239–45. The local population often adopted Roman onomastics when they became involved in the structures of Roman empire, such as the army. Many veterans have adopted the *nomen* of their respective emperor while maintaining their indigenous name. Then the newly adopted nomenclature was used by the veteran's family members in unchanged form, with a combination of indigenous onomastics. Consequently, a great number of Thracians with combined nomenclature are attested in the epigraphic evidence coming from Thrace, but also beyond Thrace.

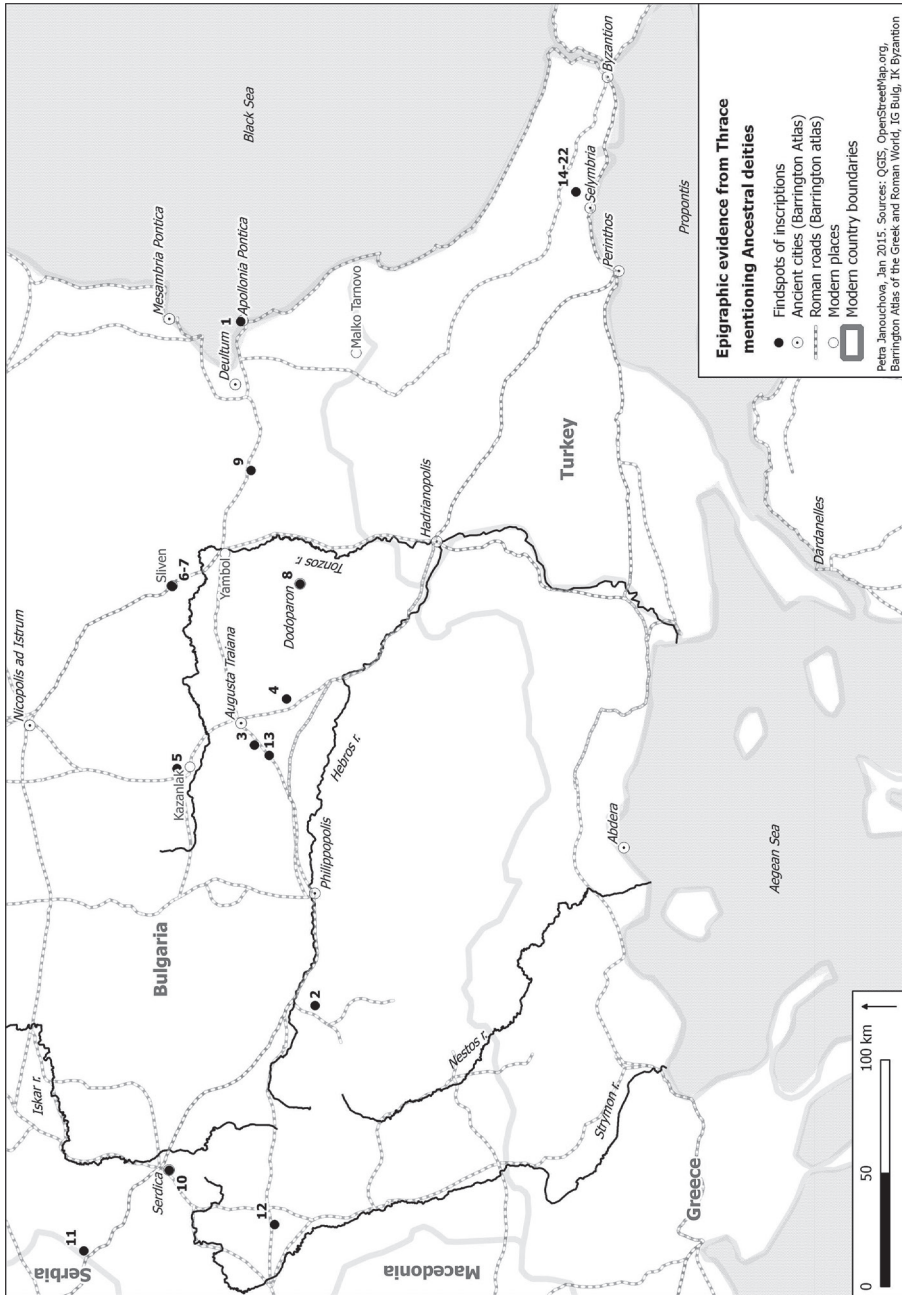


Fig. 1 : Find-spots of inscriptions from Thrace mentioning ancestral deities.

Table 1: List of inscriptions from Thrace mentioning ancestral deities.

ID Number	Full name of deity	Site	Archaeological context	Date	Description
IGB I ² 402	Zeus <i>Patroos</i>	Apollonia Pontica	unknown	1st c. AD	Leonto, daughter of Aulouzenis, wife of <i>strategos</i> Apollonios, son of Heptakeinthos, dedicated to Zeus <i>Patroos</i> . Thracian(?) female married to Greek soldier.
IGB III.1 1229	<i>Patroos theos</i> Asclepius <i>Zymydrenos</i>	Batkun	Asclepius sanctuary in the mountains	Roman	Dedication to the local version of Asclepius <i>Zymydrenos theos Patroos</i> .
IGB III.2 1649	<i>Patroos theos</i>	Kiril Metodievo	sanctuary of the Thracian rider and Apollo, Heracles and Dionysos, Zeus and Hera, prehistoric settlement mound	2nd/3rd c. AD	Rodode, daughter of Bithys, dedicated to <i>theos Patroos</i> . Thracian female, with possibly Bithynian (?) origin of the family.
IGB III.2 1683	Phoebus <i>genos archegos</i>	Pastren	in front of the mosque, secondary context	2nd/3rd c. AD	Greek brothers Apollodoros and Deinias, dedicated a statue to Phoebus, the leader of their clan.
IGB III.2 1756	Apollo <i>Patroos Dortazenos</i>	Kran	coming from the Thracian rider and Apollo sanctuary	3rd c. AD	Romanised Thracian soldier Markos Aurelios Beibianos and his brother Markos Aurelios Moukianos, sons of Roustinos, dedicated to the local version of Apollo <i>Patroos Dortazenos</i> .
IGB III.2 1766	Apollo <i>Geniakos Estrakenos</i>	Sliven	ruins called Hisarklaesi	2nd/3rd c. AD	Roman council member from Augusta Traiana, Attios Tertianos, and his wife, Regeine, with children dedicated to the local version of Apollo, <i>theos Geniakos Estrakenos</i> .
IGB III.2 1767	Apollo <i>Geniakos</i>	Sliven	unknown	2nd/3rd c. AD	Romanised Thracian Klaudianos, son of Dorzizenos, dedicated to Apollo <i>Geniakos</i> .
IGB III.2 1794	Phoebus <i>Patroos</i>	Dodoparon	found south of Golyam Manastir	2nd/3rd c. AD	Hellenised(?) Thracians Apolloni(o)s and his brothers, sons of Thracian Aulouzenis, dedicated to Phoebus, the ancestral deity of the clan.
IGB III.2 1845	Apollo <i>Genikos</i>	Zornitsa	unknown	2nd/3rd c. AD	Roman soldier Atilios Ouales, dedicated to Apollo <i>Genikos</i> .

ID Number	Full name of deity	Site	Archaeological context	Date	Description
<i>IGB IV</i> 1933	<i>Artemis Patroa</i>	Serdica	found reused in old church	2nd/3rd c. AD	Roman veteran Poplios [] Satorneios, dedicated to Artemis <i>Patroa</i> .
<i>IGB IV</i> 2042	<i>Zeus Patroos</i> and Hera	Cheparlintsi	<i>bomos</i> found in a modern church, secondary context	2nd/3rd c. AD	Romanised Greek <i>ephebos</i> Gaios, son of Asklepiades, dedicated to Zeus <i>Patroos</i> and Hera.
<i>IGB IV</i> 2217	<i>theos progenikos Zbelsourdos</i>	Golyamo Selo	sanctuary of Zeus Zbelsourdos	2nd/3rd c. AD	Romanised Thracian Flavios Amatokos and his son Flavios Amatokos, dedicated to the local version of Ancestral deity, <i>theos progenikos Zbelsourdos</i> .
<i>IGB V</i> 5592	<i>theos progenikos Zeus Sabazios</i>	Yavorovo	remains of the Thracian village	2nd c. AD	Romanised Thracian priest Titos Flavios Kyreina Dinis, son of Skelos, dedicated to Zeus <i>Sabazios progenikos</i> . The family has a tradition of holding the priest's office.
<i>IK Byzantion</i> S7	<i>heros Archagetas</i>	Selymbria	ancient sanctuary near Selymbria, in Kadiköy	Roman Imperial	Greek Di[], son of Dexikrates, dedicated to <i>heros Archagetas</i> .
<i>IK Byzantion</i> S8	<i>heros Archagetas</i>	Selymbria	ancient sanctuary near Selymbria, in Kadiköy	Roman Imperial	Greek Dionysi(o)s, son of Epikrates, dedicated to <i>heros Archagetas</i> .
<i>IK Byzantion</i> S9	<i>heros Archagetas</i>	Selymbria	ancient sanctuary near Selymbria, in Kadiköy	Roman Imperial	Greek Eufrosynos, dedicated to <i>heros Archagetas</i> .
<i>IK Byzantion</i> S10	<i>heros Archagetas</i>	Selymbria	ancient sanctuary near Selymbria, in Kadiköy	2nd c. AD	Greek Eutychis, dedicated to <i>heros Archagetas</i> .
<i>IK Byzantion</i> S11	<i>theos Archagetas</i>	Selymbria	ancient sanctuary near Selymbria, in Kadiköy	Roman Imperial	Roman Lollios Titos, dedicated to <i>theos Archagetas</i> .
<i>IK Byzantion</i> S12	<i>heros Archagetas</i>	Selymbria	ancient sanctuary near Selymbria, in Kadiköy	Roman Imperial	Greek of Dorian origin Matrodoros, son of Apollodoros, dedicated to <i>heros Archagetas</i> .
<i>IK Byzantion</i> S13	<i>heros Archagetas</i>	Selymbria	ancient sanctuary near Selymbria, in Kadiköy	Roman Imperial	Greek Filiskos, father of Filiskos, dedicated to <i>heros Archagetas</i> .
<i>IK Byzantion</i> S14	(<i>heros</i>) <i>Archegetes</i>	Selymbria	ancient sanctuary near Selymbria, in Kadiköy	Roman Imperial	Greek Zende, dedicated to (<i>heros</i>) <i>Archegetes</i> .
<i>IK Byzantion</i> S16	<i>heros Archagetas</i>	Selymbria	ancient sanctuary near Selymbria, in Kadiköy	Roman Imperial	Family dedication to <i>heros Archagetas</i> .

Greek cities, or an adoption of the Roman nomenclature for various reasons (for example, as a part of a self-identification process or engagement with the service in the Roman army). Investigation of the onomastics reveals that the names started appearing during the Hellenistic period in the northern Aegean, and that in the 2nd century AD they were already distributed all over Thrace. The explanation for this trend is as follows. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD Thracian society was increasingly multicultural due to active trading and to the operation of the Roman army in the Balkans. As a result, a sole personal name could no longer be used to determine ethnicity during this period, as it could for names of the Archaic and the Classical period where the naming habit was less influenced by external trends.¹⁶

To summarise, the epigraphic sources are of relatively late date and do not document the early stages of Greek colonisation in Thrace; instead, they illustrate the effects of Roman rule on Thracian society and on the migration of the local population. What these effects in terms of socio-economic circumstances might be will be discussed in detail in the following analysis of the ancestral sanctuary at Dodoparon.

Dodoparon Sanctuary and Traditional Values

There are six cult sites of the Ancestral Apollo in Thrace and they represent the most numerous group of all ancestry related inscriptions in Thrace (Tables 1–2 and Fig. 2). Their locations cluster in the following geographical pattern: the find-spots are centred on the Dodoparon area, all within a 50 km radius of the site Dodoparon (no. 8) or within the navigable range of the Tundzha river. Moreover, during the Roman period these find-spots were connected by a network of land routes, enabling relatively fast and easy contact amongst the sites. On the road connecting Nicopolis ad Istrum by way of Augusta Traiana to Hadrianopolis, one site is located in Kran (no. 5), and another in Pastren (no. 4). Another inscription was found in Zornitsa (no. 9) near the Augusta Traiana–(Yambol)–Deultum road, connecting inland with the Black Sea coast. On the Nicopolis ad Istrum–(Yambol)–Hadrianopolis road was located a site in Sliven (nos. 6 and 7) with two inscriptions. This road followed the Tundzha, though its exact location is not known yet. The site of Dodoparon (no. 8) lies approximately 25 km west of the present location of the Tundzha.

This site in the Yambol region of south-eastern Bulgaria has been identified as a sanctuary of Apollo on the basis of the three inscriptions (*IGB* III.2 1794–1796) found in a secondary context in the nearby village of Golyam Manastir. It is believed that an ancient temple or shrine dedicated to the Greek god Apollo was associated

¹⁶ Parissaki 2007, 278–81.

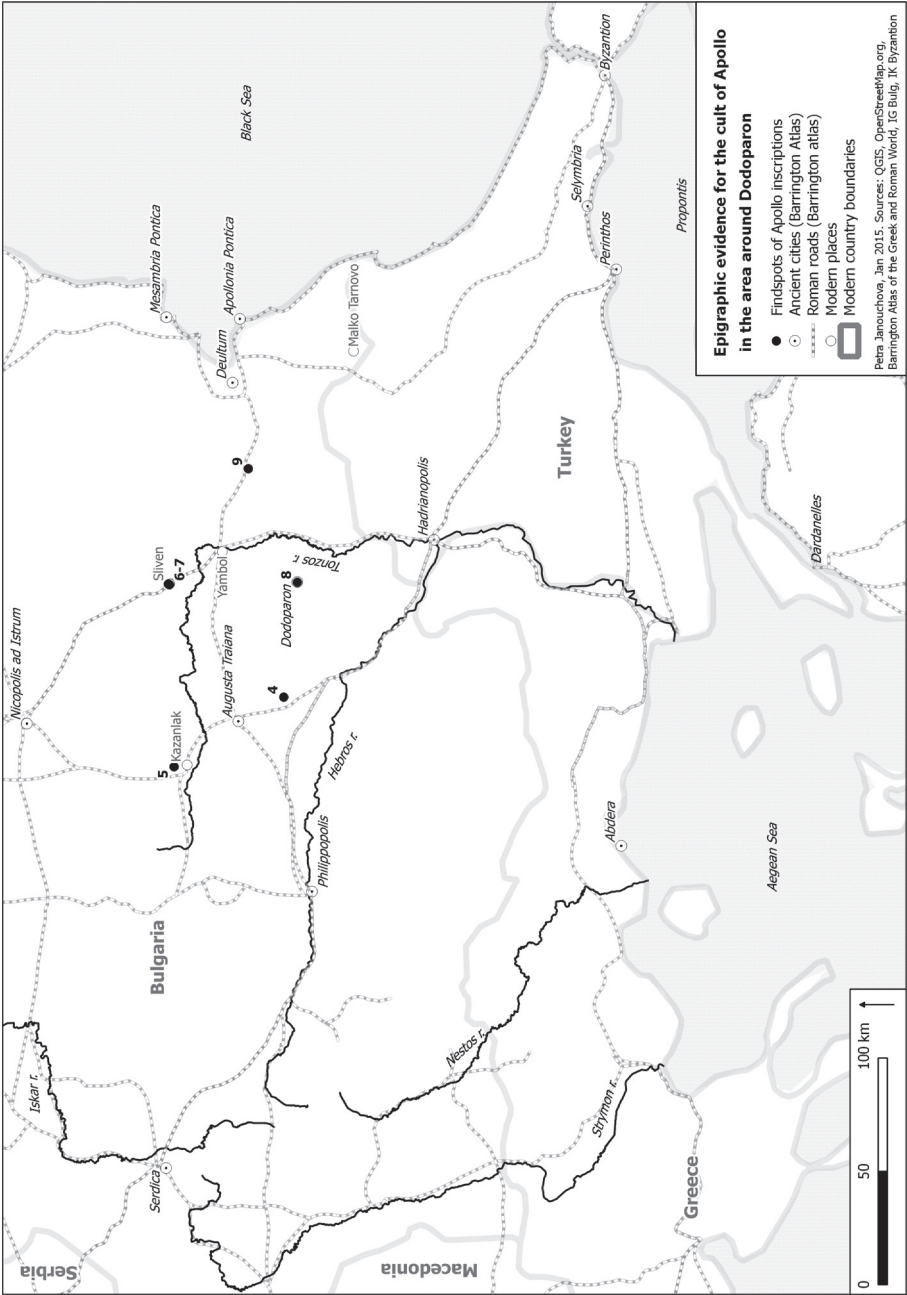


Fig. 2: Epigraphic evidence for the cult of Apollo in the area of Dodoparon.

with the ancient site of Dodoparon. The cult was probably worshipped as a rural sanctuary, which disappeared over time leaving no visible remains (*IGB* III.2 1794–1796).¹⁷

The adjoining settlement, known today as Dodoparon, has been located in the ruins called Gradishteto on top of Kaleto hill above the modern village of Golyam Manastir. Independent archaeological evidence from the excavations at the Gradishteto ruins, conducted by the Regional Historical Museum in Yambol in 2010, indicates that the site was a Roman period hilltop stronghold, which absorbed some population of nearby regions during the crisis of the 3rd century AD, and served as a major trading and metal production centre.¹⁸ The results from suburban surface survey conducted in 2010 by the Tundzha Regional Archaeological Project (TRAP)¹⁹ show several concentrations of debris and architectural remains in the vicinity of Dodoparon, confirming the proposition of local occupation during the 3rd century AD and later. Based on the study of personal names and the word forms of all three inscriptions (*IGB* III.2 1794–1796), this sanctuary's period of use is generally dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries AD, which corresponds to the material found during TRAP fieldwork.²⁰

The inscription *IGB* III.2 1794 was found in the ruins of Gradishteto on the foothill of Dodoparon, together with two other inscriptions: *IGB* III.2 1795 and 1796 (see Table 2 for translations). The monument represents a funerary dedication of Apolloni(o)s and his brothers on behalf of their father Aulouzenis, inscribed on a round altar. The altar was dedicated to the ancestral god Apollo (Phoebus). The cult of Apollo is explicitly mentioned in two of the three inscriptions (1794, 1795). The third (1796) bears a dedicatory text to an unnamed deity, which could presumably be Apollo, as the names of dedicants indicate. Moreover, *IGB* III.2 1795 is carved into the bust of a young man, possibly Apollo himself.²¹ *IGB* III.2 1795 mentions a dedication of a temple by Markos Oulpios [vacat], his partner Oulpia Pouta and their daughter Apollonia. The study of personal names Oulpios points to the earliest existence of a temple at Dodoparon in the early 2nd century or later.²² The composition of personal names is a combination of Greek and Thracian names influenced by Roman onomastic habits (known as Romanised names; Table 2).

¹⁷ Velkov 1991, 26; Sobotkova 2012, 91–92.

¹⁸ Bakardzhiev 2011.

¹⁹ TRAP (www.tundzha.org), conducted by Adela Sobotkova and Shawn A. Ross. For detailed information, see Sobotkova 2012.

²⁰ *LGN* IV 39 (Apollonis) and 60 (Aulouzenis).

²¹ *IGB* III.2 1795, and G. Mihailov there, p. 177 and table 146.

²² The *terminus post quem* of this inscription is the reign of emperor Marcus Ulpius Traianus (AD 98–117). It was quite common practice to accept the *gentilicium* (the Roman family name) of the contemporaneous emperor when someone was given Roman citizenship, for example a veteran or soldier who fought in the Roman army after a victorious campaign (see n. 15).

Table 2: Texts and translations of inscriptions from Dodoparon: *IGB* III.2 1794–1796.

Inscription ID	Original text (from Searchable Greek Inscriptions database)	Translation (by author)
<i>IGB</i> III.2 1794 (cf. <i>IGB</i> V 5642)	τόνδε ποτ' εἰδρύσαντο θεῶν περικαλλέϊ Φοίβῳ Ἀπολλώνις ἡδὲ κασίγνητοι παῖδες Αὐλουζενεω, 5 ἔσκε δὲ τῶν πατρῶος ἀνά Σαπαικῇ ἐρίβωλον, αὐτὰρ οἱ στήσαντο κατὰ χθόνα Δωδοπαροιο.	Apollonis and his brothers, sons of Aulouzenis, dedicated this [sculpture/ altar] to the charming god Phoebus, who had been their ancestral [god] at Sapaikē of fertile earth, thus they set [the altar] up for him in the land of Doroparon.
<i>IGB</i> III.2 1795	Ἀπόλλωνι ἐ[πηκόῳ] ὦ Ἀπ[ολλό]- δωρος Πρόχλ[ου] κατ' [δόνει]- [ρ]ου ἐπιτάγ[ῃ] τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀνέ[θηκεν].	To Apollo the Hearer (Epekoos) Apollodoros, son of Proklos, dedicated the sculpture, as was commanded by the dream.
<i>IGB</i> III.2 1796	[— — — — — — — — — —] ηνῶ · Μ(ἄρκος) · Οὐλπίου [— — εὐξάμενος καὶ ἐπιτυχὼν ὑπέρ τε [ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς συμβί]ου Οὐλπίας Πουτῆς [καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς Ἀπολ] λωνίας τὸν ναόν 5 [— — — — — (?) — — — — —] vacat	The prayers of Markos Oulpios were answered, therefore on behalf of himself, his companion Oulpia Poute and daughter Apollonia [dedicated] the temple ...

As is explicitly stated in the text of the Dodoparon inscription (*IGB* III.2 1794), the family came from Sapaikē, the region surrounding the Greek city of Abdera on the northern Aegean coast (Fig. 1). This information provided by the dedicants themselves shows an interesting association between the Dodoparon wider area (with the cluster of six inscriptions) and with the northern Aegean.

Spatial Patterns and Connections to the Northern Aegean

The cluster of ancestral inscriptions comes from the region between the Tundzha (ancient Tonzos) and Maritsa (ancient Hebros) rivers, the main communication routes connecting the Dodoparon region with the northern Aegean (Fig. 1). Moreover, the dedicants of the Dodoparon inscription (*IGB* III.2 1794) described themselves as coming from Sapaikē (Table 2), a region located in the lower course of the Mesta (ancient Nestos) river, situated on the Aegean coast north-west of Abdera (Strabo 12. 3. 20).

Sapaioi were once mentioned by Herodotus as one of the inland living Thracian tribes forced to help the Persian king Xerxes (Herodotus 7. 110). As a tribe in the northern Aegean, the Sapaioi and other Thracian tribes had close relations with Greeks from Abdera and Neapolis because of initial strife, and trade and mutual

intermarriages later on.²³ As such they had access to many aspects of Greek religion and could have brought them along while moving to inland Thrace as is suggested by the Dodoparon inscription. One of the patrons of Abdera was named Apollo *Derainos* or *Derenos*, an admixture of Greek Apollo and local cult bearing both characteristics.²⁴

Interestingly, very similar cultic names appear in the case of Apollo *Zerdenos*/*Dortazenos*, worshipped in Kran (no. 5), near Kazanlak, within the Tundzha basin.²⁵ Although the distance between Kran and Dodoparon is 90 km, all sites are located near the Tundzha, allowing an easy communication between them. As the study of Thracian language reveals, the prefix *der-* could be sometimes mistaken for prefix *zer-* and thus the name *Derenos* can be a variation of *Zerdenos*.²⁶ Additionally, in the proximity of Sliven have been found dedications to the similar sounding Apollo *Syidenos* (*SEG* 53, 646 from the 2nd century AD). The site is located near the Ancestral Apollo dedications find-spot (nos. 6 and 7) and also in the vicinity of the *emporion* Thoudai (*IGB* V 5634). The *emporion* reached its peak in the 2nd–3rd centuries AD, which is also the date of existence of the Dodoparon sanctuary. Correspondingly, Bujukliev sees a parallel in the name of Apollo *Tadenos* from Kabyle and Apollo *Derenos* from Abdera, which together with onomastic evidence from Kabyle suggests a greater network of the worshippers of the Ancestral Apollo, connecting the northern Aegean with Thracian interior.²⁷ It is possible also to include in this group the site of Apollo Teradenos, excavated in Kran, just 2.5 km south-west of the Zerdenos sanctuary.²⁸

The interconnectedness could be a mere coincidence, but the possibility of association of the ancestral cult of Apollo and similar local epithets, all from the same period and area, is too striking to be omitted without mention. While not necessarily the case,

²³ Tiverios 2008, 91–99; Strabo 7. 43; Pliny *NH* 4. 18. Mutual contacts between indigenous population and the Greek settlers on the North Aegean coast are archaeologically attested in the case of pottery distribution (Ilieva 2007; 2009; 2010).

²⁴ Tiverios 2008, 99, 128; Isaac 1986, 85; Gocheva 1976, 222.

²⁵ Pindar fr. 52b. 5; Hansen 2004, 892; Gocheva 1992, 164; Isaac 1986, 106–07; Tabakova 1959. The sanctuary of Thracian *heros* and Apollo *Zerdenos*/*Dortazenos* has been located in Kran, where 69 votive plaques were found together with 15 inscriptions (*IGB* III.2 1742–1756). The majority of inscriptions could be dated to the Roman period, namely the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Twelve of these depict a Thracian rider, who is often associated with Apollo. Strikingly, there are more examples of similarly sounding cults from the vicinity of these sites.

²⁶ Isaac 1986, 107; Danov 1976, 162, no. 21.

²⁷ Bujukliev 1997, 219; Velkov 1991, 26, no. 24, *SEG* 42, 651. Bujukliev points out an interesting connection between individual members of one family clan living in Kabyle and in Dodoparon, both serving as priest of Apollo and sharing similar onomastic pattern. The suggestion of mutual relations is made on the basis of 3rd-century AD epigraphic evidence confirming that Aurelios Apollodoros from Dodoparon came to Kabyle to make an offering to Apollo, and to the same deity his family was serving in Dodoparon.

²⁸ Tabakova-Tsanova 1980.

the similarity of epithets and the relatively recent arrival of settlers from the region adjoining Abdera could suggest an Abderan origin of the cult in the Tundzha basin. The distance between the area of Sapaioi and Dodoparon is more than 250 km, but the Tonzos river was probably navigable in antiquity. River transport was thus one of the easiest ways to reach the Thracian interior.²⁹ In addition to the rivers, the network of land routes connected the area with the northern Aegean and Propontic region. Discussed inscriptions were found in the close proximity to land communications (Figs. 1–2). The roads were fully documented by the early Roman period, but they had already existed in pre-Roman times, as historiographical evidence confirms.³⁰ As seen on Fig. 2, the site of ancestral *heros Archagetas* near Selymbria was located on the Roman Byzantium–Hadrianopolis–Philippopolis–Sofia road (known as *Via Diagonalis*), linking the region of Dodoparon with Propontis.³¹ The cluster of dedications to *heros Archagetas* is located within the territory of the Dorian colonies of Selymbria and Byzantium, where the cult of *Archagetas* is traditionally associated with the colonisation.³² Moreover, one more connection between the Marmara region and the Black Sea coast is represented in the epigraphic evidence relevant to this study. The dedication IGB I² 402 (no. 1) to Zeus *Patroos* from Apollonia is made by Leonto, daughter of Aulouzenis and her husband *strategos* Apollonios, son of Heptakeinthos from Bizye.³³ Bizye is located in south-eastern Thrace, in modern Turkey, in the vicinity of the road between Hadrianopolis, Selymbria and Byzantium, not far from the mining region around Malko Turnovo. This fact implies not only the interconnection between the Propontic/northern Aegean region and the Thracian hinterland, but it also documents some sort of migration of the population and religious ideas as well, brought to pass by either economic or sociological reasons.

There may be a number of reasons why Thracians or Greeks from the northern Aegean wanted to trade with the interior of Thrace and the Dodoparon area. Archaeological research has attested the existence of an iron ore source near Dodoparon, one of the most desired commodities in the Mediterranean, as well as timber. Greeks or Thracians from the northern Aegean could have traded with the Thracians from the interior or, moreover, they could have settled at Dodoparon themselves.³⁴

²⁹ Isaac 1986, 74.

³⁰ Herodotus (4. 90–92) describes the road from the Propontic region to Apollonia Pontica as taking four days. Thucydides (2. 97) explains that a healthy man could walk through the territory of the Thracian tribe, the Odrysai, in 11 days, going straight from Abdera to the Danube (Istros). Appian (*Bellum Civile* 4. 11. 87) mentions the only known route from Asia to Europe at the time, which went through the territory of the Thracian tribe, the Sapaioi (Strabo 12. 3. 20; Herodotus 7. 110).

³¹ Jirecek 1967, 1–69.

³² Malkin 1987, 241–50; *IK Byzantion* S7–S16, 269–270.

³³ *IG Bulg* I², 378 with the declaration of the geographical origin of Apollonios.

³⁴ For the abundance of resources, see Herodotus 5. 23; and the discussion in Vlassopoulos 2013, 119–21. For the Yambol region specifically, see Raichevski 1984: many local names refer to the source

To summarise, given the association of Ancestral Apollo with the process of colonisation, the cult of family and celebration of common ancestry, its popularity in the Tundzha basin may indicate a nucleus of immigrants from the northern Aegean or Propontic area. The immigration processes in Thrace inevitably led to the exchange of ideas, cultural traditions and religious customs, and could have resulted in an adaptation of a foreign cult into a local variant, explicitly represented by local epithets in the Apollo cult. The reason for movement could have been the abundance of resources that inland Thrace was known for. There were also other places with ore and timber, but the main advantage of Dodoparon region and the other sites, such as the *emporion* Thuidai near Sliven, was the proximity to large rivers, the main communication routes with the northern Aegean, factors attracting traders and settlers from distant areas.

External and Internal Markers of Collective Affiliation

The identity of the settlers who came to the interior Thrace and created a network of related sites in the Tundzha basin is to a certain degree unknown to us. Their identity has been preserved only in a few hints suggesting their self-identification and affiliation, leaving us with more questions than answers, such as ‘Who were the people migrating between the northern Aegean and the Dodoparon?’, or ‘Did they consider themselves Greeks or Thracians, or were they indifferent to such definitions?’.

Human identity often consists of several parts, which together form an individual personality. The identity is flexible and likely to change under circumstances. It is partially formed by unchanging factors, such as gender or kinship, and by situational factors, such as affiliation to a collective group. Ethnicity is one of the forms of situational collective identity, further defined as one’s affiliation with people of the same kin. It is perceived as a fluid social construct rather than primordial characterisation, and as such it is mostly driven by individual sentiments and preferences.³⁵ It is likely to change as the personal attitude evolves, often influenced by

of raw metal in the proximity of Dodoparon, such as Meden Kladenets to copper or Zlatari to gold. In Krumovo there was an iron ore mine until closure in the 1990s. Ancient mining activities are recorded in Iglika (TIR 157), Oman (TIR 271) and Oreshnik (Dimitrova and Popov 1978, 23); all sites are located in the Yambol region. Iglika is located 50 km south-east of Dodoparon along the Roman road to Byzantium. Near Oman were found ore mines, approximately 60 km east of Dodoparon. Oreshnik is known as a source of ore and is located only 20 km south of Dodoparon. Similar evidence of the Apollo cult’s association with mining activities comes from the region of Malko Tarnovo, 130 km distant: *IGB* III.2 1859 from the 2nd century AD; Figs. 1–2 for location. In this inscription a community of Greeks working in the mines is mentioned, which shows the possible existence of a Greek mining settlement in Thracian territory.

³⁵ Barth 1969, 10; Hall 1997, 182–85; Jenkins 2008, 87–88; Jones 1997, 13; Malkin 2014; McInerney 2014, 3.

circumstances. For example, an inscription is a momentary record of such sentiments and points to the affiliation of dedicants only at the time of its inscribing; it does not represent a permanent association with the given collective. People usually identify themselves with a certain ethnic group only after encountering other groups: this is described in Herodotus' story of the Greeks encountering the Persians and defining their 'Greekness' (*to Hellenikon eon*) to distinguish themselves from the Persians.³⁶

Herodotus defines affiliation with 'the other Greeks' as requiring four determining elements to be fulfilled: common blood, language, religion and customs. If applied in the case of the Dodoparon inscription (*IGB* III.2 1794), three of these four criteria are clearly represented and point to a Greek rather than a Thracian ethnic affiliation. The language of the text is Greek, the dedication is made to the Greek god Apollo (religion), and the custom is encapsulated by the manner of dedications to the deity. Moreover, the use of a stone inscription is prototypical of the Greek habit of dedicating altars with statues of the god. The only criterion not matching Herodotus' definition of Greekness is the element of blood. The bloodline is represented by a family line going back to Sapaïke, a region traditionally inhabited by the Thracians. While it is more than plausible that Greek merchants and colonists existed at Sapaïke, the name of the father, Aulouzenis, is considered Thracian, making the Greek connection unlikely.³⁷

Nevertheless, the situation is not as straightforward as it may seem. Even though the Greek name Apollo is used in the dedication, we can only speculate about the similarity of religious activity at Dodoparon and in any other Greek city. Furthermore, religious syncretism was very common in ancient Thrace, especially with regards to the god Apollo – many local cults merged with that of Apollo.³⁸ The syncretic process is impossible to reconstruct, but it is probable that the cultic practice retained the character of the original local cult with new elements derived from the new belief. Supporting this idea are various personal names and epithets. They point to local pre-existing cults that adopted certain elements of Greek religious ideology. For example, Apollo *Dortazenos* and the Thracian *heros Zerdenos* sanctuary from Kran, a village near Kazanlak in central Bulgaria (no. 5), and *Estrakenos* from Sliven in central Bulgaria (nos. 6 and 7) are not attested anywhere else in the ancient world.³⁹ This religious syncretism implies an interesting mixture of cultures, displaying a certain number of Greek elements, but also maintaining a strong local (thus Thracian) tradition.

³⁶ Herodotus 8. 144. 2; Zacharia 2008.

³⁷ *LGN* IV 60.

³⁸ Gocheva 2000; Bujukliev 1997, 219.

³⁹ Tabakova 1959.

The only instance where it is safe to talk about ethnicity and ethnic affiliation is when an individual declaration of ethnic affiliation is clearly stated, thus presenting a solid argument for collective identity and personal preference (internal information from the community itself, for example). Otherwise, when using only onomastic records or archaeological evidence to determine ethnicity (i.e. sources that may but may not reflect ethnic affiliation), we are always on hazardous ground that lends itself to speculations.

When ethnicity is explicitly stated in inscriptions, it is usually meant to bring benefits and a favourable position to the person in question, such as economic advantage, group authority or protection.⁴⁰ This is, however, not the case of any of the inscriptions discussed. In the ancestral cult inscriptions from Thrace ethnicity is not emphasised directly, but is indicated by pointing to the origin of the clan and to the family traditions. There is no sign of a sharp contrast between being Greek, Thracian or Roman.

The lack of ethnic self-identification in the inscriptions points to an indifference to rigid definitions of ethnicity, and signals that there was no longer a benefit to it. The inscriptions have been dated to the time of the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, which gave full Roman citizenship to all free men of the Roman empire (AD 212), no matter to which ethnic group they belonged. Thus, in the 3rd century AD, the urge to differentiate ethnic groups from each other was lost, since everyone was given the same rights and obtained the same Roman citizenship. The Thracians by the 2nd century AD were indeed culturally influenced, to the extent that it was impossible to draw a strict boundary between the ethnicities. Someone could think of himself as Thracian as well as Greek or Roman according to different contexts and situations. Therefore, the need to present and define one's ethnicity and be aware of one's own difference(s) were neither imminent nor necessary.⁴¹ Social status and a well-established position within a social group seemed to be more important than ethnicity when stating one's identity.

This new trend can be detected in the numerous references to someone being a soldier, a veteran, a council member or a priest, which signified his standing within society.⁴² This relative indifference to ethnic affiliation is, however, counterintuitive to the nature of the ancestral cult itself, which focuses on maintaining bonds with ancestral communities and thus clans or ethnicities, but fully corresponds with the multi-faceted society of the Roman empire.

⁴⁰ As in the case of Roman veterans (Topalilov 2013, 190; Dana 2013, 245–48).

⁴¹ Meyer (1990, 89–90) similarly reflects on the *Constitutio Antoniniana's* leading to a sudden decline of commemorative inscriptions and therefore the need to display the social status of individuals.

⁴² Topalilov 2013, 190.

All in all, none of Herodotus' four external criteria of ethnicity, applied in the case of Dodoparon, are decisive enough to prove or to disprove affiliation to one ethnic group or the other, especially when set against the contemporary historical context. Consequently, this leaves the problem of the identity of the Tundzha river migrants still open to further discussion.

Conclusion

The ancestral cult of Apollo, the prototypical deity of Greek colonisation, is epigraphically attested in Thrace by the 2nd century AD. It emerged as a product of the continuing processes of internal colonisation under Roman rule. As the spatial distribution of inscriptions shows, the cult of the Ancestral Apollo was concentrated in the Tundzha watershed with Dodoparon as its focal point. Dodoparon's proximity to a navigable river opened it to the influx of Hellenising ideas, yet sufficient distance from the coast made it prone to the retention of local tradition(s). Epigraphic study confirms five interconnected cultic places of Ancestral Apollo (in Dodoparon, Sliven, Kran, Zornitsa and Pastren), and one related site in Kabyle. The Dodoparon dedication to Apollo (*IGB* III.2 1794) indicates that the cult was brought from the northern Aegean, either from Sapaïke, a place inhabited by the Thracian Sapaioi, or from mixed (hybrid) communities inhabiting the coastline. The region of the northern Aegean and the Propontis was in close contact with the Thracian interior, thanks to trading and mining activities around the Tundzha basin.

Even though the ancestral cult seems to have been the most popular in the epigraphic culture of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, it is likely to have been introduced several centuries earlier. Incoming Thracians or Greek traders, looking for mineral resources and trade opportunities, settled in the Tundzha basin. While the cult of Apollo was Greek at the beginning, it was adopted and adapted by local inhabitants, be they in Sapaïke, the Propontis or in the Tundzha region, and assimilated with a pre-existing Thracian cult which so far has left no evidence of its existence. Ancestral Apollo was worshipped in small rural shrines or sanctuaries that were more likely to disappear from the material record with time, as with Dodoparon: no remains of temples were found and only a few votive plaques were discovered. The cult itself was probably limited to the local family clans and their relatives, as indicated by the presence of multiple family members in various inscriptions. It is difficult to tell whether the dedicants of these inscriptions considered themselves ethnically Greek or Thracian, and, at the time, it may have been irrelevant. As late as the beginning of the 3rd century AD, it is impossible to draw a line between ethnic groups on the basis of epigraphic evidence, unless it is specifically given by the dedicants themselves. We should view them as mixed social groups who shifted identity over time in response to external pressures and the internal needs of the society they inhabited.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

<i>IGB</i>	G. Mihailov, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> (Sofia 1956–97).
<i>IK Byzantion</i>	A. Lajtar, <i>Die Inschriften von Byzantion</i> , vol. 1 (Bonn 2000).
<i>IMyl</i>	D.F. McCabe, <i>Mylasa Inscriptions. Texts and List</i> (Princeton 1991).
<i>LGPV IV</i>	P.M. Fraser, E. Matthews and R.W.V. Catling, <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, IV: Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea</i> (Oxford 2005).
<i>TIR</i>	T. Ivanov (ed.), <i>Tabula Imperii Romani, K 35/2 Philippopolis</i> (Sofia 2012).

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A MAGICAL LOOM-WEIGHT AND THE MOTHER OF GODS IN THRACE

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Abstract

The loom-weight bears on its lateral faces symbols of lightning, of solar standard, stars and a female deity with a broad skirt; on the bottom, the anagram *thea meter*(?). The weight is analysed in the frame of other loom-weight types in Greece and the Balkans, of Thracian religion, of the religious aspects of spinning and weaving, and in relation to the 'emancipation' of women in the early Hellenistic period.

Among loom-weights, the pyramidal shape that arrived in Greece from Europe at the beginning of the Iron Age¹ was the commonest variety at Pistiros (Fig. 1.4), but it was closely followed in number by the fiddle-shaped form, the second commonest class (Fig. 1.1), usual in Thrace and extremely rarely represented in the North Aegean Greek cities: in Olynthus it was entirely unrecorded;² from Thasos only one item has been published.³ The third main type, the lunar shape (Fig. 1.2–3), also differs in the quality of individual items and in weight, though in general the lunar weights are lighter than the two preceding.

The fiddle-shaped weights were apparently preferred by Thracian women maintaining their family tradition, while Greek women preferred the pyramidal and lunar shapes.⁴ Some pyramidal and lunar items are works of professional potters; they were made, it seems, for the rich families among the *emporitai*. Generally, pyramidal and lunar weights more often bear gem imprints and never traces of finger imprints. A large part of the fiddle-shaped home-made items bear imprints of female fingers, on some weights impressed clearly and carefully, on others with haste and less well organised aesthetically, thus showing the different characters of their authors. The modelling of the shape by hand also reflects the character of the individual person, of her mood while shaping the weight.⁵ As the shape resembles the long tradition of female idols since the Eneolithic, it might have a meaning for safeguarding protection of the weaver and her work by the patroness of textiles. The

¹ Barber 1991, 302–03 for Palestine; Hood 1982.

² Wilson 1930; Robinson 1941.

³ Grandjean 1988.

⁴ Bouzek 1996; 2002, 345; Matys 2013.

⁵ Bouzek 1996, 117–18.

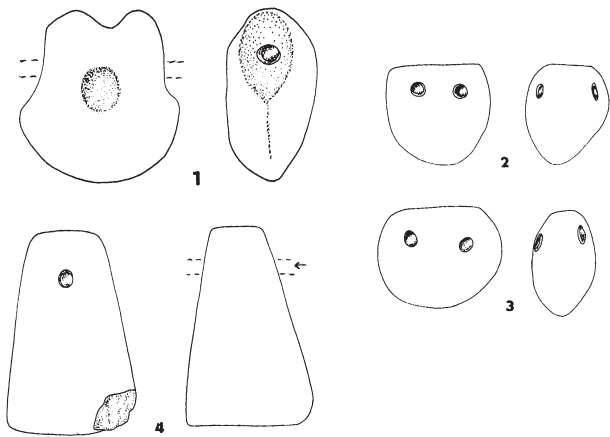


Fig. 1: Loom-weights of type 1 (a – pyramidal), of type 2 (b – fiddle-shaped) and 3 (c – semi globular) from Pistiros (Pistiros Archive).

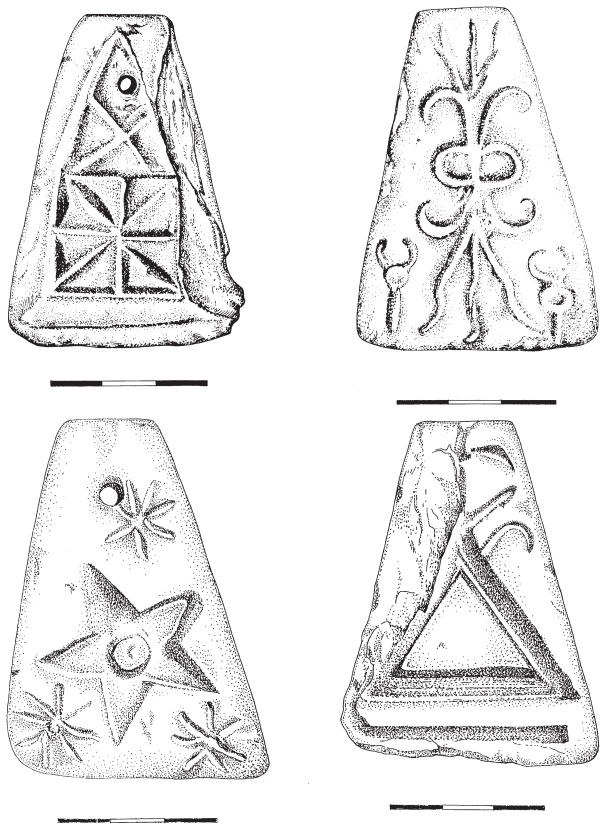


Fig. 2: Magical loom-weight, drawings, H. 7 cm (Pistiros Archive).

fiddle-shaped weights were common in many sites in Macedonia,⁶ Serbia⁷ and Bulgaria.⁸

Of pyramidal loom-weights too, only a minority are works of professional potters; some of the best preserved of this category bear imprints of finger-rings, showing that the particular lady who ordered her loom-weights was of higher social status.⁹ They much differ also in the quality of exactness of shape, firing temperature and treatment of the surface, which may also suggest the differences in the social status of the particular person who used them on her loom.

There is also a substantial difference among the weights in their size and weight: the small items were apparently destined for fine materials such as veils and underwear, the larger for dress and curtains, the heaviest for the carpets. For example, in the central room of the Southern House at Pistiros (living room, *gynaikeion*) two series of loom-weights were found, one of small fine well-burned and polished weights, and a second with poorly burned much heavier items. The first were probably those of the wife or daughter of the family, and the second of a slave servant.

The concentration of loom-weights south of the Eastern Gate in sectors B 12, B 2 and B 7¹⁰ can be explained in two ways. Either some small *ergasterion* existed there with a group of weavers, or the weights came there as small dedications to a sacred precinct with a number of clay altars (*escharai*). Small rectangular altars with geometric pattern, probably used for some kind of soothsaying, were revealed in the area¹¹ besides wells and kilns.

The most interesting pyramidal weight, found in Square B 21 by the British team,¹² shows in deep incisions and imprints a number of subjects. It was very carefully moulded and stamped and surpasses aesthetically all other loom-weights found at the site (Fig. 2).¹³

The completely preserved face without hole (A) shows in the centre Zeus' thunderbolt (lightning). The central motif is surrounded symmetrically at the base by two *kerykeions*, the stick used mainly by Hermes (notably when carrying a message) which, with a snail coiled around it, was also an attribute of Asclepius.

If turned to right, the next face B with the suspension hole has as a central motif a square divided by St Andrew's cross and one vertical line. Above the square there

⁶ Mitrevski 2005, 199, fig 28; Bitrakova-Grozdanova 1989; Shurbanoski 1987.

⁷ For Kruševica, see Popović 2005; Popović and Vranić 2006.

⁸ Lists in Bouzek 1996; 2002, 347–48; Matys 2013; cf. Langova 1981; Dimitrova 1982; Changova 1991.

⁹ Cf. Ondřejová 2007.

¹⁰ Bouzek 1996; Grzybalska 2010.

¹¹ Cf. Pistiros II; Domaradzki 1994, pl. 3.

¹² Archibald 2013.

¹³ A photograph of the weight is reproduced in *AWE* 13 (2014), 247.

is another St Andrew's cross and the whole triangular field is outlined by a flute. The divided square has good parallels in Persian solar standards, also common on Greek Geometric vases (Fig. 3); the upper storey repeating the motif may well have similar meaning. If compared with the opposite face D with stars, the two B and D faces may also mean day and night in their opposition and alternation.

On face D, the big star with five rays and raised circular centre is surrounded with three smaller stars, each of them with six linear rays. The big star may most probably represent Venus/Aphrodite, the brightest star on the sky; similar motifs are represented on late Roman gems, but it was also known much earlier in the Near East and in the Aegean.

On the damaged face C, a figure in broad rock and raised arms, resembling the female dancers on Hallstatt pottery, is represented, with parallels from Sopron (Fig. 4) and elsewhere.¹⁴ The three lines preserved, one straight and two curved, may suggest three positions of the arms for prayer and blessing. The figure may represent a priestess, but her position on face C against the thunderbolt on face A speaks in favour of her being the female partner of the sky god, the goddess of the Earth.

The anagram on the square base of the weight (Fig. 5) may perhaps best be read ΘΕΑ ΜΗΤΗΡ; the picture contains also two symmetrically opposed measuring rods, perhaps marking the sacred square with the anagram,¹⁵ as an analogy to *lituus* used by Roman priests for marking the sacred space. The weight perhaps played a role similar to the so-called figures used for magic handlings on Thracian *escharai*, but the fine careful decoration is of much higher quality. The Thracians also had their mysteries and oracles, and their religion was greatly admired by the Greeks, who otherwise considered them barbarians.¹⁶ The loom-weight as such must have been related to a female deity connected with textile production.

On one rhyton from Panagyurishte Apollo is depicted with Hera and Artemis (all three identified by inscriptions: Fig. 6), and this may represent – in Greek translation – the main Thracian divine triad; also the Thracian Rider is usually accompanied by two goddesses – perhaps mother and sister or spouse. Artemis was related to Thracian Bendis and the Greeks often contaminated the images of both goddesses.¹⁷

The rhyton from Panagyurishte suggests that besides the huntress Bendis there was in Thracian pantheon a goddess-mother, identified with Greek Hera. Decorative

¹⁴ Cf. Bouzek 1997, figs. 240–242.

¹⁵ Cf. Archibald 2013, 171.

¹⁶ Archibald 1999; Eliade 1972; Sirbu 1994; Bouzek 2005a, 42–50; Bogdanov 1991; Fol *et al.* 1986.

¹⁷ Cf. Bouzek 2005a, 42–50; 2005b; Bouzek and Ondřejová 1987.

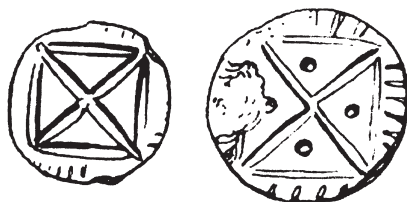


Fig. 3: Persian solar standard and its use on a late Geometric Rhodian pitcher (after Bouzek 1997).

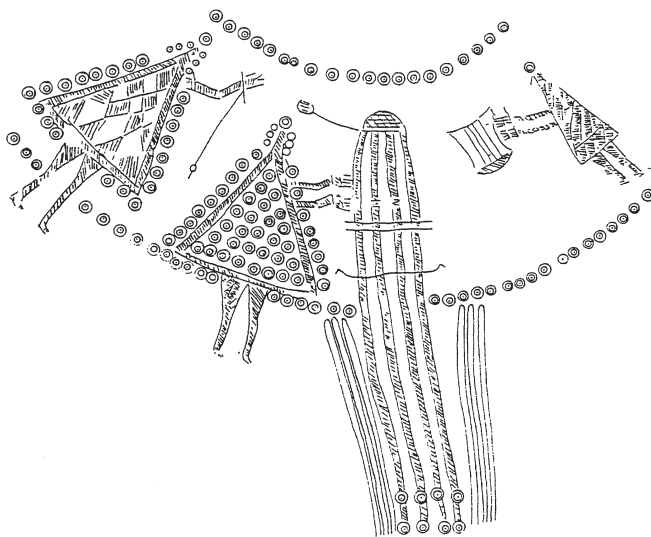


Fig. 4: Spinning and weaving women, entertained by music, on a vase from Sopron (after Bouzek 1997).

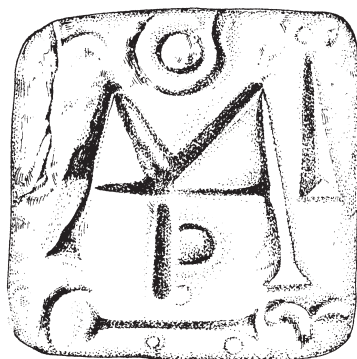


Fig. 5: Base of magical loom-weight, drawing (Pistiros Archive).

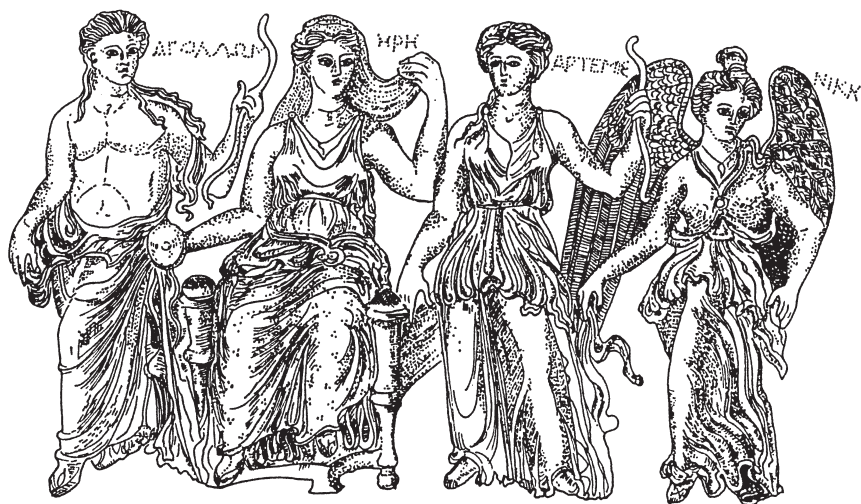


Fig. 6: Apollo, Artemis, Hera and Nike on Panagyurishte rhyton with goat protome (after Bouzek 2005).

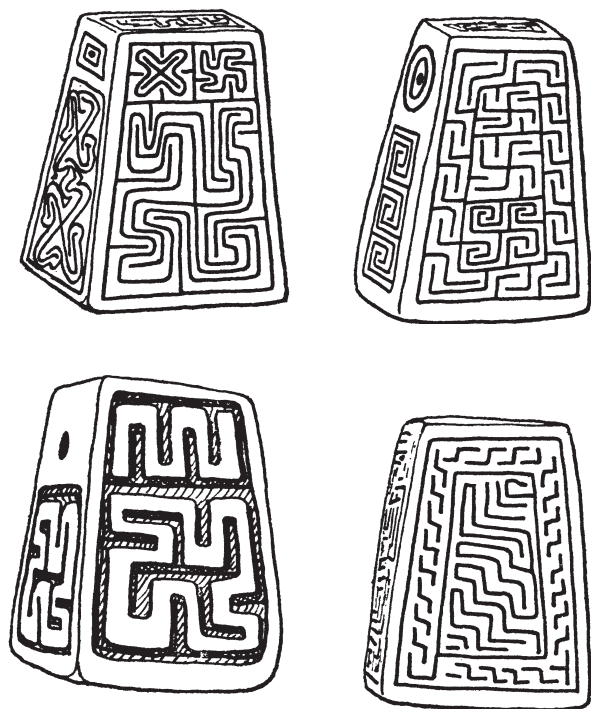


Fig. 7: Decorated loom-weights from cemetery of Locri in Calabria (after *Notizie degli Scavi* 1900 and Trump 1966, fig. 52; final drawings by A. Waldhauserová).

escharai – altars in Thracian houses at Seuthopolis and Pistiros may testify to a cult of a household deity similar to Greek Hestia. However, they may have been only varying aspects of the same goddess; Thracian religious iconography was certainly less fixed than that of the Greeks.

The weight represents a specific cult object and/or offering to female deity responsible for spinning and weaving, worshipped generally during Classical antiquity, but under different names. For the Greeks it was Pallas Athena; on the Verucchio throne, the goddess organising various stages of production of cloth. As result of thoughtful discussion on the Persian court in the Paralipomena of the Old Testament (1 *Esdras* 3:3), women were held for the second-in-rank mightiest beings just after the Lord. Spinning and weaving of cloth had some magical quality of female power, creating the frame of human destiny, as it was similarly with the Roman *parcae*. Besides this, weaving was a noble occupation of aristocratic women; of Penelope and Andromache in the *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, as well as of the Sopron ladies (see above).

Being unique, too easy to be interpreted, and without photographic documentation *in situ*, the weight might be considered suspect by some, but it was found by students without specific knowledge and interest, and weights decorated with fine patterns of symbolic value are known from Early Iron Age Italy (Fig. 7) and elsewhere, too.¹⁸

In 2013, a fragment of plaque with female head was found at Pistiros by the Czech mission in the *ca.* 310 BC destruction deposit,¹⁹ probably contemporary with that supposed for the weight. The female head in frontal view (Fig. 8) is part of a plaque representing *Meter Theon*/Cybele, of which many parallels are known from Troy²⁰ and from North Pontic cities.²¹ The type is also known from Olynthus,²² and the Pistiros head can be dated into the second half of the 4th century BC.²³

In 2007, a temple of The Mother of Gods constructed in early 3rd century BC, was discovered at Dionysopolis;²⁴ its architectonic decoration is closely similar to the Sveshtari tomb. The main cult statue dates from early 3rd century, but there

¹⁸ Cf. the stone pyramid from Kemaria in France (Moscatti *et al.* 1991, 241).

¹⁹ In square B 16 NE b (south), spit V, from the upper part of the *ca.* 310 BC destruction debris (K/4335). Max. dim. 5.5 × 4 cm.

²⁰ Burr Thompson 1963, nos. 17–50.

²¹ Kobylina 1970–74, *passim*.

²² Similar head with high *polos* or column in the centre behind the head: Robinson 1931, pls. 6.33, 11.63 and 11.65; plaques, pl. 37, 358; pls. 51–52, mould no. 410; pl. 59, mould no. 417; pl. 62, mould no. 422. Cf. also Robinson 1952, pls. 21.32 and 37.91.

²³ For the style cf. Higgins 1954, pl. 147, 1077 and pl. 157, 1315; Besques 1972, pl. 217e, no. D 1067.

²⁴ Lazarenko *et al.* 2013.



Fig. 8: Fragment of plaque from Pistiros: Cybele/*Meter Theon* (Pistiros Archive).

are also earlier limestone sculpture among the finds, and it was used until the 4th century AD. Another temple of Mother of the Gods was discovered at Aigai (Vergina).²⁵

The loom-weight belonged to a kind of female religious sphere; it dates from *ca.* 340–310 BC. While with Aristophanes the public role of women was a good joke and the heroines of Euripides still ideal superhuman fictions, the 4th century saw some kind of ‘women’s liberation’, an expression used nowadays in gender studies.²⁶ Generally, women in Hellenistic courts had great influence also in public life with arrangements and intrigues in politics as spouses and mistresses of diadochi, as queens, *hetaerae*, daughters and sisters.

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²⁵ Kallini 2013.

²⁶ *Cf.*, for example, Blundell 1995; Cantarella 1987; Kotova 2000.

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QUANTIFICATION OF BURIAL MOUNDS IN YAMBOL DISTRICT, ANCIENT THRACE*

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Abstract

The present study compiles results from the Burial Mounds Project (BUM), which verified nearly 500 features in Yambol district. The macro-regional study focuses on the quantification of burial mounds in the entire district. The number is further refined by the micro-regional study in Elkhovo municipality, part of the macro-region. The results enable us to consider the pros and cons of utilising topographical maps of different scales and satellite imagery for determining mounds. The study also attempts to quantify the rate and the speed of the decline of the burial mounds as well as to identify major factors contributing to their decay.

The territory of Ancient Thrace is well known for its abundance of burial mounds, which, with varying density, spread all over the landscape. This phenomenon, however, lacks any further archaeological instantiation and quantification. Numerous studies focus on excavation results of burial mounds as individual features,¹ mainly describing grave-goods and architectural remains if present.² None of them determines general characteristics that would contribute to the quantification of burial mounds throughout the whole territory. This study is meant to be the first step towards such a systematic quantification, determining the most suitable approach for the procedure on the basis of macro- and micro-regional study within the Yambol district of present-day Bulgaria.

* The study was supported by the Grants Agency of Charles University, Prague, as part of the project 'Spatial Relations of Flat Settlements and Burial Mounds in Exquisite Areas of Thrace', GA UK no. 626314.

¹ All archaeologically excavated mounds are published in annual short reports in *Arheologicheski otkritya i razkopki (AOR)* by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

² Beyond the brief reports in *AOR*, studies and interpretations of diverse funerary aspects have been published in numerous Bulgarian periodicals and in many monographs and other publications. These are beyond the scope of the present study which targets solely quantification methods.

Introduction to the BUM Project

The BUM project focuses on prediction, verification in the terrain, spatial analysis, interpretation and chronology of burial mounds in Bulgaria,³ namely in the districts of Yambol, Stara Zagora and Pazardzhik. In the Yambol and Stara Zagora districts, the project has been running as an inherent part of interdisciplinary field research undertaken by the Tundzha Regional Archaeological Project (TRAP).⁴ In the Pazardzhik district, an independent campaign was conducted in 2011.⁵ A preliminary report on the results from all the three districts was published in 2013;⁶ up to now, only the Pazardzhik district has been individually assessed in a brief report.⁷

The following study involves results of surveys conducted in 2009 and 2010 in the Yambol district and includes also several refinements made during 2014. The expeditions took place with the devoted support of local specialists from the History Museum of Yambol⁸ and with the great effort of many students from all over the world.⁹

Previous Studies Quantifying Burial Mounds in Bulgaria

Burial mounds form an essential part of the Thracian landscape and local cultural heritage. Their overall abundance, the potential value of their contents¹⁰ and their cultural importance¹¹ have been discussed in numerous studies. However, most

³ Burial mounds appeared in the north-eastern part of Thrace in the Early Bronze Age (4th/3rd millennia BC) (Panaiotov 1989, 50–51) and become widespread all over Thrace during the Iron Age (Archibald 1998, 151). Subsequent decline in their use is dated to the 4th century AD (Valcheva 1996, 94).

⁴ TRAP was co-supervised by Adela Sobotkova and Shawn Ross (in both districts) and by Georgi Nehrizov (in the Kazanlak district), Iliya Iliev and Stefan Bakardzhiev (in the Yambol district). For more detailed information about the project, see www.tundzha.org.

⁵ Particular thanks are due to Alexey Gotzev, who facilitated the expedition, for his permission and supervision during the data verification process, and to Vyara Petrova of the Archaeological Museum of Professor Mieczysław Domaradzki, Septemvri, for her devoted help and endless enthusiasm during the field works.

⁶ Weissova 2013, 1047–52.

⁷ Weissova and Tuslova 2012, 8–11.

⁸ Special thanks to the Director of the Yambol Historical Museum, Stefan Bakardzhiev, for permission to conduct the survey in the whole macro-region during the 2010 season, and to Todor Vulchev of the Museum for his kind help during data processing and particularly for carrying out the cataloguing of all ground-truthed mounds in the *Archeologicheskata Karta na Balgariya (AKB)*.

⁹ My thanks to Petra Tuslova, Sona Holickova, Adela Dornakova, Viktoria Chystyakova, Dragomir Garbov and Emma Jakobsson for their enthusiasm and devoted collaboration during the data verification process.

¹⁰ Domaradzki 1988.

¹¹ Marazov 2005.

likely on account of the vast number of mounds in Thrace, any quantification of this important archaeological resource is still lacking. The first attempts to quantify the approximate number of mounds within present-day Bulgaria were published by the Shkorpil brothers.¹² On the basis of topographical maps from 1878 and 1879, they estimated the burial mounds to exceed 6000 in number,¹³ with the upper limit of the estimate remaining unknown.

Almost a century later, Kitov¹⁴ contributed to this topic by making reference to topographical maps of the scale 1:5000. His assessment was based on the results of a surface survey conducted in the Lovech district.¹⁵ Kitov pointed out that only about 30% of existing mounds were recorded by cartographers, proffering the observation that mounds of no more than 2–3 m in height or somehow damaged were not usually recorded on these maps.¹⁶ However, this assessment lacked more detailed information or specific verification. He further suggested that the relative density of mounds varied according to the elevation of the terrain, basing his statement on his personal observations in addition to the Shkorpil brothers' analysis of the geographical positioning of mounds.¹⁷ The Shkorpils recorded the highest concentrations of mounds in the lowlands and in hilly areas no higher than 200 m above sea-level, with a decreasing number of mounds at greater elevations and an unconditional absence of mounds in mountainous areas at an altitude of more than 1600 m above sea-level. On the basis of the Shkorpils' analysis, Kitov posited the number of surviving mounds in Bulgaria to be 19,500. Unfortunately, he did not go further in his analysis and did not record the relative representations of each group of elevations.

Finally, Kitov estimated the original number of mounds in Bulgaria to reach 50,000,¹⁸ including, as he states, mounds now destroyed: this more than twice exceeds the initial figure based on the geographical model of the Shkorpil brothers. Kitov based this figure on his personal observations of the recent rate of mound decline, but he did not elaborate on the calculations underlying the estimate. Likewise, he did not relate this result to the earlier figure produced by the geographical model.

¹² Shkorpil and Shkorpil 1898.

¹³ Shkorpil and Shkorpil 1898, 20.

¹⁴ Kitov 1993, 42.

¹⁵ Kitov 1994, 34–38.

¹⁶ Kitov 1993, 42.

¹⁷ Shkorpil and Shkorpil 1898, 19–20.

¹⁸ Kitov 1993, 43.

A few more studies encompass quantifications of burial mounds, either in Bulgaria as a whole¹⁹ or within limited areas.²⁰ The studies are, however, based mainly on registered and excavated mounds, targeting the quantification of different aspects of burial customs and their characteristics within a limited time span,²¹ not the phenomenon in general.

The BUM project, therefore, aims first of all to reassess Kitov's conclusions through quantified analysis of burial mounds within the three study areas. Eventually, on the basis of the results obtained, the quantified area will be extended to the whole of Bulgaria. This article represents the first attempt of this kind of study, and as such focuses solely on the situation in the Yambol district.

Geographical Characteristics of the Yambol District and Methods Applied Prior the Quantification

The study area, the Yambol district, is situated in the south-eastern region of Bulgaria and encompasses a territory of 3355.6 km². It is composed mainly of the plains and uplands of the Middle Tundzha watershed, with elevations ranging between 100 and 150 m above sea-level. The district is one of Bulgaria's principal centres of agricultural production: the total cultivated area is 77% of the surface.²² The majority of the territory thus falls within the elevation at which burial mounds, according to the Shkorpils' presumption above, should be most abundant (Fig. 1).

The basic prediction of the location of burial mounds for the whole district is based on legacy data recorded on topographical maps of the scale 1:50,000.²³ These were published in 1980 using information collected during the 1970s. The BUM project extracted mounds recorded on these maps into one shapefile of points to create the basic dataset for predicting locations of burial mounds. Subsequently, during legacy data verification, the BUM and TRAP projects altogether rectified 34% of these predictions in the terrain. The method of verification was entirely non-destructive and yielded an up-to-date map of existing features. Due to the scale of the map, the projects rectified topographical errors and supplemented each record

¹⁹ For an example of studies targeting the whole Bulgaria, see Dimitrova 1997.

²⁰ For examples of studies targeting limited areas, see Nehrizov 1996 (East Rhodope Mountains); Ignatov *et al.* 1996 (Stara Zagora district).

²¹ For examples of studies targeting limited areas and specific time frames, see Theodossiev 2000, 25–53 (north-western Bulgaria); Kisyov 2009 (Rhodope Mountains).

²² Official information estimated for the Yambol district to 31.12.1999, see <http://www.invest-bulgaria.com/Yambol.php>.

²³ Maps at a scale of 1:50,000 are available online at <http://web.uni-plovdiv.bg/vedrin/>.

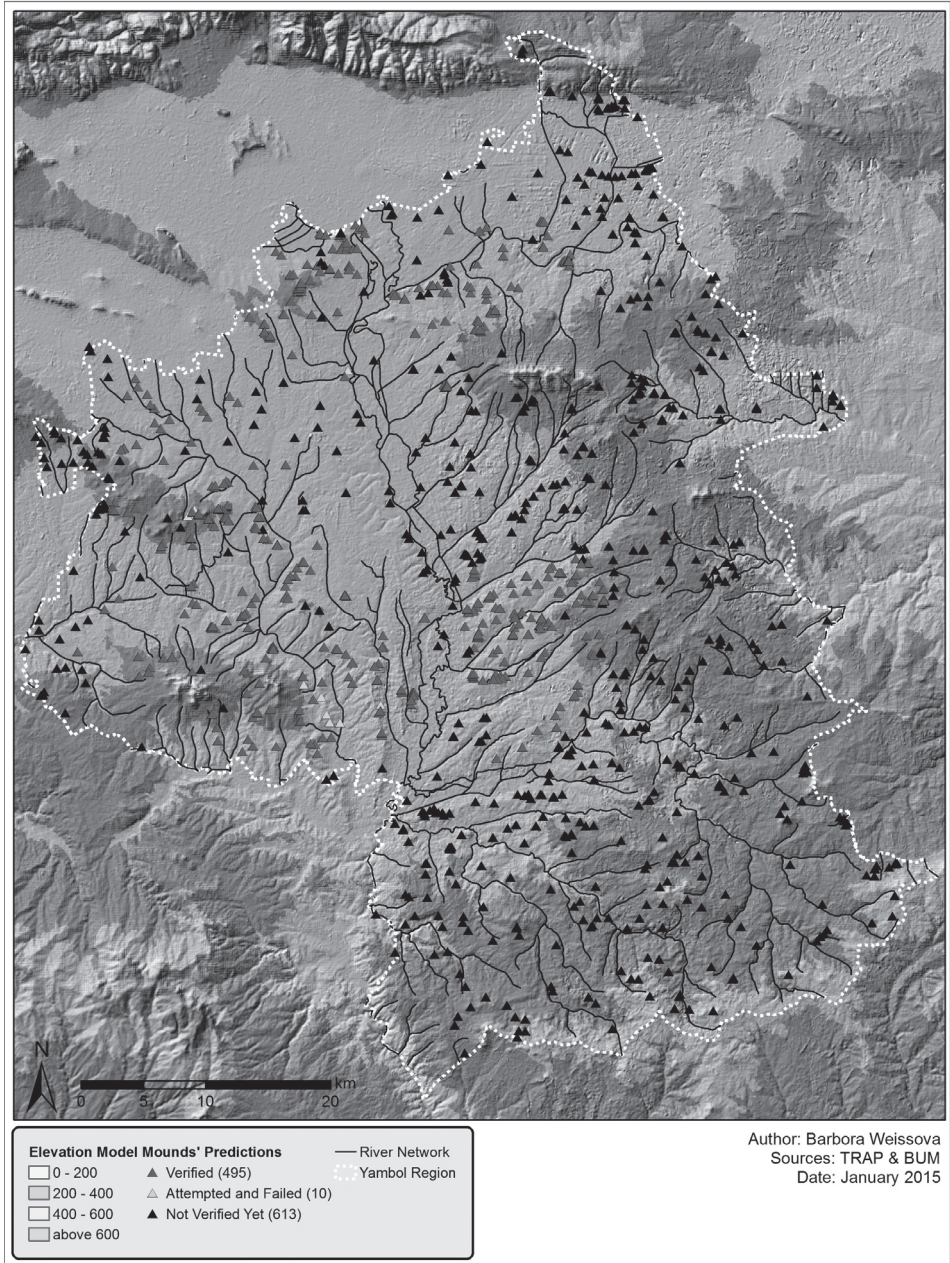


Fig. 1: Elevation model derived from ASTER indicating number of burial mounds in the Yambol district, Bulgaria.

with detailed information collected in the field.²⁴ The ground-truthed points were used for the quantification of burial mounds within the whole territory of the Yambol district.

The macro-regional prediction model based on features extracted from maps of 1:50,000 was further specified by the results of an intensive and systematic surface survey conducted by the TRAP in a micro-region within the study area: Elkhovo municipality. The surveyed area extended to some 30 km². Moreover, 60 km² around this territory was examined through satellite remote sensing²⁵ and subsequent ground control. The detailed coverage of a total of 90 km² enabled the accuracy and completeness of the topographical maps for archaeological research to be evaluated, not only on the scale of 1:50,000 but also that of 1:5000.²⁶ *Inter alia*, the results of the study as a whole permitted us to assess the pros and cons of utilising topographical maps in different scales as well as satellite imagery for determining mounds in the territory of Bulgaria.

Results of the Prediction Based on Topographical Maps at 1:50,000

Predictions for the Yambol district based on topographical maps scaled at 1:50,000 yielded 930 points representing possible burial mounds (Fig. 1). Subsequently, during verification in the terrain, we visited 318 of these. The selection encompassed samples of diverse land use over the area, though ploughed fields and pastures formed the two most heavily represented groups.

In total, 279 of 318 (88%) map-derived locations were confirmed as true positives, i.e. mounds recorded on the map as well as present in the terrain. Four of the 318 points were marked as 'uncertain' during ground verification due to their poor preservation. After reconsidering their status, they were added to the total count of confirmed burial mounds, as they were recorded as 'mounds' by cartographers four decades ago and only poor preservation had caused their current uncertain status. This increased the total number of confirmed mounds to 283. Two mounds of the total number of 318 were identified as settlement mounds. For statistical purposes these were likewise considered as true positives, i.e. included in the group of confirmed burial mounds. Therefore, the final number of verified mounds in the study is 285 of 318 (90%).

²⁴ Detailed characterisation of the data recorded in the field is covered in Weissova 2013, 1049–50.

²⁵ The Elkhovo multispectral satellite image was captured by Digital Globe's Quickbird sensor in September 2009 on commission by the TRAP project.

²⁶ Maps at 1:5000 were provided by the History Museum in Yambol.

The remaining 33 map-derived points were not located during the ground verification process. Four of these predictions had been eliminated during rescue excavations associated with highway construction across the district,²⁷ and two more were turned into military bunkers during the Cold War. The remaining 27 were either entirely destroyed, or had been erroneously recorded on the topographical map. Regardless of the specific cause, this exercise showed that more than 10% of the map-derived mounds are false positives, i.e. recorded on the map but not present in the terrain.

Besides the map-derived points, 157 additional burial mounds were documented during legacy data verification. These false negatives, i.e. burial mounds not recorded on the map but present in the terrain, were almost exclusively located in the vicinity of the map-derived points, creating clusters around them. Therefore, it was also possible to record them during the selective legacy data verification. The number of false negatives raised the total number of existing mounds within the sampled area to 442.

In conclusion, from 930 map-derived points, the BUM project and TRAP managed to verify 318 predictions, 285 (90%) of which were ground-truthed as true positives and the remaining 33 (10%) as false positives. On top of this, 157 false negatives were located and recorded during the legacy data verification process, thereby raising the total number of verified mounds to 442.

By extending to the entire Yambol district the assumption that 90% of points on the topographical maps represent real mounds, one can expect that the 930 points recorded on the maps will produce some 837 existing burial mounds. Furthermore, if for 285 verified mounds there were 157 additional mounds recorded in the terrain, i.e. for roughly every two ground-truthed mounds there was an additional mound documented in the field at random – in other words, one may expect to find 1.55 mounds in the terrain for every verified mound derived from the topographical map – and assuming that the clustering of mounds remains constant throughout the Yambol district, one can predict the total number of burial mounds within the district to exceed 1297.

This number comes with the following caveat: the assessment of mounds missing from topographical maps is based on a limited sample from legacy data verification. The sample of false negatives was discovered because these mounds clustered around the ones already recorded on the map and targeted for ground-truthing. Areas marked as empty by cartographers were not visited by the BUM project at all, thus any potential necropoleis there were not ground-truthed. Therefore, this assessment cannot be considered as the final figure without a systematic investigation of the whole area. The number of 1297 features merely indicates the lower limit of burial mounds in the Yambol district.

²⁷ Stoyanov *et al.* 2010.

Results of the Systematic Surface Survey

An additional analysis was conducted in the Elkhovo municipality, in the study area encompassing 90 km² and cutting into the lands of the villages of Borisovo, Boyanovo, Karavelovo, Robovo, Slamino, Stroyno and Zhrebino. One third of this 90 km² was surveyed intensively in a total coverage survey campaign in 2009.²⁸ The remaining 60 km² were examined through satellite remote sensing and ground control. Based on these investigations we now have the total record of 88 mounds present within the examined territory.

The prediction based on topographical maps scaled at 1:50,000 yielded 57 points in the territory and, subsequently, the verification team confirmed the presence of 48 in the field. The remaining nine were determined as false positives, thus not present in the terrain. On the other hand, an additional 40 false negatives were registered. These outcomes indicate that the ratio of false positives reaching 10%. False negatives equate 1.83 mounds existing in the terrain per one true positive.

In comparison with the prediction previously suggested for Yambol district, this evaluation increased the number of false negatives from 1.55 to 1.83 mounds per each ground-truthed mound. However, the ratio of false positives remained constant at 10%. These results confirm the previously stated assumption that the number of mounds predicted solely on the basis of the legacy data verification was underestimated.

The quantified model informed by the Elkhovo total survey indicates that the total number of mounds within the district exceeds 1532. The Elkhovo total survey, however, covered only 2.7% of the Yambol district and can hardly be taken as a representative sample for the entirety of it. Interestingly, the elevation of the Elkhovo survey area ranged from 90 to 210 m above sea-level, which falls within that suggested by the Shkorpils as the richest in mounds (see above). As such, the result can be used as the upper limit for the mound density model. Using a combination of topographical maps and surface survey results, the number of mounds within the Yambol district may be estimated to the wide range between 1297 and 1532.

Results of Supplemental Prediction Based on Topographical Maps at 1:5000

Initially, the BUM project intended to utilise maps scaled at 1:5000 to correct and refine the predictions of mound locations in the entire district, but subsequently shelved this idea. Besides the problem with digitising scanned maps of deteriorated quality, the most challenging task was to determine symbols indicating mounds.

²⁸ Ross *et al.* 2012.

Results gained from topographical maps scaled at 1:50,000, together with insights from the systematic surface survey and satellite remote sensing, enabled to determine that not one but seven different symbols used on topographical maps of 1:5000 comport with a mound in reality. Additionally, these symbols represent other features, not only burial mounds. There may be topographical reasons for this heterogeneity; for archaeological assessment, however, such ambiguity may lead to misinterpretations. The BUM project therefore preferred to use topographical maps of 1:50,000 as the principal resource and combine them with satellite remote sensing, where possible.

However, the 1:5000 topographical maps were used for the area of 90 km² covered by TRAP as a comparative sample to the suggested model. As long as we know the total number of mounds in this area, the ambiguity of symbols does not cause a problem. The legacy data recorded on the map at 1:5000 yielded 77 points in the area and subsequent verification ground-truthed 63 of them. The remaining 14 were false positives. However, 25 false negatives were recorded. Nineteen of 25 false negatives were recorded during the intensive field survey and another six by satellite remote sensing followed by ground control. These results show that there is still a significant number of mounds missing in any cartographical record.

Nevertheless, exclusive of the mounds clustered in necropoleis, topographical maps at the scale 1:5000 show only four more mounds than those at 1:50,000. This means that only four mounds would be missed by legacy data verification based on the maps at the latter scale. Provided that the ratio of stand-alone mounds in the area of 90 km² obtains for the entire territory of Yambol district (covering 3355.6 km²), the basic prediction for the whole district based on the 1:50,000 maps should increase the number of features by 149. This predicts 1446 existing mounds for the Yambol district, which falls into the previously estimated range of between 1297 and 1532.

These results were compared with Kitov's statement that the maximum height of mounds not recorded on 1:5000 topographical maps ranges between 2 and 3 m. In the set of 25 false negatives detected on the map at this scale, the arithmetic mean of heights reaches 1.3 m, however the median is 1 m, with the lower hinge at 0.5 m and upper at 1.5 m. The smallest observation of the height is 0.3 m and the largest is 3 m. Only one outlier of 5 m in height was registered. The results show that Kitov's assertion, based on his observations in the Lovech district,²⁹ applies also to the Yambol territory.

²⁹ Kitov 1993, 42.

Preservation Level of Registered Mounds

Mounds suffer, like other ancient monuments, from different types of destruction. Looting,³⁰ agricultural activity,³¹ erosion and construction works³² are among the most frequent causes. Only a limited number of mounds were not impacted to a great extent by some of these factors. The results of the BUM project show the level of mound preservation and its dependency on the land use. As it appeared during the study, the cultivation of the land strongly affects the rate of decay of the mounds and therefore it is considered in the descriptions as a decisive factor.

The preservation levels, expressed in the percentage loss of the embankment, are shown in Table 1:

Level of Preservation and Number of Mounds within Groups.

Preservation Level	Rate of Decay (%)	Number of Mounds	On Cultivated Fields (%)
1	0–20	46	24
2	20–40	102	30
3	40–60	64	30
4	60–80	98	70
5	80–100	121	86

The information is complemented by the number of burial mounds ranked in each preservation group and by the rate of destruction caused by agricultural activities. The preservation levels were determined on the basis of the amount of soil remaining when the mound was visited. For the most part it was a subjective assessment. No exact rule exists to establish the original extent of the embankment, thus we used the ratio of remaining earthwork. The assessments were based on observations *in situ* and, where possible, on the information gained from denizens and/or literary sources. Before final processing, in order to be consistent for all the documented mounds, I re-evaluated the rating on the basis of reassessing individual field records and the respective photographic documentation.

The chart is supplemented by a boxplot (Fig. 2) summarising the preservation levels of mounds located in pasture/forest compared with mounds in cultivated fields. In the case of mounds located in pasture or forest, the mean preservation status is equal to the lower hinge, which is 2, with the upper hinge equating to

³⁰ Renfrew 2000; Brodie and Gill 2003; Weissova and Tuslova 2012, 10–11; Weissova 2013, 1047–48.

³¹ Kitov 1993, 43.

³² Guichen 2000.

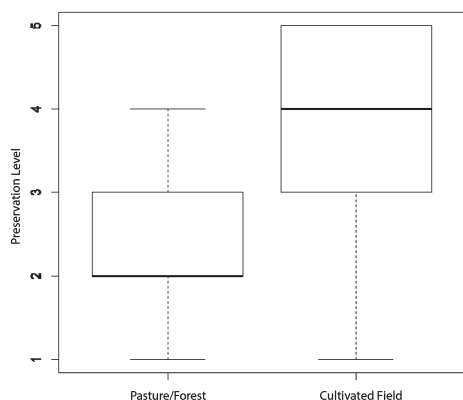


Fig. 2: Preservation levels of burial mounds located in pasture/forest and in cultivated field.

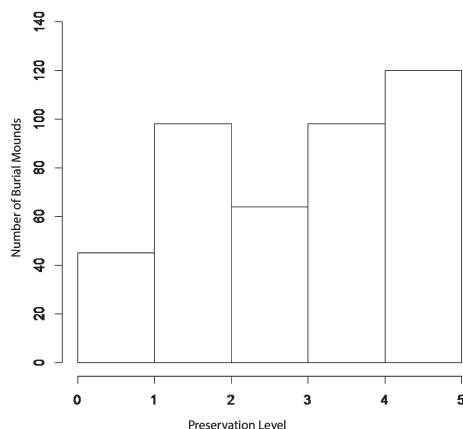


Fig. 3: Number of burial mounds within each preservation level.

3. In terms of the ratio of missing or somehow disturbed embankment, it ranges between 40 and 60%. Non-outlier observations fall between 1 and 4. No outliers were detected. Mounds in cultivated fields embody, on average, a ratio of decay which is two levels higher than in pasture/forest. The arithmetic mean is equal to the median which equates to 4. The span of non-outlier observations encompasses the whole range from 1 to 5, but the hinge ranges between 3 and 5. In terms of ratio, it falls within 60 to 100% of missing or disturbed embankment. In conclusion, the boxplot shows that most of the mounds located in pasture/forest are basically still preserved, missing no more than 40% of the embankment, while mounds undergoing cultivation are in a much worse condition, missing 80% of the earthwork on average which is basically equal to an entirely destroyed mound.

It is necessary to point out that the results refer to the year 2010. The preservation level changes very rapidly as agriculture and robbery/looting are intense in the Yambol district. Information collected in 2009 (77 mounds) and 2010 (354 mounds) is ranked together, listed from the least to the most destroyed embankments. A summary of the rates of preservation can be seen in a histogram (Fig. 3). This shows the number of verified burials for each preservation status rated from 1 (least damaged) to 5 (most damaged). However, the arithmetic mean of preservation including all the results is not less than 3.4 and median is 4 exactly. This statistic indicates that majority of the mounds in Yambol district have been stripped of 80% of their embankments. The ratio of destruction decreases the probability that the rest of the earthworks still contain valuable

finds let alone closed contexts. As long as the financial support to Bulgarian institutions engaged in preserving the cultural heritage is deficient³³ and the number of mounds is as high as it currently is, it might be helpful to redirect the endeavour of archaeologists and cultural heritage to selected embankments. The results of the BUM project enable the determination of a reduced number of better-preserved embankments. These mounds were recorded by the project in Preservation Groups 1–3, i.e. missing less than 60% of their earthwork. Some of the mounds ranked in the third group especially require immediate attention. These sites have usually been destroyed by treasure hunters and the disturbance frequently reveals remnants of architectural parts adherent to a larger complex still hidden under the surface. These mounds were recorded ‘in the process of being looted’ and there is high probability that they will fall to robbers within a few years at most.

Detailed Assessments Concerning each Preservation Group Separately

The first Preservation Group (Group 1) of perfectly preserved mounds includes 46 burial mounds out of 431. These mounds were either entirely preserved or only partially disturbed, missing less than 20% of the original volume. Most of the mounds (35 mounds) are situated in pastures and covered with dense grass and scrubs. The remainder (11 mounds) are located in ploughed fields. The majority of these mounds exceed 3 m in height, which prevents mechanical disturbance by agricultural machines. Their embankments are relatively well preserved as a result. Moreover, the surface of the well-preserved mounds was usually overgrown with dense vegetation which kept the embankment together. The good visibility of the mounds situated in the middle of ploughed fields or on other private property possibly helped to discourage treasure hunters.

Group 2 includes 102 mounds affected by destruction but not exceeding the removal of 40% of the embankment. Regarding land use, a corresponding pattern to the previous group emerges; all of the mounds included in this category and situated in agricultural fields are overgrown with dense vegetation. Like the perfectly preserved mounds of the first group, these mounds subsequently succumb to erosion, intensified by steady ploughing of the surrounding area, even though their height prevents surface ploughing.

The third set of mounds (Group 3) includes features where 40–60% of the earthwork has been damaged or removed, a total of 64 from the sample of 431 mounds. Again, as in the second group, 30% are exposed to agricultural activity. The higher ratio of destruction in this case is caused by ploughing of the entire

³³ Stancheva 2007.

earthwork or by extensive treasure hunting activity. The remaining 60%, located either in pastures or hidden in deep forests, succumbed mainly to looting. Surprisingly, the areas overgrown with dense vegetation suffer the most from systematic attention by the treasure-hunting industry: despite difficult access, their hidden position enables unimpeded and persistent looting.

Group 4 includes 98 mounds out of 431. The destruction and removal of the embankment reaches as much as 80% of the total original size. Nearly 70% of features in this category were destroyed by intensive ploughing, while 30% succumbed to treasure hunters and the subsequent erosion of the remnants.

Group 5, encompassing mounds with less than 20% of the embankment, was recorded in 121 of 431 registered features. The cause of destruction was intensive agricultural work in 86% of cases. These mounds were recognised only through subtle soil marks in combination with very slight terrain waves in the ploughed fields. The remaining 14% were located in pastures; however, most of the fields had been cultivated in the past. Only a few embankments were entirely destroyed by the activities of robbers and by erosion.

On the basis of the above results, agricultural activity seem to be the most destructive. However, it is highly probable that the mounds now being destroyed by ploughing had first been looted and thereafter succumbed to the cultivation processes.

Conclusion

This paper presents the results of burial mound verification campaigns conducted in Yambol district in 2009 and 2010. The research included comparison of the utility of different resources, from topographical maps of diverse scale to satellite remote sensing and total coverage survey. The use of topographical maps of 1:50,000 for basic prediction, and subsequent completion with the satellite remote sensing appeared to be the most efficient method for detecting burial mounds in the district. Maps at 1:5000 were evaluated as an auxiliary resource. Large-scale maps list more accurate numbers of mounds where small scale maps list a single necropolis. However, they cannot be recommended for primary prediction because of the ambiguous and unreliable use of symbols for mounds that they employ.

The number of existing mounds within the district was established to lie within the range of 1297 to 1532. The lower limit results from the verification of predictions derived from topographical maps of 1:50,000; the upper limit from the total coverage survey supplemented by the satellite remote sensing conducted in the micro-region of Elkhovo.

Altogether, 495 points were visited in the terrain during the archaeological campaigns of 2009 and 2010, 431 of them confirmed as burial mounds, and these were further divided according to their state of preservation. Most of the mounds were 80% destroyed.

All of the ground-truthed mounds were entered in the official cultural heritage register, the Archaeological Map of Bulgaria (AKB). They have extended the burial mound record in the Yambol district by 431 features. Henceforth, the BUM project aims to continue the verification process of the legacy data and in this way refine the current predictive model.

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AKROTERE AUS HISTRIA

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Abstract

Here are published three Greek architectural terracottas from Histria, acroteria placed on the top of a roof: a presumed disc acroterion from the ridge; an acroterion with palmettes from the edges of the roof; and a middle acroterion consisting of a palmette over a double volute.

Der Schmuck griechisch-antiker Dächer beschränkt sich nicht nur auf die sichtbaren Dachränder, sondern erhält an den fast ausnahmslos verwendeten Satteldächern sowohl an deren Ecken wie auch am First häufig besonders aufwändig gebildete Bekrönungen in Gestalt von Akroteren. Im Verhältnis zum übrigen Dachbelag ist ihre Zahl verhältnismäßig klein; auch sind sie wegen ihrer exponierten Position besonders gefährdet und folglich meist nur fragmentarisch erhalten, unabhängig davon, ob aus Stein oder Ton gefertigt. Dies trifft auch auf die wenigen in Histria gefundenen tönernen Beispiele zu, die hier vorgestellt werden sollen.¹

1. (Abb. 1a–c)

Histria, 1991, ältere Grabung von M. Coja im Schnitt G durch Erweiterung wiederaufgenommen (= SG ext.); gemischter, stratigraphisch nicht verwertbarer Befund.

Maße (max.): Länge = 15,6 cm; Breite = 7,1–4 cm; Dicke außen = 3,2 cm, innen = 1,75 cm; erschlossener Radius 12,5–8 cm.

Fragment eines scheibenförmigen Gegenstandes mit klar unterschiedener Front- bzw. Rückseite; an letzterer befindet sich außen – vom Rand ausgehend – eine ca. 2 cm breite Bruchfläche; anschließend nimmt die Platte zur Mitte hin in leicht geschwungener Kurve allmählich an Dicke ab; an der Front folgt einer 5,5 cm breiten Randzone, die nacheinander eine hauchdünn eingeritzte Linie, eine gemuldete und schließlich eine kantige Kerbe aufweist, ein leicht eingesenkter Mittelbereich ohne weitere Gestaltung bis zum Bruch; das Fragment mit seinen glatten Oberflächen stammt von einem ursprünglich runden, auf der Scheibe gedrehten Gegenstand.

¹ Nicht aufgenommen ist ein von mir bereits publiziertes, als Eckakroter eines Altars gedeutetes Terrakottafragment vermutlich des frühen 5. Jhs. v. Chr.: Zimmermann 1998; dem hat Billot 2000, 363 Nr. 123, hinsichtlich Zweckbestimmung und Datierung widersprochen. – Die Vorlagen für die Abbildungen stammen vom Autor mit Ausnahme von Abb. 2 c, die H. Derer/Bukarest anfertigte; für die druckfertige Bearbeitung aller Abbildungen habe ich B. Meyer/Rostock zu danken.

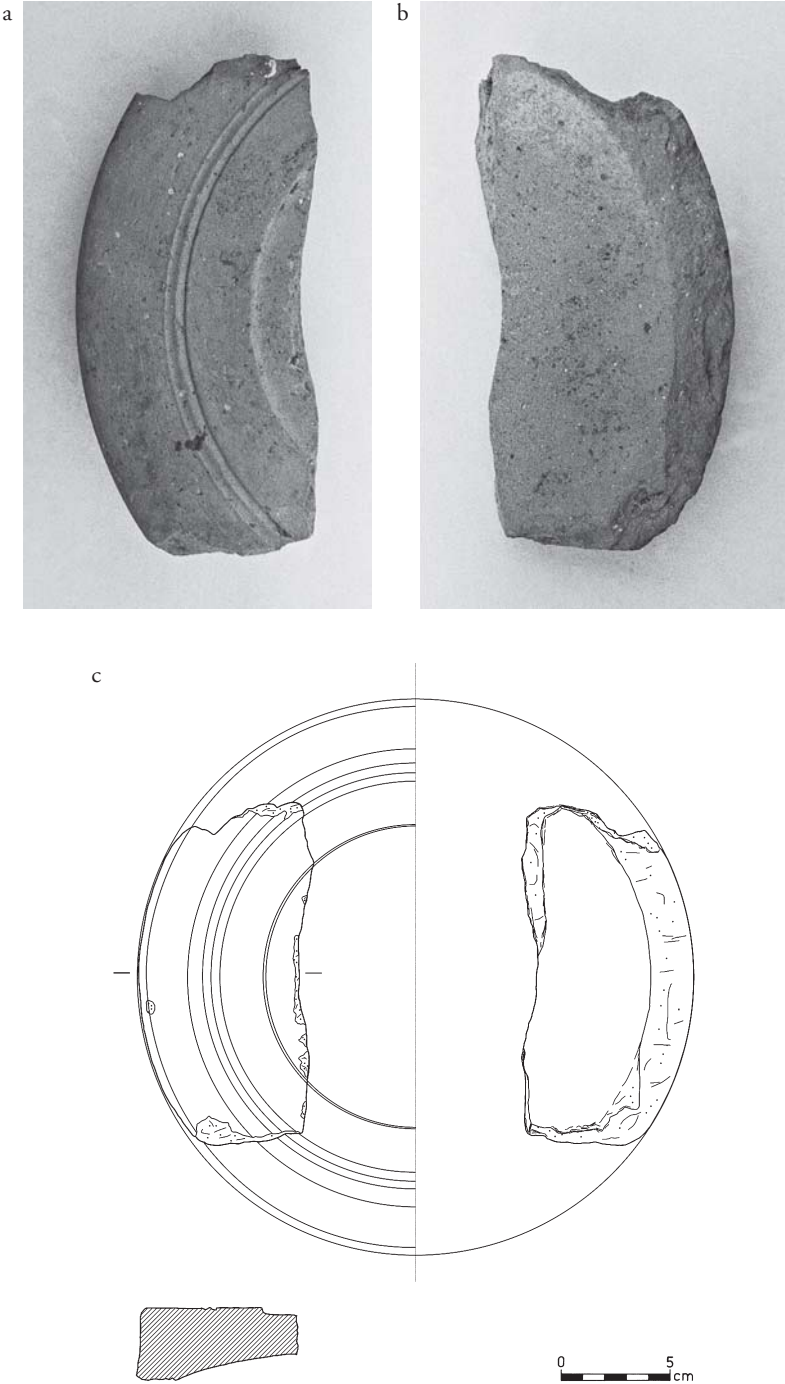


Abb. 1a–c: Fragment eines vermuteten Scheibenakroters.

Matt ziegelroter, an den Brüchen in Richtung Kern zu graubrauner Farbgebung neigender, glimmerhaltiger Ton mit weißlichen, quarzartigen und schwärzlichen Einschlüssen. Heller, beigefarbener Überzug an allen geglätteten Flächen weitgehend abgerieben.

Am Anfang steht ein in mehrerer Hinsicht problematisches Stück, das – wie die anderen hier behandelten Dachterrakotten – nicht über eine gesicherte, für ihre Datierung relevante stratigraphische Verankerung verfügt. Für diesen Überrest einer scheibengedrehten runden Platte mit eindeutiger Frontgestaltung und rückwärtigem Bruch, der sich zwar im Randbereich des Fragments abzeichnet, aber nicht zwingend über die gesamte Rückseite erstreckt haben muss, könnte eine Verwendung in architektonischem Zusammenhang in Betracht gezogen werden. Dies soll hier versuchsweise erörtert werden: Die Scheibengestalt lässt an Akrotere dieser Form denken, die am Ende eines von halbrunden Kalypteren des sog. lakonischen Typs überdeckten Firstbalkens angebracht waren; sie erscheinen somit über der Giebelmitte eines Satteldaches als abschließender, dabei mit einem Frontschmuck versehener Firstkalypter und werden als Scheibenakrotere bezeichnet. Dafür gibt es hinreichend Beispiele archaischer Zeit mit reicher Frontverzierung aus dem griechischen Mutterland und Unteritalien,² seltener Belege aus dem kleinasiatischen Bereich,³ bisher aber mit Ausnahme von Olbia⁴ nicht von den Küsten des Schwarzen Meeres. Deshalb ist auch nicht zu beurteilen und als Gegenargument anzuführen, ob wie bei jenen auch hier die Frontscheibe generell den rückwärtigen Firstkalypter überragt und insgesamt größere Dimensionen besessen hat. Aus dem histrianischen Fragment lässt sich für die Scheibe lediglich ein vergleichsweise geringer Durchmesser von *ca.* 25 cm erschließen. Aufgrund des randnahen Bruches an der Rückseite des Fragmentes müsste dann in der oberen Hälfte ein halbrunder Kalypter gleicher Abmessungen angeschlossen haben, während der untere Scheibenteil über den Deckziegel herabhing.⁵ In Histria ist in Bruchstücken zwar ein halbrunder Deckziegeltyp mit sehr großen Abmessungen belegt,⁶ der deshalb als Firstkalypter angesprochen wurde, doch passt dessen Breitenmaß von *ca.* 38 cm nicht zum rekonstruierten Durchmesser des histrianischen Fragments. Vielmehr nähert sich dieser den normal dimensionierten

² Van Buren 1926, 179–83; Goldberg 1982, 215–16; Kästner 1990; Winter 1993, 101–04, 137–40.

³ Åkerström 1966, 46, Anm. 4, 48, 51–52, 55, Taf. 20.1–2, 21.3 (Larisa am Hermos), 34 (Phokaia; dieselbe Werkstatt wie Larisa), 10, 53 (Neandria; fraglich, ob Scheibenakroter), 99, 101, Abb. 31.2 (Samos); Goldberg 1982, 216–17 (Larisa, Neandria, Phokaia, Samos); Winter 1993, 246–47 (Sardes, Larisa), 262 (Samos, Thasos).

⁴ Kryzhitskii *et al.* 2006, 103–04, 377, Abb. 98.1–3.

⁵ Dass dies prinzipiell denkbar ist, zeigen Beispiele bei Kästner 1990, 261, Fig. 2.

⁶ Zimmermann 1990a, 163, Anm. 6, 168, Abb. 5 (rechts); 1990b, 227, Taf. 29a (rechts).

halbrunden histrianischen Deckziegeln, die durchschnittlich 24–26 cm Breite und 10–12 cm Scheitelhöhe erreichen. Doch daraus den Schluss zu ziehen, es könnte sich um die Verschlussplatte (Antefix) eines Traufkalypfers handeln, verbietet sich schon deshalb, weil diese niemals auf der Scheibe gedreht, sondern in Modeln angefertigt wurden. So bleibt die Unsicherheit, ob im vorgestellten Fragment wirklich der Überrest eines Scheibenakroters zu erkennen ist, der dann über dem heute abgeriebenen Überzug noch farblich gefasst gewesen sein kann, wie es Fragmente z. B. aus Larisa am Hermos⁷ bewahren.

2. (Abb. 2a–c)

Histria, Alte Funde, 1914–1942.

Maße (max.): Höhe = 14,8 cm; Breite links = 5,0 cm; Breite rechts = 12,0 cm.

Aus zwei Bruchstücken zusammengesetztes Eckfragment mit zwei ungefähr rechtwinklig aufeinander stoßenden Fronten; diese sind plattenförmig gebildet, an Rückseiten geglättet und zeigen dort einen abgerundeten Übergang zwischen beiden Schenkeln; sonst allseitig gebrochen, ist nur an der rechten Front oben ein schräg ansteigender rahmender Wulst erhalten; die gewinkelte Front zeigt in schwachem Relief eine Palmette, die von einem oben spitzwinkligen, an der Oberfläche gänzlich abgeschlagenen Kern ausgeht, der möglicherweise zwischen seitlichen Voluten – rechts in Umrissen erhalten – sitzt.

Hellroter, glimmerhaltiger Ton von dichter Grundsubstanz mit weißlicher, rötlicher und schwärzlicher Magerung.

Oberflächen ganz stark abgerieben, nur an Rückseite Reste dunkelroter Farbgebung.

Lit.: Zimmermann 1990a, 156, 162, 170, Abb. 12.

Bei diesem Stück handelt es sich zweifellos um den Überrest eines Eckakroters in Palmettenform, auch wenn die Art seiner Anbringung wegen des unteren Bruches nicht nachvollzogen werden kann. Die rechts erhaltene Partie einer schräg ansteigenden Rahmenbegrenzung macht deutlich, dass das Akroter oben in einer Spitze auslief, die im Bereich des Eckwinkels gelegen haben muss, denn dieser fungierte zugleich als Symmetrieachse der über beide Fronten ausgebreiteten Palmette. Die jeweils durch einen wulstartigen Steg voneinander abgesetzten und flammenförmig ausschweifenden Blätter gehen von einem zur Ecke hin spitzwinklig ansteigenden Kern aus, der – nach den geringen Spuren zu urteilen – aus dem Zwickel eines Volutenpaares entsprungen sein könnte.

Von einigen Vorstufen abgesehen, treten Palmettenakrotere in der griechischen Architektur durchgängig erst im frühen 5. Jh. v. Chr. auf.⁸ Im Laufe dieses

⁷ Vgl. Anm. 3.

⁸ Volkert 1932, 18, 21.

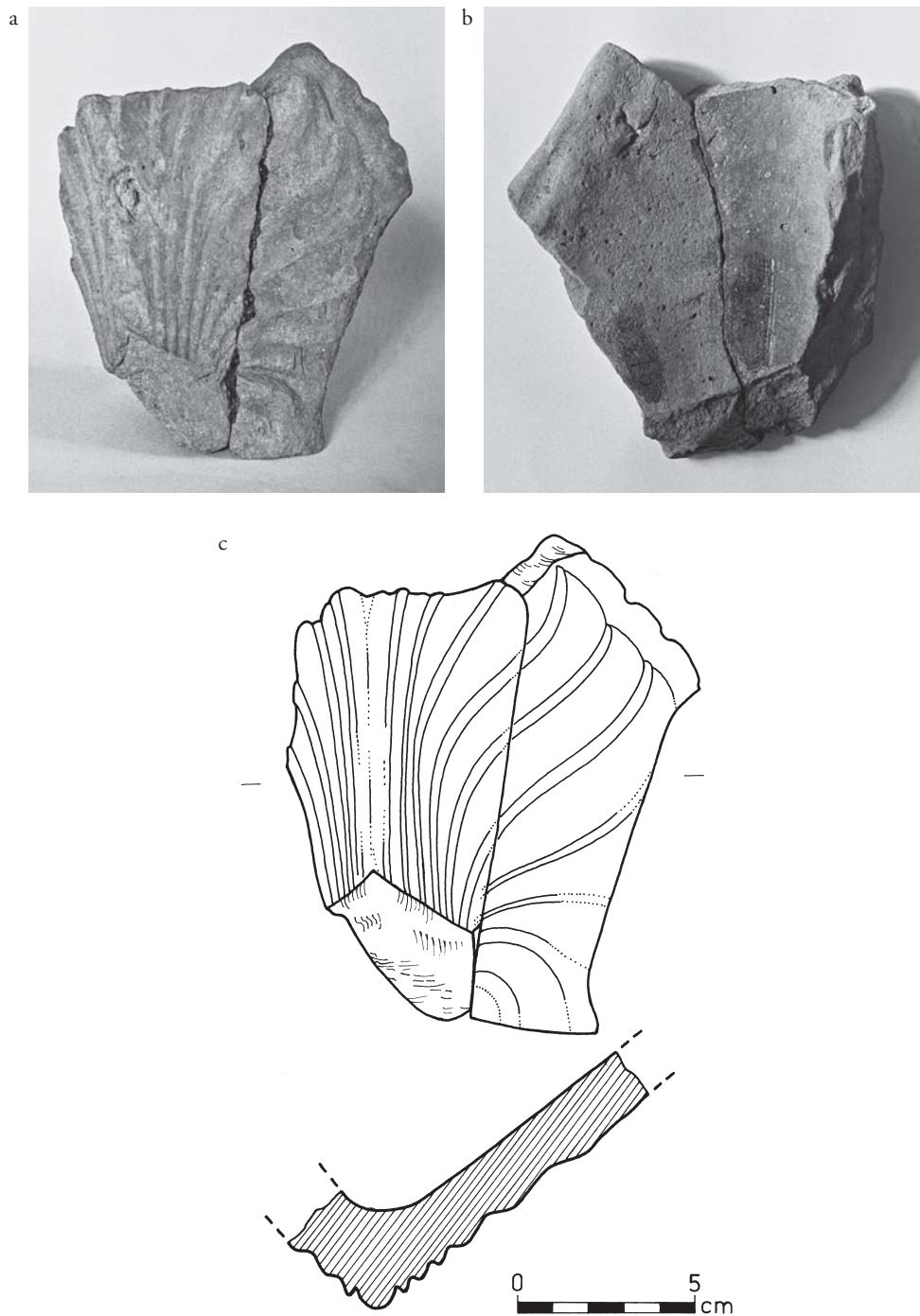


Abb. 2a–c: Fragment eines Eckakroters.

Jahrhunderts entwickelt sich dann der Voluten-Palmettenbaum, doch setzen sich seit den pflanzlichen Akroterschöpfungen des Parthenon in der Folgezeit die Akanthus-Palmettenbäume durch.⁹ Das histrianische Akroter-Fragment könnte also frühestens im 5. Jh. v. Chr. entstanden sein, wobei seine flammenförmig aufgerichteten Palmettenblätter, die fächerartig schräg gestellt sind und sich vom jeweils benachbarten Blatt deutlich abheben, kaum am Anfang stehen können.¹⁰ Vielmehr setzen sie den Gebrauch der Flammenpalmette auch in anderen künstlerischen Bereichen wie etwa den Stelenbekrönungen¹¹ voraus, die ihrerseits von den Akroteren des Parthenon¹² inspiriert sein werden. Andererseits klingen solche Tendenzen noch nicht an, wie sie an hellenistischen Palmetten-Antefixen¹³ beobachtet werden können, bei denen die Isolierung der Blätter im Vordergrund steht. Deshalb soll das histrianische Eckakroter versuchsweise in das 4. Jh. v. Chr. datiert werden.

Es würde damit in dasselbe Jahrhundert wie das berühmte Marmorakroter aus Phanagoreia¹⁴ gehören, mit dem ein vermuteter Dachschmuck ganz anderer Qualität aus dem Schwarzmeergebiet überliefert ist. Ein älteres, noch dem Ende des 6. Jhs. v. Chr. zugewiesenes Fragment eines Eckakroters aus Kalkstein mit vertieften Begrenzungslinien der Palmette stammt aus Olbia,¹⁵ von wo auch Fragmente tönerner Eckakrotere erhalten zu sein scheinen.¹⁶ Von der Westküste des Schwarzen Meeres sind dagegen bisher keine tönernen Eckakrotere bekannt geworden, denn für ein Dachterrakotten-Fragment aus Nesebâr,¹⁷ das stilistisch sicher in das 5. Jh. v. Chr. gehört und als Überrest eines Eckakroters angesprochen wurde, scheint gerade dies nicht sicher; zudem bietet es keine motivische Parallele zu dem Stück aus Histria.

3. (Abb. 3a–b)

Sinoë, 1952, Siedlung am Zmeica-See (rückwärtige Aufschrift: Sin 52 Zmeica -20/0,10–0,30/0,40–1,30; V 5691 [=altes Inventar]).

Maße (max.): Höhe = 9,9 cm; Breite = 15,1 cm; Tiefe = 3,6 cm.

⁹ Gropengießer 1961; Lauter-Bufé 1974, 225–26.

¹⁰ Bei den monumentalen Steinakroteren verkörpern diejenigen des Aphaia-Tempels auf Aegina den Beginn des Voluten-Palmettenbaumes. Unter denen aus Ton gehört ein Eckakroter-Fragment aus Athen, von dem nur die Volutenansätze erhalten sind und das in seiner Ergänzung ungeklärt bleibt, an die Wende 6./5. Jh. v. Chr. (Buschor 1933, 41–42, Abb. 55–56).

¹¹ Blümel 1966, 18–19, Nr. 7, Abb. 8.

¹² Gropengießer 1961, Taf. 6, 10, 33.

¹³ Vgl. Zimmermann 2014, 128, 131–32, mit Vergleichsmaterial und Literaturhinweisen.

¹⁴ Sokolov 1976, 41, Nr. 54, Abb. 54.

¹⁵ Skudnova 1959, 252 mit Abb. 4.

¹⁶ Rusyaeva 1994, 83, Abb. 1.3. Kryzhitskii *et al.* 2006, 101, 376, Abb. 96.1–2.

¹⁷ Oggenova-Marinova 1980, 146, Nr. 82, 149, Abb. 70.

a



b

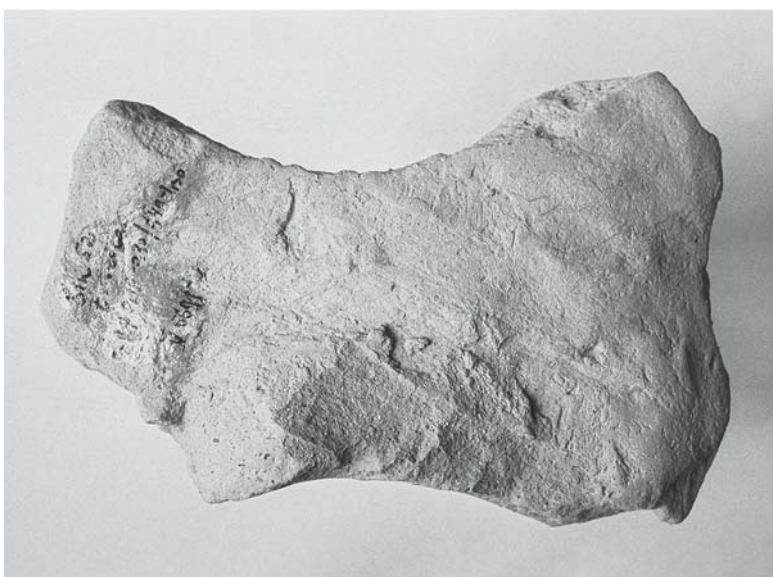


Abb. 3a–b: Fragment eines Firstakroters.

Unregelmäßig starke, außer unten allseitig gebrochene Platte; der flach gewölbten unteren Auflagefläche entspricht an der mit der Hand roh geformten Rückseite der gerade noch erkennbare Abdruck eines vermutlich halbrunden Kalypters; an der Front ist der untere wulstartige Streifen im oberen Teil mit einer eingetieften Zickzacklinie geschmückt; darüber setzt ein symmetrisch angelegtes, nach oben aufgerolltes und mit seitlichen Ranken versehenes Volutenpaar an; dessen stark angehobener Mittelteil bildet den Kern einer siebenteiligen Palmette, von der die Blätter – außer dem linken – nur im Ansatz erhalten sind, wobei das mittlere möglicherweise durch Riefelung besonders hervorgehoben war.

Ziegelroter, glimmerhaltiger Ton von sandigem Charakter mit weißlicher, rötlicher und viel schwärzlicher Magerung.

Früher wohl ockerfarbener bis gelblicher Überzug [Coja], heute nicht mehr erhalten.

Lit.: Coja und Dupont 1979, 53, Nr. 93, Taf. 11.93.

Dieses interessante Fragment wurde außerhalb der Stadt Histria – nämlich mehrere Kilometer nördlich von ihr – in der Gemarkung des Dorfes Sinoë am Ufer des Zmeica-Sees gefunden. Von diesem Dachschmuck ist nur etwa die untere, zudem beschädigte Hälfte erhalten. Unten befindet sich kein gerader Abschluss, sondern eine gerundete Wölbung, die an der Front durch einen streifenartigen, oben verzierten Wulst hervorgehoben wird und hinten gerade noch die Bruchfläche des rückwärtigen Deckziegels erkennen lässt. Demnach hat das als Antefix¹⁸ angesprochene Fragment nicht – wie bei Stirnziegeln verbindlich – wie eine Verschlussplatte vor dem zugehörigen Kalypter gesessen und dessen untere Stirn vollkommen verdeckt, vielmehr wird diese Wölbung sichtbar gewesen sein. Das ist für einen traufseitig anzubringenden Stirnziegel ganz ungewöhnlich, besteht dessen generelle Funktion doch gerade darin, das Ineinandergreifen von Flach- und Deckziegel im Bereich des Dachrandes dem Blick zu entziehen. So liegt der Gedanke nahe, dieses Fragment an den First eines Satteldaches zu verweisen. Bei größeren Dächern kann eine ganze Reihe solcher Schmuckelemente dem First aufsitzen, doch sind sie dann ‘zweigesichtig’, nämlich mit zwei Ansichtsseiten ausgebildet,¹⁹ was auf das Fragment aus Sinoë jedoch nicht zutrifft. So kommt für dieses schließlich nur eine Position am Firstende als ein das Giebfeld bekrönender Firstakroter in Frage.²⁰ Diese wiederum sind stets einansichtig und symmetrisch aufgebaut – Forderungen also, die das behandelte Fragment erfüllt. Eine ebenfalls als Antefix angesprochene Dachterrakotte hellenistischer Zeit aus

¹⁸ Coja und Dupont 1979, 53.

¹⁹ Da sie in der Regel mit Palmetten geschmückt sind, werden sie meist als Firstpalmetten bezeichnet.

²⁰ Durch Kryzhitskii *et al.* 2006, 101–03, 376, Abb. 97.1–2, sind zwei Fragmente aus Olbia wegen ihrer Größe als Überreste von archaischen Firstakroteren angesprochen worden.

Sinope²¹ zeigt unten ebenfalls eine fast halbrunde Krümmung und an der Rückseite den Ansatz des halbrunden Deckziegels, ist bei sonst anderem Aussehen zumindest in diesem Punkt ähnlich konstruiert. Trotzdem bleibt die Art des Anbringens über der Giebelmitte – abhängig vom Eindeckungsmaterial des Daches möglicherweise mittels einer Lehmбетung – hinsichtlich des Anblicks unbefriedigend und wohl nur an einem einfacheren Bauwerk denkbar.

Auch die Datierung des Fragments bleibt unsicher: Das wenige, was von dem mit seitlichen Fortsätzen ausgestatteten und nur lose aufgerollten Volutenpaar sowie der aus ihrer Mitte aufstrebenden Palmette erhalten ist, verrät einen lockeren, fast flüchtigen Aufbau, zumindest im Bereich der Voluten isolierte Einzelteile und bei der Palmette ein möglicherweise hervorgehobenes Mittelblatt, alles Eigenschaften, die noch am ehesten mit einer hellenistischen Entstehungszeit zu vereinbaren sind. Der für den Siedlungsplatz festgestellte weite Belegungszeitraum vom 5.–2. Jh. v. Chr. widerspricht dem Zeitansatz des erschlossenen Firstakroters nicht, das man sich beim wohl eher ländlichen Charakter des Fundplatzes nur als Schmuck eines kleinen, ohnedies bescheidenen Gebäudes wird vorstellen können.

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²¹ Åkerström 1966, 119, Taf. 60.5.

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A SIANA CUP OF HEIDELBERG PAINTER FROM HISTRIA

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Abstract

This article discusses a fragmentary Siana cup found in the Sacred Area of Histria in 2007. The cup belongs to the Heidelberg Painter and shows a scene with a row of six men in a Dionysian procession. A cup of unknown provenance bearing an almost identical scene appeared in the Bosshard Collection in Basel. Such votaries of Dionysos are a common and original theme in the work of Heidelberg Painter. As inspiration he had the work of the C Painter, one of the earlier masters of Siana cup. Cups of the Heidelberg Painter were found very often in Ionian sanctuaries and it seems to have influenced some Ionian artists.

The 2007 excavations in the Sacred Area (Fig. 1) in the north-western part of Histria have yielded 17 fragments of a double-decker Siana cup. They were discovered in a layer of yellowish clay near a monumental wall of the late Archaic period (Fig. 2), probably part of the *peribolos*. The vessel was apparently broken *in situ*. The cup (Fig. 3) is only partly preserved: the foot, the handles, the greater part of the lip and tondo, as well as more than half of the body are missing. Moreover, the reconstruction left three lacunae in the preserved part.

Description. Inv. no. His 07 T 50.1: preserved height 10.7 cm; width between 0.37 and 0.24 cm. The body of the cup is wide and has an estimated diameter of 25 cm. Exterior and interior surfaces are well preserved, except for some scratches on the exterior.

The lip is decorated with an ivy frieze with crosses and dots between the leaves. Only the lower parts of four ivy leaves are preserved, one of them painted with red over the black glaze. The jog was marked by a black and red line.

The lower body of the cup shows three horizontal lines of between 0.6 and 1 mm width, thickening in its lower part. Below these, traces of decoration are visible, which probably belong to a band with meander hooks. As preserved, the decoration on the interior consists of red and black tongues below two horizontal bands.

The body of the cup is decorated with a frieze of six men, only two of whom could be completely restored. With the two leftmost ones, only the lower parts of the bodies are preserved; for the last three, the upper part. Four of them have drinking-horns in their hands, and the others probably had them too. Taking its

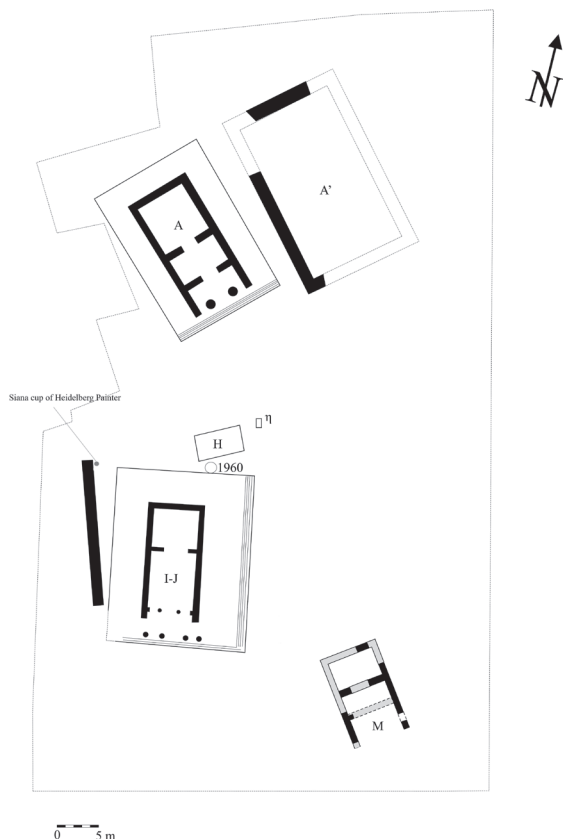


Fig. 1: Plan of the Sacred Area of Histria in the late Archaic period.



Fig. 2: Late Archaic *peribolos*(?), view from the south; in the background is Monument C (Hellenistic).

original form into account, the vessel could accommodate at least one more figure on this side.

Thanks especially to Herman Brijder, Siana cups became one of the best-known categories of Attic black-figure pottery. Brijder has produced three volumes in which the painters of Siana cups are discussed in detail, the second of which concerns the work of the Heidelberg Painter, to whom the cup from Histria can be attributed.¹ With the fourth and fifth figures, the eyes are rendered with small circles between horizontal dashes, while a tiny circle is added in the centre of the eye of the sixth figure, a characteristic of the Heidelberg Painter's style.² All the

¹ For the Heidelberg Painter, see Beazley 1956, 63–67; Brijder 1991.

² Brijder 1991, 409.



Fig. 3: Siana cup of the Heidelberg Painter from the Sacred Area of Histria.

decorative elements, such as the tondo borders,³ the motif of ivy-wreath on the lip⁴ or the meander hooks on the lower part of the body,⁵ have parallels in the cups from the Heidelberg Painter's middle period, between 560 and 550 BC.

Such processions of men are not uncommon on Siana cups. From this point of view the present cup is not an exceptional discovery. What characterises the scene are the almost identical six figures of 8.3 cm height, towards the left, each with drinking-horn in his right hand and an ivy-wreath on his head. The rhytons in their hands and the ivy-wreathes on their heads make the men resemble Dionysos, only their beards being smaller than that of the deity. In view of this particular detail we may surmise that all of the personages depicted are of the same age.

A cup with an almost identical scene, its provenance unknown, appeared in the Bosshard Collection in Basel. It too has been allotted to the Heidelberg Painter's middle period.⁶ It is complete, but the decoration is poorly preserved. Apart from the men in the main scenes on both sides, another man, looking backwards, is depicted below each handle. The shape, decoration and type of scene closely resemble the Histrian cup. We are dealing clearly with a variation on the same theme, i.e. votaries of Dionysos, one of the major subjects of the Heidelberg Painter. The

³ Brijder 1991, 350–51, fig. 89e–f.

⁴ Brijder 1991, 368, fig. 90k.

⁵ Brijder 1991, 373, fig. 94a.

⁶ Brijder 1991, 396. 448, cat. 361, pls. 117–118. Another very fragmentary cup of Heidelberg Painter found in Corinth shows probably a similar procession (see Brownlee 1987, 88–89, cat. 25, pl. 15).

Bosshard cup also shows that the missing figure on the Histrian cup is most likely a double-aulos player.

The fringed himation with a shawl-like flap is the common attire for males in the Heidelberg Painter's oeuvre.⁷ Here, however, the Histria cup differs from the Bosshard in some details of the male clothing. The first man has incised triangles on the shawl-like flap, the third incised crosses, the fifth painted rosettes, the last two wavy lines on the neck. The fact that each figure has a differently decorated costume is also characteristic of the Painter, who liked to render embellished garments. Furthermore, the Bosshard cup shows another decoration of the lower part of the cup, with two lines instead of three, and lacking the painted crosses and dots between the ivy-leaves on the lip. Its tondo shows Heracles' fight with the Nemean lion, which may well have figured on the Histrian cup as well. As other cups of middle period of Heidelberg Painter suggest, one may suppose that the Histrian cup had a similar scene on the reverse to that on the obverse.

Votaries of Dionysos are a common and original theme in the work of the Heidelberg Painter, who brought more than ten new subjects to the exterior of his cups.⁸ He may have found inspiration in the work of the C Painter, who was active a little earlier. Two cups of the C Painter, found at Taranto and Borysthenes respectively, show that such scenes with six identical men following a seventh one towards an altar were common in his workshop.⁹ Even though the two painters differ in the context of the procession scenes, one being the sacrifice of a bull, the other a *symposium*, the Histrian cup shows the clear and direct influence of the C Painter on the work of the Heidelberg Painter.¹⁰ As in the case of the six figures on the cup from Taranto, the men on the cups from Histria and Basel are similar and have the same age. The C Painter's men stand still and do not show an interest in motion, while the Heidelberg Painter's seem to perform a ceremony with songs for Dionysos, a scene that becomes common in the following period, as shown in the work of the Amasis Painter, who was directly influenced by the Heidelberg Painter.¹¹

Undoubtedly, the Heidelberg Painter's work was appreciated in the Ionian milieu, as demonstrated by the finds from Ionia¹² and from other cities on the

⁷ Brijder 1991, 336.

⁸ Brijder 1991, 336.

⁹ On the cup from Taranto, see Gebauer 2002, 683, fig. 1, cat. P1, and Brijder 1983, 12, cat. 23, pl. 12; also *ThesCRA* 1, 2004, 18, pl. 6, Gr. 117. The other cup was discovered in Borysthenes (modern Berezan), and was considered a later work of the C Painter, being dated between 570 and 560 BC (Smith 2010, 183, cat. 13).

¹⁰ Even though the C Painter had many imitators, Brijder (1991, 337) considers negligible his influence on the Heidelberg Painter.

¹¹ von Bothmer 1985, 78, fig. 58.

¹² A fragment from Smyrna (see Tuna-Nörthing 1995).

western coast of Asia Minor,¹³ as well as from Ionian colonies such as Borysthene.¹⁴ Moreover, his works have mainly come to light in Ionian sanctuaries,¹⁵ at Gravisca in Etruria,¹⁶ the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Miletus,¹⁷ and especially in Thasos, where 37 cups (three-quarters of his cups) have been uncovered.¹⁸ Apart from the cup under discussion, another of his cups was discovered in the Sacred Area of Histria.¹⁹ Also a third cup belonging to him came from Histria, but lacking a properly known context.²⁰

The recently found cup from Histria has an additional value in showing that the popularity of its subject, the 'votaries of Dionysos', started in the middle period of the Heidelberg Painter's activity. He is the first painter who modified the procession scene with six men in a row into ceremonies honouring the wine-god. In the C Painter's scenes, the procession had nothing to do with Dionysian realm, the figures being rather 'anonyme Stellvertreter des Personals im Heiligtum'.²¹ This theme lasted a long time, until the end of his activity.²² Furthermore, the Heidelberg Painter's innovation in the outfit of the Dionysian ceremonies, namely drinking-horns and ivy-wreaths, soon became stock themes of Attic painters, as illustrated by a type B amphora of the Amasis Painter in Berlin.²³ Note that drinking-horns could occur with Corinthian komasts from the second half of Early Corinthian onwards – witness two items by the Wellcome Painter.²⁴

Most probably, the influence of the Heidelberg Painter was not limited to Attic workshops but also affected other production centres. A good example is given by an amphora discovered before the Second World War at Histria (Fig. 4). It belongs to the Fikellura style,²⁵ but was most probably locally produced, to judge from clay analysis.²⁶ With its double-aulos player facing a row of six dancers wearing caps with branches on their heads, one holding a drinking-horn in his left

¹³ Four pieces at Pitane (cf. Tuna-Nörthing 1995, 56–59, cat. 6–9).

¹⁴ Smith 2010, 184, cat. 17–18, figs. 16–17; *CVA Russia* 15, 13–14, cat. 7–9, pl. 1.

¹⁵ Brijder 1991, 337.

¹⁶ Two fragments (see Iacobazzi 2004, 34–35).

¹⁷ Brijder 2000, 731.

¹⁸ Brijder 1991, 337; 2000, 730–31. Thasos shares its pattern of votives with Ionia (cf. Neeft 2012, 190).

¹⁹ Alexandrescu 1978, 73, cat. 370.

²⁰ Alexandrescu 1978, 73, cat. 372.

²¹ Gebauer 2002, 478.

²² A cup from the late period of the Heidelberg Painter, from Pesaro, shows a central figure surrounded on each side by three men, two holding drinking-horns and the third a phiale (see Brijder 1991, cat. 421).

²³ von Bothmer 1985, 78, fig. 58.

²⁴ Cf. Seeberg 1971, 103.

²⁵ Lambrino 1938, 317–19, figs. 302–303, pl. IV; Alexandrescu 1978, 54, pl. 18, cat. 166.

²⁶ Dupont 1983, 36.

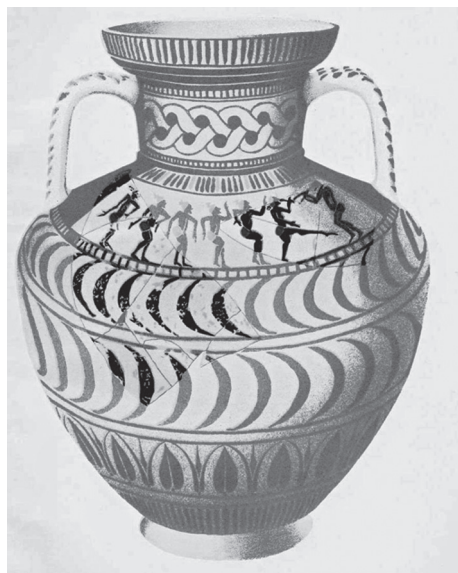


Fig. 4: Fikellura amphora from Histria (after Lambrino 1938, pl. IV).

hand, the scene on the Histrian amphora is rather foreign to South Ionian pottery. The six dancers are split into two groups of three, the first with raised left hands, the second with both hands dropped, representing two different stages of the dance. Similar stages are known to have started with the Heidelberg Painter, as for example on a cup from the Allard Pierson Museum in Amsterdam.²⁷ Given the lack of detail, it is not clear whether the Histrian amphora reflects direct influence from the Heidelberg Painter or from another Athenian painter active in the middle/third quarter of 6th century BC.

To conclude, the Heidelberg Painter's vessels were undoubtedly very popular in the Ionian cities and their colonies, as the find in the Sacred Area in Histria also attests. Some of his scenes were inspired by this part of the world.²⁸ Furthermore it seems that he inspired Ionian artists in his turn.

²⁷ Brijder 1991, 397–404, fig. 96. On such scenes at the end of the 6th century, see Hatzivassiliou 2010, 46.

²⁸ For the relation of the Heidelberg Painter with the Thracian world, see Brijder 1991, 400–04; 2000, 677, pl. 250c–d.

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NOT ANY MAN IS FORTUNATE IN THE GLORY OF GAMES*

VASILICA LUNGU

Abstract

This paper presents four fragments of two different game-boards and one round gaming-piece from the excavations of the tumulus/*Heroon* (TA95) at Orgame/Argamum, focusing on their role in the hero-cult. These objects stand apart as some of the most specific for the development of the hero-cult in a Greek Pontic colony. These board-games are the first to be discovered in the tomb of a founder in the Black Sea region.

Tumulus TA95 of Orgame/Argamum (Jurilovca, Tulcea county) (Fig. 1) was identified some years ago as among the earliest Greek tombs in the Black Sea. In one of my previous articles, I identified this tumulus as covering the tomb of the oikist, the leader of the initial group and founder of the community at Orgame.¹ Generally, the founder of newly established colonial city becomes *Hero-Ktistes*.² He was the first, opening the lineage of rulers honoured as heroes.³ At Orgame/Argamum,

* Paraphrasing Pindar *Isthmia* 3. 1: 'If any man be fortunate in the glory of games...'. I am extremely glad to participate at this volume devoted to a great epigraphist and historian, my friend, Alexandru Avram. 'La mulți ani, Alexandru!' Thanks to Gocha Tsetskhladze for inviting me to participate in this project.

¹ Lungu 2000; 2002; 2006; 2007, 346–48. On the oikist cult and its relation with colonial process, see Malkin 1987. Certain sites preserved the testimonies of the founders' heroisation. For an inventory, see Antonaccio 1995; Mazarakis Ainian 1999. As to the definition of oikist, there is a long debate, which can be followed in Malkin 1987; 2002; 2005, 66–71; Osborne 1998. For the earliest traces of hero-cult in the 8th century BC, see Antonaccio 1995, 41–56.

² On the *Hero-Ktistes*, see Burkert 1985, 206; O'Shea 1981; 1984; Parker Pearson 1999, 76.

³ On the hero-cult, Snodgrass (1982, 107) suggests that it derives from the cult of dead, from which it is separated by a longer period of practice. J. Morris (1988, 756–57) notes that it could have been a way that the old aristocracy, antagonistic to *polis* ideals, used to maintain their identity and their legitimate authority, 'justifying aristocratic powers in the face of rising *polis*'. He distinguished between Ionian and Dorian cult practice. Van Effenterre 1988, 174: 'Il est conçu au départ comme un homme de progrès, un civilisateur'. On the hero-cult in overseas foundations, see Antonaccio 1999, 115 (who differentiated between the hero-cult, verifiable only relatively late, 8th–7th centuries BC – the first securely identified such cult is that of Helen and Menelaus – and tomb cults, possibly originating in the Bronze Age). J. Morris (1986, 129) suggests that one of the meanings of the hero-cult is 'the eighth-century *basileis* were the direct lineal descendants of the heroic *basileis*'. On the hero-cult as a religious phenomenon, see Currie 2005, chapter 4 (where he insists on the differences between 'heroes of cult' and 'heroes of epic', both aspects created more by academic exercise in scholarly debates). The city founders and re-founders required normally heroic status, see Chaniotis 2003. For



Fig. 1: Tumulus/Heroon TA95 of Orgame/Argamum (photograph, Vasilica Lungu archive).

this status is supported not only by the relation between the nature of the offerings, but by the relation between the complex construction of that tumulus and the constant participation of the worshippers as successors to such an ancestor honoured for his contribution and good virtues.⁴ It has been shown in my previously cited works that the cult of the founder extended for many generations, evidenced by the different kinds of offerings found in the trench which surrounded the tomb. Like his memory, his tomb becomes sacred in the conscience of members of his family.⁵

Among the finds of Tumulus TA95, the trench deposit delivered four fragments of game-boards (*plinthion* or *lusoria tabula*)⁶ (Figs. 2–4), made of different stones,

written sources concerning tombs with a hero-cult, see Seaford 1994, 114–23. ‘Il n’était donc pas un coin de la Grèce qui n’eût ou qui ne voulût avoir son héros. Ce héros était le divin patron de pays, le génie protecteur attaché à son existence’ (Decharme 1886, 501).

⁴ Comparatively, Greek literature preserved numerous examples of historical ‘big men’ who received the hero-cult on their death: for example, the Spartan kings (see Xenophon *Hellenica* [*Polity of Lacedaemonians*] 15. 9).

⁵ For similar patterns, we can note here the example of the family of Battus, the founder of Cyrene, which was also sacred, like him (Pindar *Pythian* 5. 96–98).

⁶ The term for the board, *πλινθίων*, is attested by Pollux 9. 998: ‘the game played with many pieces is a board, *πλινθίων*, with spaces disposed among lines: the board is called “city” and each piece a “dog”

and one round piece of an amphora wall (Fig. 5). The stone pieces represent two different game-boards of two sizes: giant and miniature. The first two fragments (Figs. 2–3),⁷ belonging to a giant game-board, are made of local limestone, while both miniatures (Fig. 4) are made of black slate. The fragmentary state of these pieces and their degree of wear are hazardous. The meaning and function of these stone boards as associated with ancient Greek games are shown by similar archaeological finds and literary evidence.

The first two stone squared fragments (Figs. 2–3) are bigger and show a regular system of incised lines, forming a board-game with ten squares distributed on three/four lines. Both are incised with regular squares on the one large and flat side of a local limestone.⁸ Both fragments, found in the section S1 N, are large enough to permit their identification as parts of a board-game of 20 pieces (= ‘vingt case’).⁹ The unfinished margins of these pieces might suggest that they originally have had a wooden frame.

The following two fragments (Fig. 4), both of small dimension but sufficiently large to show regular square cells, are found together in the same level, and we can presume that they might have come from the same game-board piece. The regular incised pattern is formed by small square cells with a side of 9 mm.¹⁰ The first

(κύων); the pieces are of two colours, and the art of the game consists in taking a piece of one colour by enclosing it between two of the other colours. It is quite clearly a battle-game’. See also Lamer 1927; Austin 1940, 263–64. Kurke (1999b, 252) calls them ‘games of order’, assimilated to the Greek *pessoi*. The origin of the Greek games fades in the mist of time, as Athenaios vaguely records in *Deipnosophistes* 1. 19A: ‘Herodotus (1.94.1–7) is wrong in saying that games were invented as a consequence of famine in time of Attyis; since the heroic age antedated his time’ (translated by author). For *plinthion*, see Falkener 1892, 45: ‘Hesychius says sixty... and that the *plinthion* or board had certain parts of it called a city – *polis*, applying probably to groups or masses pieces in different parts of the board’.

⁷ Both illustrations were made by Loïc Damelet of the Centre Camille Jullian, Aix-Marseilles, in the frame of the French-Romanian Programme ‘ANR-Pont Euxin, Orgame, nécropole et territoire’, 2010–2012. Here, I would like to thank him for the exceptional quality of these photographs, as well as to thank Alexandre Baralis, director of the French team, for his support.

⁸ As to the material of which board-games were made, see the Hellenistic geographer Polemon, who mentions that it was possible to see a stone used by the Greeks as a game-board on the Trojan plain (*apud* Peller 1834, 64, fr. 32).

⁹ Concerning identification, see Kendall 1992; Fitta 1997, 158 and fig. 260. It seems that the Phoenicians have a role in the transmission of board-games from the East to the Greeks: ‘The existence of board games at Kēmid el-Lōz offers one example of how an Egyptian idea involving leisure and mortality might have travelled to Greece. Is it a coincidence that a chest from Cyprus, dated to the 11th century BC, is decorated with a checkerboard at both ends?’ (Morris and Papadopoulos 2004, 237–38: they considered it as a transmission and a transformation of the board-game to early Greece).

¹⁰ Lawlor 2002, 24: ‘By definition the square is four equal straight lines joined at right angles. But a more important definition is that the square is the fact that any number, when multiplied by itself, is a square. Multiplication is symbolized by a cross, and this graphic symbol itself is an accurate definition of multiplication. When we cross a vertical with a horizontal giving these line-movements

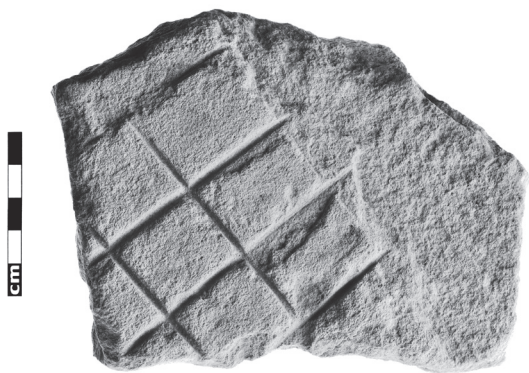


Fig. 2: Limestone Game-board
(photograph, Loïc Damelet).

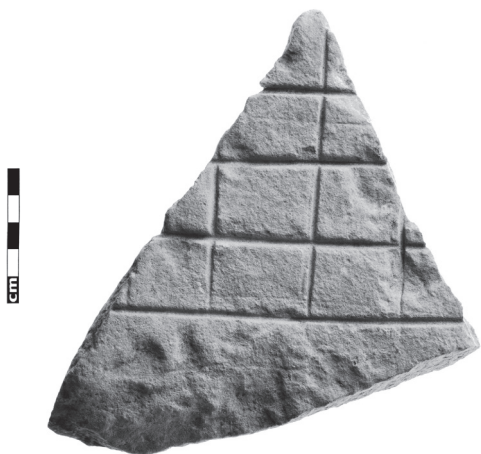


Fig. 3: Limestone Game-board
(photograph, Loïc Damelet).

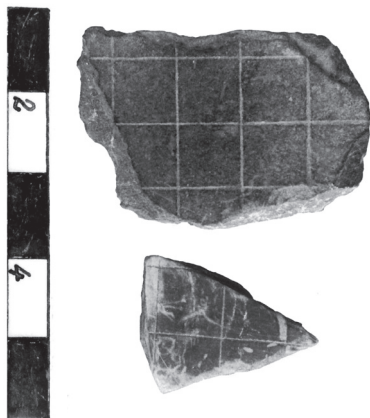


Fig. 4: Slate Game-board
(photograph, Vasilica Lungu archive).



Fig. 5: Ceramic round gaming piece
(photograph, Vasilica Lungu).

fragment, the bigger, preserves 17 cell traces (five complete; the others fragmentary) distributed in four rows, and the second, smaller, has 11 cell traces in three rows, all fragmentary. They carry no inscription and lack any lettering: their style and design are rather crude. An identical piece published by Gregory Zorzos in 2009¹¹ proves that both fragments belong to a small slate game-board. Both Ogame pieces were found near the bottom levels of the trench fill, which belongs to the Archaic and Classical periods, and represent exceptional votives among the other objects of the trench deposit. Slate board-games of this type were not previously known to us in the Black Sea.

Usually such board-games are combined with various types of pieces (dice, counters, pawns, etc.).¹² The context of the trench includes also evidence for a ceramic round piece (made of the body fragment of an amphora: Fig. 5) which refers rather to a playing system of board-games of large size, like that signalled by the items in Figs. 2–3.¹³ It is not likely for the second category, represented by the fragments of Fig. 4, which seems to be used for the small pieces, made of stone, cornelian or other materials.¹⁴ There is no certain information about origin of such game-boards, though their history may have started many centuries earlier: Herodotus (1. 94. 1–7) reported that Lydians were the originators of some Greek games. But their story is more controversial and complicated, or so analysts have suggested.¹⁵

The dating and interpretation of this new evidence of tumulus TA95 deserve our further attention. In order to establish the chronology of these four game-board fragments, we have to analyse the levels of the trench and the materials contained within them. The evidence for their firm chronology is not yet so clear, but it may be tempting to argue that the four game-board fragments belong to different periods. To establish this with more certainty, two approaches are possible: the first is

equal units of length, say 4 for example, we see that this crossing generates a square surface: a tangible, measurable entity comes into existence as a result of crossing. The principle can be transferred symbolically to the crossing of any contraries such as the crossing of male and female which gives birth to an individual being, or the crossing of warp and weft which gives birth to a cloth surface, or the crossing of darkness and light which gives birth to tangible, visible form, or the crossing of matter and spirit which gives birth to life itself. So the crossing is an action-principle which the square perfectly represents.’

¹¹ Zorzos 2009, 133.

¹² On the history of board-games, see Petrie 1927; Lamer 1927; H. Murray 1952; Bell 1960; 1979; de Voogt 1995; Parlett 1999, with bibliography; Schädler 2013.

¹³ Some miniature clay game-boards have oval knobs at each end of the incised lines (see Whittaker 2004, 279).

¹⁴ For identical piece with small round stone pieces, see Zorzos 2009, 133.

¹⁵ Bell (1983, 5) established that the board-game of classical Greece appears to have been derived from older games of Egypt, Ur and Palestine. In this case, the Lydians might have been the mediators. For different opinions, see the bibliography in n. 6.

to study them within the deposit of the trench, where the other materials offer chronological markers for the context; the second is to take into account close analogies. Thus, the giant game-board ought to be of a later date.

According to the numerous analogies with *latrunculi* boards scratched into the surface of a stone slab, one of them found at Chesters in Northumberland (preserved at Chesters Museum), and others in Dover, Mainz and many other sites studied by Ulrich Schädler.¹⁶ Several gaming-boards of this kind have been found in Roman sites in Britain. Some of them, having from 7 × 7 to 8 × 8 and 9 × 10 squares, and dating to the 1st century AD,¹⁷ are very similar.

We cannot be too precise about the date of the deposition of our piece, but a date between the 1st century BC and 1st century AD may be proposed. This period is sustainable also by Ovid's mention in *Tristia* 2. 477–480.¹⁸ At this time, the board-game *Ludus Latrunculorum* (literally 'The Soldiers Game') was very common among the Romans¹⁹ and it could be related to the group of Romans installed in the settlement of Greek Orgame (rendered in Roman times as Argamum).²⁰ Their presence is signalled equally in the last layers of the trench deposit which contain some pieces of the Roman and late Roman periods. Both of our giant stone game-boards can be dated hypothetically to this time.²¹

Latrunculi (or *Ludus Latrunculorum*) were equivalent to the Greek *petteia*;²² this is a game played with *pesoi* (i.e. 'pieces' or 'men').²³ References to *pesoi* start with Homer and come down to the lexicographers and Eustatius. Plato *Phaedrus* 274d

¹⁶ Schädler 2001, 10.

¹⁷ Schädler 2001, 10. There are also different numbers of squares reported.

¹⁸ Ovid was at this time in exile at Tomis (ca. AD 8–12), the other Ionian colony, placed to the south of Istros and Orgame. See the translation by S.G. Owen: *Tristia* (Oxford 1889).

¹⁹ For other finds in the northern Dobrudja related to the Roman board-games, see Nuțu and Boțan 2009; about Hellenistic board-games in the tombs of ancient Macedonia, see Ignatidou 1999, 2002; and the large variety of gaming-pieces come from Thracia, Nankov 2013. A recent study of the burials in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery site at Spong Hill in Norfolk (ca. AD 540–600), where a number of graves contained gaming-pieces, associates these with 'mental qualities relating to military ideology and status' (see Ravn 2000, cited by Whittaker 2004, 287, with detailed discussion).

²⁰ On the Roman period at Argamum (ancient Orgame), see Mănușu Adameșteanu 2003.

²¹ The hypothesis of the use of ceramic pieces, among others, for this kind of game-board is supported by the presence in the trench of offerings of a round gaming-piece made from a sherd of the body of an amphora (see Fig. 5).

²² Austin (1940, 258) noted that the Roman *latrunculi* and the Greek πεττεῖα have commonly been translated as 'chess', 'which is impossible'. The strategy of this game (chess), based on capture, is similar to the Roman battle-game of *latrunculi* (cf. Ovid *Ars Amandi* 3. 358; *tristia* 2. 478; and see more in Austin 1940, 258, 264–65; Lamer 1927). Varro (116–27 BC) is the first to mention the playing of *latrunculi*, and Macrobius (around AD 400) is the last. For the most recent conclusions about this matter, see May 1995; Schädler 2009a; 2013.

²³ Aristotle (*Politics* 1253a) compares a man without city, an *apolis*, with an isolated piece of *pesoi*: Austin 1940, 260, 265, with other evidence.

assigns an Egyptian origin to *petteia*. It is also present in *Republic* 374d and 487b, where he gives fruitful information about the character of the play: Socrates' victims were compared with 'bad *petteia*-players, who are finally cornered and made unable to move by clever ones'. Plato helps us to understand the differences between Greek games, as between *petteia* and *kybeia*, and the resemblances with *hiera gramme* (the sacred line = *ἱερὰ γραμμή*, cf. Theocritus 6. 18, *Schol.*). As Austin observed: 'A reasonable conclusion [is that] *petteia* was not a particular game, but a generic expression for a game probably of the battle-type and played without dice.'²⁴

It is interesting to note that the gaming-pieces and game-boards seem to be particularly associated in this area with the Greeks; they have never been reported from local archaeological contexts before the arrival of Greeks in the region. The earliest items discovered at Orgame are the two fragments of a small slate board-game (Fig. 4). Both were discovered in the same late Classical–Hellenistic layer as a coin of Alexander the Great.²⁵ It seems quite likely that these fragments came together with this coin from the same ritual event. It is not at all surprising, knowing that the games spread from ancient Athens to Persia, Asia Minor and India with the armies of Alexander the Great after 330 BC.

For the history of Greek board-games, the work of Niklas Hillbom on Minoan game-boards is fundamentally helpful to identify the origins and function of some of them, and precise enough about the various types of materials from which they were made. Having organised and described a large body of material, he re-evaluated the question of this game and re-established the history of its rules, analysing many previous works to do so, identifying its beginnings in the Minoan period: 'Many game-boards have been found in Near Eastern cultures, but on Minoan Crete a well-preserved find of this kind is unique.'²⁶

The Greek tradition preserved in various ways evidence of the Greek passion for board-games, as we can see in miniature clay models of game-boards of the Archaic period found in Attic tombs, where they were usually associated with the death.²⁷ The game-boards among the offerings in the trench of the tomb TA95 at Orgame are not unusual, but they are exceptional finds. Similar contexts of cremation burials are reported at Vari, known as the earliest example, dating to the middle of the 7th century BC. One later example, dating to the 6th century BC, comes from the 'Opferplatz' Y-Anlage LXXV in Kerameikos of Athens. Both these examples are

²⁴ Austin 1940, 261.

²⁵ Price 2000, no. 326A, no. 737.

²⁶ Hillbom 2005, 202.

²⁷ Kübler 1970, 512, cat. 129, pl. 102; Daux 1963, 715 (Vari, Attica). The funerary evidenced was studied in more developed discussions by Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 77–78; Vermeule 1979, 77–82; Garland 1985, 70; Dillon 2002, 281–82; Whittaker 2004, 279, n. 2.

called tables and they are decorated: 'the Kerameikos table was decorated with lions on the sides, while the Vari table was decorated with floral and abstract patterns'.²⁸ Similar pieces, also called 'tables', appear rarely in archaeological sites, and one fine example is that found at Hama.²⁹

Parallels can be found in contemporary literature. Plato recorded (*Republic* 487b and 422e) the popularity of board-games in contrast with other Greek games.³⁰ Among other literary examples of plays and their relationship with Homeric heroes, there is a fragment of the *Iliad* (23. 87–88) where Patrocles in his anger kills his opponent in a game of *astragaloi*. Eustathius noted *astragaloi* as a game of dice played with knuckle bones between other types of Greek games, such as that named πόλις. Suetonius mentioned the game of 'polis' as a game of dice, in which the pieces in a larger number were placed on a board in squares separated by lines and ἐκαλοῦντο αἱ μὲν γραμμακαὶ χῶραι πόλεις ἀστειότερον, αἱ δὲ ἀντεριβουλεύουσαι ἀλλήλαις ψῆφοι κύνες.³¹ Hansen adds a note of Pollux regarding another game with many pieces called *diagrammismos*, 'which, according to Eustathius, was played with sixty pieces, thirty black and thirty white'.³²

More information about this come from ancient sources and painted pottery. The representations on Greek painted vases often depict a scene with two or more characters playing a board-game, particularly in portrayals of the Homeric heroes Achilles and Ajax, who become favourites in Attic painted vases of the late Archaic period.³³ A recent inventory of Greek vases numbers 152 black-figured and 16 red-figured versions,³⁴ where Achilles and Ajax are identified as protagonists in painted scenes.³⁵

²⁸ See discussion in Whittaker 2004, 279.

²⁹ Fugmann 1958, 238; Otzen 1990, 316, e.

³⁰ On board-games in Plato, see also Hansen 2002; Whittaker 2004, 288 and n. 41.

³¹ Suetonius *Περὶ παιδιῶν* XXXa; Eustathius on *Odyssey* 1. 107; Hansen 2002, 12.

³² Eustathius *Iliad* 2. 728. 6–7 (Van der Valk); cf. Hansen 2002, 12, n. 20. The British Museum preserves some terracotta pieces shaped like heads of dogs, dated to the 5th century BC, which have been identified with the game of 'polis' (cf. Ridgeway 1896; Hansen 2002, 13).

³³ These representations are truly important for the history of board-games: cf. Austin 1940; O. Murray 1983, 195; Boardman 1978, 18; Moore 1980, 418–21; Kossatz-Deissman 1981; Hurwit 1985, 259–61; S. Morris 1997, 69; Kurke 1999a, 272–74; 1999b, 250–51; Hedreen 2001, 91–119; Woodford 2003, 116–17. The motif is usually discussed in relation to the famous scene painted by Exekias on an amphora in the Vatican Museum (BM E 10; Beazley 1956, 90, 33; Boardman 1978, 21; *LIMC* s.v. 'Achilleus', 101–02, no. 424). See further Moore 1980, 424–31; Woodford 1982, 178; S. Morris and Papadopoulos 2004, 235, who found the motif in Geometric pottery; Whittaker 2004, 281, n. 5 and 292.

³⁴ Laser 1987, 126–84, and table 60. About 155 vases were reported by Mommsen 1980. For extensive analyses, see also Woodford 1982, 181–84, pl. I–VI; Kurke 1999a, 270; Alvar Nuño 2006, 15–23.

³⁵ Depictions of Ajax and Achilles gaming were very common, particularly to the 6th and 5th centuries BC. But the game they are playing is generally considered impossible to determine (see

Different gaming-pieces were sometimes found in votive deposits, thus their function as symbolic objects is beyond doubt.³⁶ As votives, they are closely related with the hero-cult. This is supported by Gorgias fr. B. 11.a.30DK, where Palamedes had assumed the lineaments of the universal cultural hero, responsible for inventing the seasons, the cycle of measures, the numbers, the *pesoi* and the writing.³⁷ Jeffrey Hurwit, followed by Sarah Morris, sustained the association between board-games and two heroes, Achilles and Ajax, as a symbol of their destiny.³⁸ Also, in a more conventional view, playing may have been a sign of the aristocratic³⁹ origin of the deceased and, sometimes, of the participants in the offering ceremonies. Thucydides (1. 6. 3–5) outlines the symbolism of board-games as a mirror of the Athenian upper class. In the *Republic* (374C), Plato remarks that competence at board-games required intense practice, which was available for an aristocratic pastime.⁴⁰

The pieces which have come to light at Orgame reveal the continuous importance of an historical figure that we can associate with a leader of the Ionian group installed there, and we can document this. The finds might have been made in order to evoke his heroic dimensions and, eventually, involved a military, in the sense of protective, significance,⁴¹ in the same way that similar pieces were connected with the heroes of the Trojan War, Achilles and Ajax, as they are depicted on the Greek painted vases.⁴² In ancient literature, the origins of board-games are connected, in Sophoclean tradition, to Palamedes, who invented the dice and board-games in the

Lamer 1927, 1995; Woodford 1982, 184–85; Schädler 2009b, who identified ‘un jeu de table’). Following Herodotus 1. 63, where he speaks about *kuboi*, Boardman 1978 retains this identification. *Contra* Hurwit 1985, 260; Buchholz 1987, 183–84, cited by Kurke 1999b, 261. Romero Mariscal (2011) revisited the literary tradition of Ajax and Achilles playing a board-game. Both Homeric heroes are placed together by Pausanias (3. 19. 11) in the Pontic island of Leuce (about 45 km east of the Danube Delta), where Achilles helps blessed Ajax.

³⁶ Pausanias 2. 20. 3 related that Palamedes consecrated dice as offerings in the old temple of Tyche.

³⁷ For Gorgias fr. B. 11.a.30DK, see, Philostratos *Heroikos* 33. 1–3, cited by Kurke 1999a, 248 and 263–70 (where Kurke is not wrong to see the board-game in Herakleitos as a symbol of political order). For criticism and addenda to Kurke’s suggestion, see Seaford 2002, 164–65, n. 11.

³⁸ Hurwit 1985, 259–61; S. Morris 1997, 69. The literature on the subject is rich: see Boardman 1978, 18; Moore 1980, 418–21; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981; Woodford 1982; Hedreen 2001, 91–119; Woodford 2003, 116–17; S. Morris and Papadopoulos 2004, 235.

³⁹ Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1. 9. 1367a 32. See further the chapter ‘L’identification de l’aristocratie à la cité’ in Fouchard 1997, 25–56; S. Morris 1997, 69; Kurke 1999a, 272–74; 1999b, 251–52 and n. 13. Or, the ‘propertied class’ (cf. De Saint Croix 1981, 90, 116–17).

⁴⁰ See also Plato *Republic* 333aA–B, 487B; Whittaker 2004, 288. On board-games in Plato, see Hansen 2002.

⁴¹ We cannot prove a military presence at Orgame at the time of the tumulus construction, however, because of the absence of any weapons or body armour on the pyre or in the offerings trench. The identity of the deceased remains uncertain, but his qualities as a leader could not be neglected.

⁴² Contrary to Hölscher’s theory that ‘curiously, the Greeks did not exploit the possibilities of historical imagery’ (see also Hölscher 1973, especially 38–40, cited by Berard 2000, 394, n. 11),

context of a long stay at Aulis, to fight against the apathy of the men (*Aulis*. 45 Soph. fr. 479; Euripides *Iphigenia in Aulis* 192–199). Therefore, the iconographic representations with Achilles and Ajax playing board-games inspired the suggestion of their adscription to the military ideology of the Athenian nobility. Death and heroic characters are closely linked with aristocratic education and life, but the military meanings associated with the playing of board-games do not, however, exclude symbolic connotations associated with other members of the aristocratic class, such as the priests and traders.

In the light of literary, iconographic and archaeological evidence, it is firmly assumed that the board-games found in tombs were held to commemorate the deaths of heroes as well as at the funerals of great men.⁴³ They are converted into instruments of heroisation of the virtuous dead. Thus, the fragments of board-games found among the offerings in the trench add a new key to our knowledge of the Greek community at Orgame. It may reflect also the owner's activities in life, revealing in some way the past passion of the deceased or of his social group, leaving an impression of a refined life. The funerary context of such board-games, particularly those of miniature models in Attic tombs, helped Helene Whittaker to interpret this as 'a metaphor for life and death' after Emily Vermeule's formula 'a metaphor of chance'.⁴⁴

As to the particular case of the tumulus TA95, it was not possible to determine the sex of the deceased from the collected skeletal remains; however, as the tomb contained an exceptionally large number of amphorae, it is virtually certain that it was a male burial. Moreover, there is evidence enough to point to this tomb's being the most prominent in the necropolis, emphasising a significant relationship between an important man in the local community, memory and gaming-pieces. Following Pindar's vision of the virtuous dead, Whittaker stressed more the playing of board-games as a pleasurable pastime that could expectantly continue in the afterlife.⁴⁵ In contrast, the presence of such pieces in tombs is explained by Hillbom

I believe that the representation of the two legendary heroes could be a good mirror of the historical background.

⁴³ Burkert 1985, 106, 193; Rohde 1925; Nilsson 1951, 99. On the role of Homeric heroes models in the heroisation of the dead, see Houby-Nielsen 1995, 165–66; 1996; Whittaker 2004, 289.

⁴⁴ Whittaker 2004, 280 and n. 4; Vermeule 1979, 80. See also S. Morris and Papadopoulos 2004, 232–38. Contrary to Vermeule's opinion of the significance of board-games, Garland (1985, 13–20) believes that their presence in the tombs suggest rather the belief in the entertainment of the dead in the afterlife.

⁴⁵ As Pindar imagined, 'some with horses and exercise, some with board-games, / some with lyres: in full blossom / their thriving fortune stands' (Pindar Fr. 129. 6f, cited by West 1994, 13): 'he described how the virtuous dead enjoy amenities far superior to those of the dim and eerie Homeric Hades, in a fragrant city set amid flowery meadows, forests, and amiable rivers, where they amuse themselves as they will'. See also Whittaker 2006, 103.

in close connection with the Egyptian belief that the souls of the dead played with gods in order to choose their final destination.⁴⁶

Taking all of this evidence into consideration, we can conclude that the presence of the two pieces of board-games suggests, first of all, an obvious Greek identity of the tomb and an association with the male values of the deceased, who accomplished a heroic work as founder of a new colony. Board-games have played an important role in our interpretation of this tomb, being included among the finds with a strong indicator of social status.

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⁴⁶ Hillbom 2003, 53–54.

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QUELQUES INSCRIPTIONS GRECQUES ET LATINES DES COLLECTIONS PRIVÉES DE BULGARIE

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Abstract

This paper publishes 19 inscriptions (16 in Greek, three in Latin) from private collections of antiquities from Bulgaria. These texts, inscribed on various vessels (ownership marks and ponderal notations) or on stone (dedications and epitaphs), and found in Thrace and Lower Moesia, furnish new evidence about epigraphical practices and circulation of objects in the Thracian space.

La plupart des inscriptions¹ sur métal et sur pierre publiées ici sont connues d'après cinq catalogues de la collection Božkov, parus en 2005, 2007, 2009, 2011 et 2013. Ces recueils d'une qualité graphique exceptionnelle présentent notamment des trésors richissimes issus de sites thraces d'époque classique et hellénistique. Ils fournissent également les photos, avec des descriptions plus ou moins détaillées, parfois avec une édition diplomatique, de 18 objets portant une inscription; ces objets appartiennent à la collection de l'homme d'affaires bulgare Vasil Božkov, qui a rassemblé un grand nombre d'antiquités.² Une seule inscription, la dédicace latine II.3, provient d'une autre collection privée de Bulgarie (collection Ares). Puisque ce groupe disparate d'une vingtaine de documents épigraphiques, malheureusement sans aucun contexte archéologique, n'est toujours pas signalé dans les annuaires épigraphiques de référence (à l'exception de la marque de propriété I.5),³ nous avons estimé utile de proposer ici une véritable édition. En l'absence d'une autopsie, et sans la possibilité de fournir ou de reproduire les images des catalogues, nous avons choisi d'établir pour chaque inscription un fac-similé. Nous ne pouvons que déplorer l'ignorance de tout contexte archéologique; certains de ces objets ont certainement circulé et changé de propriétaire, avant de finir dans un complexe funéraire, en contexte thrace, voire grec ouest-pontique (ainsi, les inscriptions sur vases I.1–11).

¹ Nous remercions vivement Tatjana Šalganova (Sofia) pour son aide bibliographique et l'envoi de très précieuses images, et, pour d'autres renseignements, Athanasios Sideris (Athènes).

² D'autres inscriptions sur vases de la collection Božkov seront publiées par Athanasios Sideris (*Metal Vases in Vasil Bojkov Collection*). Les numéros d'inventaire de certains objets, indiqués parfois dans les catalogues de la collection, seront modifiés.

³ Les noms thraces présents dans les inscriptions I.15–16 et II.3 ont été signalés dans le nouveau répertoire de noms thraces, paru en 2014 (*OnomThrac*).

Ces dernières décennies, des découvertes exceptionnelles ont été faites en Bulgarie, que ce soit lors des campagnes de fouilles, de manière fortuite ou bien, de plus en plus fréquemment, pour alimenter les collections privées, bulgares ou occidentales. Des documents épigraphiques peuvent se retrouver ainsi dans ces ensembles à composition variable: il suffit de mentionner les collections de Bojan Radev,⁴ de Dimităr Ivanov (collection Ares, voir *Coll. Ares*), ou d'innombrables lots vendus et revendus en Occident,⁵ dont des centaines de diplômes militaires.

Enfin, il convient de remarquer le caractère très hétérogène de ce petit recueil épigraphique, qu'il s'agisse du type d'inscription (marques de propriété et notations pondérales,⁶ dédicaces, épitaphes), de la provenance (espace dorien de la Grèce continentale, espace dorien ouest-pontique, provinces romaines de Thrace et de Mésie Inférieure), des supports (métal, pierre) ou de la langue (16 en grec, 3 en latin).

I. INSCRIPTIONS GRECQUES

1. Inscription en dialecte dorien sur hydrie (Fig. 1)

T. Šalganova, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2009, n° 4 (et photo) (*non vidimus*); I. Marazov, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2011, 34–35, n° 30 (mention, sans photo de l'inscription); Šalganova 2012 (et photos); I. Marazov, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2013, 114, n° 30 (et photo de l'inscription). Inscription sinistrophe incisée sur le bord intérieur d'une hydrie de bronze (ht. 44 cm; diam. 21,5 cm). Ht. des lettres inconnue; chaque lettre a été incisée en plusieurs temps; *alpha* avec une haste en arc de cercle; *delta* avec un arc de cercle; *ny* de forme archaïque; *phi* avec la haste verticale à l'intérieur du cercle. Lieu de découverte inconnu. Deuxième quart ou milieu du VI^e s. av. J.-C. (datation proposée pour le vase).

⁴ À présent, ce lot de monuments fait partie des collections du Musée National d'Histoire de Sofia (Nacionalen Istoričeski Muzej, Bojana). Metodi Manov a publié la plupart des inscriptions de cette collection privée, essentiellement des épitaphes, provenant toutes de la vallée du Moyen Strymon (Struma, Macédoine bulgare), dans la partie finale de son corpus consacré à cette région (Manov 2008). D'autres inscriptions grecques de cette collection, restées inédites, sont publiées par D. Dana 2015b.

⁵ Pour la publication d'un lot de dédicaces grecques (Thrace Occidentale) et une seule latine (Mésie Inférieure), voir D. Dana 2009.

⁶ Sur ce type d'inscriptions, voir Bernard et Inagaki 2000; Cuvigny 2004; Grill 2008; avec les observations de M. Sève, *Bulletin épigraphique* 2005, 97. Le fameux trésor de Panagjurište a livré deux notations pondérales, l'une à l'intérieur d'une amphore-rhyton, l'autre sur le col d'une phiale, utilisant le système numérique alphabétique (poids du statère de Lampsaque), respectivement acrophonique (cf. Venedikov 1961, 15–16, nos 8–9).

← Φιλειαδῶν.

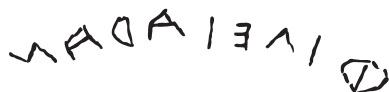


Fig. 1: Inscription sur hydrie (fac-similé).

En 2011, Ivan Marazov mentionne l'inscription PHILEIADAS (ΦΙΛΕΙΑΔΑΣ), avec la meilleure lecture ΦΙΛΕΙΑΔΑΝ en 2013, d'après l'édition de Tatjana Šalganova. L'hydrie serait la production d'un artisan laconien. Cette origine de la Grèce continentale est clairement confirmée par l'inscription dialectale: l'inscription est sinistrophe; les formes de l'*alpha* et du *delta* sont typiques des alphabets doriens de la Grèce continentale; enfin, on note le génitif pluriel dorien en -ων (= ion.-att. -ων). Il s'agit par conséquent d'une marque d'appartenance d'un phylétique ou d'une quelconque sous-division civique: 'vase appartenant à la tribu (?) des Φιλειάδαι'.⁷

2. Inscription en dialecte dorien sur kylix (Fig. 2)

I. Marazov, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2009, n° 26 (et photo) (*non vidimus*); *Coll. Božkov* 2011, 68, n° 49 (et photo); *Coll. Božkov* 2013, 282–83, n° 106 (et photos). Kylix d'argent, doré (ht. 2,9 cm; diam. 11,8 cm; poids 162,2 g): à droite, une déesse assise sur une chaise (Aphrodite?); à gauche, debout devant elle, Hermès, qui s'appuie du coude droit sur une colonnette; l'inscription est gravée le long de la colonnette, sur deux lignes. Ht. des lettres inconnue; *kappa* avec les deux branches déconnectées, *sigma* à quatre branches. Lieu de découverte inconnu. Dernier quart du Ve s. av. J.-C. (datation proposée pour le vase), mais la forme des lettres pourrait suggérer une date plus tardive.

Ἀθανάτων καλ-
ός.



Fig. 2: Inscription sur kylix (fac-similé).

⁷ Nous remercions vivement Laurent Dubois pour cette confirmation. Šalganova 2012 associe cette marque de propriété avec le nom de la famille aristocratique athénienne des Philaïdes, connue pour ses intérêts dans la Chersonèse de Thrace au VIe s. av. J.-C. (cf. Viviers 1987 et Cvetkova 2008, 121–59); à cette hypothèse s'opposent pourtant la forme du nom, le dialecte, clairement dorien, ainsi que l'alphabet.

Banale inscription du type ‘Untel $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ ’, qui émane d’un milieu dorien, d’après la graphie de l’anthroponyme théophore; ce nom est bien attesté, par exemple, à Mésambria et Byzantion (*LGPN* IV 8).

3. Scène mythologique avec inscription sur kantharos (Fig. 3)

I. Marazov, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2009, n° 31 (et photo) (*non vidimus*); *Coll. Božkov* 2011, 79–82, n° 53 (et photos; autre photo, p. 11); autres photos dans Marazov 2011, 171 (fig. 5.24a), 172 (fig. 5.24b), et dans *Coll. Božkov* 2013, 25 fig. 10. Kantharos d’argent, doré (ht. 16,8 cm; diam. 11,5 cm; poids 397,9 g). Sur l’une des faces du kantharos, scène mythologique avec deux ménades thraces s’attaquant à Orphée, qui se défend avec sa lyre tenue dans la main droite. Entre la première ménade et le chanteur se trouve une étiquette dorée, soigneusement gravée, qui désigne expressément le personnage légendaire. Ht. des lettres inconnue; *sigma* à quatre branches. Lieu de découverte inconnu. Dernier quart du Ve s. av. J.-C. (datation proposée pour le vase).

Ὀρφεύς.

Ο Ρ Φ Ε Υ Ξ

Fig. 3: Inscription sur kantharos (fac-similé).

Il est certes intéressant de constater que ce vase avec un sujet mythologique ‘thrace’ arriva, dans des conditions qui restent inconnues, dans un milieu thrace (ou dans un milieu grec de la côte pontique). Des ‘étiquettes’ similaires, en pointillé, se trouvent sur trois rhytons en or, ornés de scènes mythologiques, du célèbre trésor de Panagjurište (IVe–IIIe s. av. J.-C.): ΑΘΗΝΑ, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ, ΗΡΑ et ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ; ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ et ΗΡΙΟΠΗ; ΗΡΗ, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ, ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ et ΝΙΚΗ.⁸

4. Graffite sur vase avec une seule anse (Fig. 4)

Šalganova 2010 (avec photos); I. Marazov, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2011, 83, n° 54 (photo du vase, sans le graffite). Tasse d’argent (ht. 11 cm; diam. 9,5 cm; poids non indiqué). Graffite incisé sur le fond du vase. Ht. des lettres inconnue; *sigma* à quatre branches. Lieu de découverte inconnu. Dernier quart du Ve s. av. J.-C. (datation proposée pour le vase).

ΣΚΥ.

Σ Κ Υ

Fig. 4: Graffite sur vase (fac-similé).

⁸ Venedikov 1961, 7–8 (n° 1), 9 (n° 3) et 10 (n° 4).

Tatjana Šalganova attire opportunément l'attention qu'on retrouve ailleurs en Thrace, toujours sur des vases en métal appartenant à l'inventaire funéraire de tombes aristocratiques, la même abréviation comportant ces trois lettres ΣΚΥ: sous le pied d'une kylix, à Černozem (municipalité de Kalojanovo, près de Duvanlij),⁹ ainsi que sur une tasse en argent tout à fait similaire à celle de la collection Božkov, à Dălboki (dép. de Stara Zagora).¹⁰ Trois possibilités s'offrent à nous: il peut s'agir de l'abréviation d'un nom grec (cf. *LGPV* IV 313 pour quelques exemples) ou thrace, tel le génitif Σκυθοδ|οκῶ sur une bague en or de Goljamata Mogila, près de Duvanlij,¹¹ ou bien de l'abréviation du mot grec σκύφος, qui désigne un vase à boire. Cette dernière éventualité est, de toute évidence, la plus plausible; on comprendra donc σκύ(φος). Ce type de graffite n'est pas isolé dans les complexes thraces: ainsi, dans le tumulus du milieu du IV^e s. av. J.-C. récemment fouillé de Goljamata Mogila, près de Malomirovo et Zlatinica (dép. de Jambol, vallée du Tonzos/Tundža), un graffite ΑΙΣ, gravé sur l'anse d'un rhyton, présente un *sigma* à quatre branches.¹²

5. Marque de propriété et enregistrement du poids sur coupe (Fig. 5)

I. Marazov, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2005, n° 62/9; *Coll. Božkov* 2009, n° 74 (et photos); *Coll. Božkov* 2011, 225, n° 173 (et photos); *Coll. Božkov* 2011 (angl.), 225, n° 171 (et photos) (avec les observations d'A. Avram, *Bulletin épigraphique* 2012, 286). Inscription en pointillé sous le bord extérieur d'une coupe conique d'argent (ht. 8 cm, diam. 15,2 cm, poids 325,6 g). Ht. des lettres: 0,4 cm; *sigma* lunaire; ligatures des lettres triangulaires. Lieu de découverte inconnu. Époque hellénistique (II^e–I^{er} s. av. J.-C. d'après l'éditeur; III^e/II^e s. av. J.-C. selon A. Avram).



Fig. 5: Marque de propriété sur coupe (fac-similé).

Καλλιμάχ(ο)υ, vac. ὀλκᾶ ΜΠΙCCCT.

ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΥ poculum || ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΥ ΟΛΚΑ Μ... (?) Marazov:
Καλλιμάχ(ο)υ ὀλκᾶ ΜΠΙCCC+ Avram

⁹ Šalganova 2010, 77 (et photo 78, fig. 2); K. Kisiov, dans Martinez *et al.* 2015, 84, n° 47.

¹⁰ Filov 1930–31, 50, n° 3 (qui ne signale pas le graffite); Vickers 2002, 70 (qui signale le graffite) et 71 (photo du vas, sans le graffite); Šalganova 2010, 77 (et photo 79, fig. 4).

¹¹ Filov 1934, 105, n° 1; pour ce nom hybride, voir *OnomThrac* 309.

¹² Agre 2011, 134, fig. V-9.

Grâce aux découvertes anciennes et récentes, l'espace thrace regorge d'inscriptions sur des objets, notamment des phiales,¹³ principalement avec les noms des propriétaires au génitif.¹⁴ C'est aussi le cas de cette coupe, dont le propriétaire, ou l'un de ses propriétaires, portait un nom grec assez répandu, Kallimachos. On trouve un autre nom grec, Ἰππόμαχ(ο)ς, sur une coupe à vernis noir de Duvanlj, dans un contexte funéraire du Ve s. av. J.-C.¹⁵

Cette inscription sur vase fut rédigée en dialecte dorien (δλκx); après la précision 'poids' suit une quelconque indication numérique, difficile à déchiffrer (sans doute ΜΠΙCCCT) et encore plus difficile à expliquer.

Le meilleur parallèle est offert par deux inscriptions en pointillé sur une cruche et une cenochoè en argent découvertes dans la tombe de Goljama Kosmatka, à 7–8 km au Nord de *Seuthopolis*, exprimant le poids en drachmes d'étalon d'Alexandre:

a) Σευθου, δλκx τετραδραχμα Ἀλεξάνδρεια ΔΙΙΙΙ (gobelet pesant 212,75 g). Selon Michel Sève, il ne s'agirait pas de 4 tétradrachmes et 4 oboles, mais de 14 tétradrachmes ou, en supposant une légère faute de gravure, de 12 tétradrachmes et 2 drachmes, ce qui correspondrait à un poids théorique de 212,60 g;

b) Σευθου, δλκx τετραδραχμα Ἀλεξάνδρεια ΙΔΗΗ (243,25 g), donc 14 tétradrachmes et 2 drachmes; ce poids indiqué sur l'anse, de 249,4 g, correspond *grosso modo* à celui de l'objet.¹⁶

¹³ À partir des vases inscrits du trésor de Rogozen (dép. de Vraca) et sur des pièces similaires du IVe s. av. J.-C. découvertes au Nord de l'Hémus, à Alexandrovo (dép. de Loveč), Borovo (dép. de Ruse), Braničevo (dép. de Šumen) en Bulgarie et à Agighiol (dép. de Tulcea) en Roumanie, Mihailov 1988 établissait plusieurs catégories: a) 26 inscriptions en pointillé (dont 16 à Rogozen), avec des noms des rois au génitif; b) inscriptions négligentes avec des anthroponymes (3); c) graffites avec des signes et des symboles (15); d) inscriptions plus soignées, identifiant une scène mythologique, comme Αὔγη δηλαδῆ, '(c'est) Auge, clairement'. Voir, entre autres, Mihailov 1988; Painter 1989; Sideris 2002 (objets découverts en Grèce); Manov 2006; Valeva 2006; Loukopoulou 2008 (avec les observations de A. Avram, *Bulletin épigraphique* 2009, 324); Treister 2013, en partic. 51–65 (Nord de la Mer Noire); D. Dana 2015a, 250–51. Sur les graffites connus dans l'art gréco-scythe, voir Meyer 2013, 128–29.

¹⁴ À titre d'exemple, une marque de propriété sur une phiale en argent d'une tombe aristocratique de Lešnikova Mogila, près de Kazanlak, comporte un nom thrace au génitif, Δυντοζηλμιος, 'propriété de Dyntozēlmiš' (*SEG* 46. 850, seconde moitié du IVe s. av. J.-C.). La lecture aberrante de Dimitrov 1995 et 2009, 31–32 [ΔΥΝΤΟΖΗΛΑΥΙΟΣ, '(vessel of) *Dyntas* (*Dyntos*?), son of *Zeila*(s)'] a été corrigée par D. Dana 2005, 293–94 (*cf. SEG* 55. 742) et, de manière indépendante, par Sharankov 2007, 430–31.

¹⁵ Filov 1934, 56–58, n° 25, fig. 74 (Kukuva Mogila).

¹⁶ Manov 2006, 27–29 (n° 1) et 29–33 (n° 2) (= *SEG* 55. 776, n° 1–2; avec les observations de M. Sève, *Bulletin épigraphique*, 2008, 102). De même que l'inscription Σευθου sur le front d'un casque de bronze (Manov 2006, 33, n° 3 = *SEG* 55. 776, n° 3), ces indications sur vases sont des marques de propriété de Seuthès III (*ca.* 340–300/295 av. J.-C.). Le renvoi par I. Marazov à Theodosiev 2000, qui discute quelques inscriptions sur des coupes coniques d'argent de la fin de l'époque hellénistique, n'a pas lieu d'être, puisqu'elles ne concernent pas l'espace thrace, mais celui micrasiatique (génitif du nom anatolien Κοτης, *cf. LGPN* V.B 244).

6. Marque de propriété et enregistrement du poids sur coupe (Fig. 6)

I. Marazov, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2009, 226, n° 174 (et photo); *Coll. Božkov* 2011 (angl.), 226, n° 172 (et photo). Inscription en pointillé sous le bord d'une coupe conique d'argent (ht. 7 cm, diam. 10 cm; poids non indiqué. Ht. des lettres inconnue; *sigma* lunaire. Lieu de découverte inconnu. Époque hellénistique (IIe–Ier s. av. J.-C. d'après l'éditeur).



Fig. 6: Marque de propriété de Myrina (fac-similé).

Μυρίνας, *vac.* ὀλ(κῆ) *vac.* MC (?).

Selon l'éditeur, peut-être 40 statères d'argent. On reconnaît la marque de propriété d'une femme, Myrina, dont le nom est comme d'habitude au génitif, suivi d'une notation pondérale, qui reste indéterminée, d'autant plus que le poids du vase n'est malheureusement pas indiqué dans la publication: 'Propriété de Myrina. Poids 40 s(tatères?)' (ou faudrait-il comprendre le chiffre 45, M<€>?).

7. Marque de propriété et enregistrement du poids sur coupe (Fig. 7)

I. Marazov, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2009, 228, n° 178 (et photo); *Coll. Božkov* 2011 (angl.), 228, n° 176 (et photo). Inscription en pointillé sous le bord d'une coupe conique d'argent (ht. 9,5 cm, diam. 14,7 cm; poids non indiqué). Ht. des lettres inconnue; *sigma* lunaire. Lieu de découverte inconnu. Époque hellénistique (IIe–Ier s. av. J.-C. d'après l'éditeur).

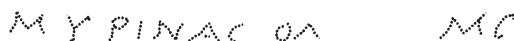


Fig. 7: Autre marque de propriété de Myrina (fac-similé).

Μυρίνας, *vac.* ὀλ(κῆ) *vac.* MC (?).

Cette marque de propriété avec enregistrement du poids, identique à l'inscription précédente (I.6), fut notée sur un vase qui devait appartenir au même service de table; faudrait-il comprendre M<€>?

8. Marque de propriété et enregistrement du poids sur coupe (Fig. 8)

I. Marazov, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2005, n° 62/10, p. 71 (et photo); Marazov 2005, 56 (photo). Inscription en pointillé sur le bord extérieur d'une coupe conique d'argent (ht. 8 cm, diam. 14,8 cm; poids non indiqué). Ht. des lettres: 0,4 cm; *omicron* petit, aligné sous la ligne supérieure théorique. Lieu de découverte inconnu. Époque hellénistique (IIe–Ier s. av. J.-C. d'après les éditeurs).

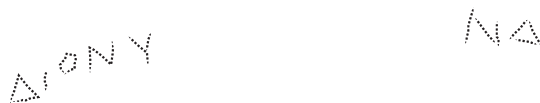


Fig. 8: Marque de propriété de Dionysios (fac-similé).

Διονυ(), *vac.* ΝΔ.

Comme pour l'inscription suivante (I.9), on peut comprendre de deux manières la première partie de l'inscription: a) soit le nom de Dionysos au génitif ou au datif, Διονύ(σου)/Διονύ(σφ); b) soit une marque de propriété au génitif, avec un anthroponyme grec abrégé, par exemple Διονυ(σίου), à l'instar des numéros I.5–7 (et peut-être 9). On préfère nettement cette dernière éventualité, à savoir, un anthroponyme abrégé, comme c'est souvent le cas sur ces vases, suivi d'une notation pondérale exprimée en drachmes ou selon un autre étalon: 'Propriété de Dionysios. (Poids) 54'.

9. Marque de propriété et enregistrement du poids sur gobelet (Fig. 9)

I. Marazov, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2011, 125, n° 90 (et photo). Inscription en pointillé sur le bord extérieur d'un gobelet d'argent (ht. 8 cm; diam. 11 cm; poids non indiqué). Ht. des lettres inconnue; *my* de forme cursive (courbure prononcée de la branche médiane); petit *omicron* ouvert; *sigma* lunaire. Lieu de découverte inconnu. Époque hellénistique (IIe–Ier s. av. J.-C. d'après les éditeurs).

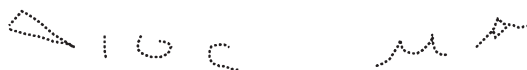


Fig. 9: Marque de propriété de Dios() (fac-similé).

ΔΙΟC *vac.* ΜΑ.

Διός vel Διοσ()

Comme pour les inscriptions I.8 et I.10, il existe deux manières de comprendre la première partie de l'inscription: a) soit le nom de Zeus au génitif, Διός; b) soit un anthroponyme grec abrégé, par exemple Διοσ(κουρίδου) ou Διοσ(τράτου), donc une marque de propriété comme les numéros I.5–7 (et peut-être 8); elle était suivie par une notation pondérale: 'Propriété de Dios(). (Poids) 41'.

10. Marque de propriété ou dédicace sur gobelet

I. Marazov, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2011, p. 125, mentionne un gobelet d'argent de la collection V. Božkov, de la même période que le gobelet I.9, pourvu d'une inscription grecque (aucune photo). Lieu de découverte inconnu. Époque hellénistique.

ΔΙΟ.

Il doit s'agir d'une marque de propriété (cf. I.8–9) plutôt que d'une dédicace à Zeus (cf. la discussion pour I.9).

11. Inscription sur kylix relative à un enseignement spécialisé à Mésambria (Fig. 10–11)

I. Marazov et G. Kabakchieva, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2007, 58, n° 34 (photo du vase); I. Marazov, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2009, 176, n° 77 (photo du vase); *Coll. Božkov* 2011, 219, n° 167 (photos du vase et du monogramme); *Coll. Božkov* 2011 (angl.), 219, n° 165. Inscription en pointillé sur le bord interne d'une kylix d'argent (ht. 8,9 cm, diam. 14,3 cm, poids 436 g) et un monogramme sur la paroi. Ht. des lettres inconnue; *sigma* à quatre branches. Lieu de découverte inconnu (origine probable: Mésambria). Dernier quart du IVe–début du IIIe s. av. J.-C. (d'après les éditeurs).

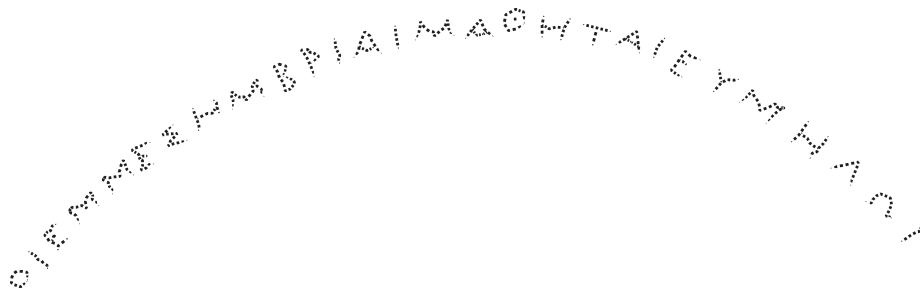


Fig. 10: Kylix offerte à Eumèlos (fac-similé).

a) Οἱ ἐμ Μεσημβρίαι μαθηταὶ Εὐμήλωι.



Fig. 11: Monogramme sur kylix (fac-similé).

b) (monogramme) M, O, T.

ΟΙ ΕΜ ΜΕΣΑΜΒΡΙΑΙ ΜΑΘΗΤΑΙ Marazov 2009 || M Marazov 2009

‘Ceux qui ont été disciples à Mésambria à (leur maître) Eumèlos’.

Cette inscription émane d'un groupe de ‘disciples à Mésambria’,¹⁷ qui remercient leurs enseignant, Eumèlos, en inscrivant l'objet précieux qu'ils lui ont offert. Dans

¹⁷ Le nom de la cité ne présente pas la forme dorienne attendue, Μεσαμβρία, mais la graphie uniformisée (*koinè*).

la graphie de la préposition qui précède le datif locatif ἐν Μεσημβρίαι l'on constate l'assimilation de la nasale, phénomène banal dans les inscriptions. Il s'agit du deuxième témoignage épigraphique sur un enseignement spécialisé dans cette cité, après un décret du III^e s. av. J.-C., émis vers la même époque que ce vase offert en témoignage de reconnaissance. Un maître d'école (*didaskalos*), Glaukias fils d'Aristoménès de Callatis, l'autre cité dorieenne ouest-pontique, fut ainsi récompensé par la cité de Mésambria avec la proxénie, le droit de cité et d'autres privilèges: 'Attendu que Glaukias fils d'Aristoménès de Callatis, *didaskalos*, résidant dans notre cité pour une longue période, y a fait un séjour convenable à tous les autres égards et s'est montré zélé pour prendre soin de l'éducation des élèves (διδάσκαλος δι|ατετριφώς ἐν τᾷ πόλει πλεί|ονα χρόνον ἔν τε τοῖς λοι|ποῖς εὐτάκτως ἀνεστρέφη | καὶ πρόθυμον ἑαυτὸν παρεί|χετο εἰς τὰν ἐπιμέλειαν | τῶμ μαθητᾶν), etc.'¹⁸ On ignore, malheureusement, quel était le domaine de compétence du maître Eumèlos, dont le nom apparaît pour la première fois à Mésambria.¹⁹ Plutôt qu'un professeur de philosophie, il aurait pu dispenser une formation rhétorique. Il est en revanche certain qu'il assurait une éducation spécialisée: ce cadeau, fait à titre personnel, par un groupe d'étudiants, représente la preuve d'une proximité intellectuelle et affective née de la fréquentation intense et prolongée d'un maître de pensée par un cercle de disciples. Ces derniers ne sont plus des *paides*, mais sans doute des éphèbes et des *neoi*, avec un certain pouvoir économique. On ignore, enfin, si Eumèlos était originaire de Mésambria, ou un professeur établi dans cette cité, voire itinérant. Tel était le cas du péripatéticien Épikratès fils de Démétrios, d'Héraclée du Pont, un véritable maître itinérant, honoré vers 200 av. J.-C. d'un long décret à Samos. Épikratès recevait un *misthos* de la part du groupe de disciples (*sycholazontes*) aisés, qui lui étaient sans doute proches, mais dispensait également des cours à titre gracieux, enseignant la philosophie au gymnase, raisons pour lesquelles il fut honoré par les Samiens.²⁰

L'activité culturelle à Mésambria est illustrée par une belle stèle funéraire en marbre d'époque hellénistique (II^e s. av. J.-C.?), qui représente un autre lettré, Mènis fils d'Athanaïôn. Figuré en jeune homme assis sur une chaise, il tient de ses deux mains un rouleau de papyrus, prêt pour la lecture; à sa gauche, un autre personnage masculin, debout et les bras croisés, le contemple respectueusement.²¹

¹⁸ IGB I² 307bis; J. et L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique* 1971, 429; A. Avram, dans *ISM* III (1999), 117 et 186, n° 10; Velkov 2005, 159–60, n° 1. Pour la mobilité de cet enseignant, voir M. Dana 2011, 174–75 et 366; 2014, 128–29.

¹⁹ Pour les occurrences dans l'espace pontique de ce nom banal, cf. *LGPV* IV 133.

²⁰ *IG* XII.6.1 128; pour des détails, voir M. Dana 2011, 310–12; 2014, 129–31.

²¹ Pfuhl et Möbius 1977, n° 842 (Pl. 122); IGB I² 335 (pl. 175); M. Dana 2011, 163; Petrova 2015, 190–92, n° M-10 (pl. 8.1). Une image similaire est présente sur une autre stèle de Mésambria,

Certains commentateurs y ont vu une scène représentant un enseignant et son élève, et peut-être même un philosophe ou un poète. Le rouleau et l'attitude du personnage indiquent bien plus qu'un simple lettré et semblent faire allusion à un métier appartenant à la sphère intellectuelle; en revanche, le personnage qui le regarde est certainement un domestique, figure banale des reliefs de ce type, d'autant plus qu'il est représenté plus petit, selon les conventions iconographiques de l'époque.

Sur la paroi de la kylix en argent fut inscrit en pointillé un monogramme,²² avec trois lettres reconnaissables: M, O, T (plutôt que Π), d'interprétation énigmatique. Le tracé en pointillé du monogramme suit en réalité les lignes finement incisées d'un graffite, qui a dû servir de modèle.

12. Dédicace à Héra (Fig. 12)

G. Kabakčieva, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2005, n° 104 (avec photo). Partie inférieure d'un groupe statuaire en marbre qui comporte la partie inférieure d'une statuette d'Héra assise sur un trône, portant un himation (ht. 30 cm); à sa gauche, les restes d'un lion, dont on aperçoit la crinière, et d'un jeune garçon debout, les jambes croisées. Deux lignes inscrites sur le socle, qui est manifestement brisé à droite. Ht. des lettres inconnue; *sigma* à quatre branches. Lieu de découverte inconnu. Époque impériale.



Fig. 12: Dédicace à Héra (fac-similé).

Σηκα (?) Θρασείου θεῶς Ἡρα εὐχ(α)ρισ[τή]-
[ρις]υ [---? ἀνέθ]ηκεν.

‘Sêka (?) fille de Thraseas a dédié à la déesse Héra, en action de grâce (...)’.

Cette dédicace à Héra a été érigée par une femme qui porte un nom hapax, Sêka (thrace?), mais dont la lecture reste très douteuse; son patronyme est en revanche grec (pour la famille, cf. *LGPN* IV 169–170).

de la même époque, pourvue d'une épigramme funéraire apparemment inédite pour Pythodôros(?) fils de Pausanias (Petrova 2015, 192–93, n° M-11, pl. 8.2–4).

²² Cf. un monogramme en lettres angulaires (entre autres, Α, Ε, Ω) sur une phiale d'argent du premier quart du IVe s. découverte à Semýkina Mogila (région de Zaporozhie, Ukraine); voir Boltryk et Treister 2012, 9 et 18–19, qui évoquent d'autres monogrammes sur vases.

13. Dédicace à Héra (Fig. 13)

G. Kabakčieva, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2005, n° 114 (avec photo). Stèle votive avec un petit tenon d'encastrement, figurant le couple Zeus et Héra (ht. 141 cm), en train d'accomplir une libation: à droite, Zeus, la foudre dans la main droite, au-dessus d'un autel avec des offrandes, et une phiale dans la main gauche; une phiale similaire est tenue par Héra dans la main droite, alors que de la gauche elle tient un sceptre; la déesse est flanquée de deux petits lions. Dans le registre supérieur, une guirlande, en haut de laquelle se trouvait le buste du dédicant. À l'intérieur de la guirlande, une ligne soigneusement inscrite; ht. des lettres inconnue. Lieu de découverte inconnu (Thrace Occidentale?). Époque impériale.

Τῇ θεῇ.

Τ Η Θ Ε Ω

Fig. 13: Autre dédicace à Héra (fac-similé).

‘À la déesse’.

3 T H E Kabakčieva

D'après les parallèles iconographiques figurant le couple Zeus et Héra, cette stèle votive pourrait provenir d'un sanctuaire de la Thrace Occidentale.²³

14. Dédicace d'un légionnaire à Héros (Fig. 14)

G. Kabakčieva, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2005, n° 107 (avec photo). Statue en marbre du ‘Cavalier Thrace’, accompagnée d'une scène qui représente un ours attaquant un taureau²⁴ (ht. 34,5 cm); la tête et les pattes du cheval, ainsi que le buste du Cavalier, sont perdus. Ht. des lettres inconnue; *epsilon* lunaire; *sigma* lunaire; *oméga* cursif. Lieu de découverte inconnu (Nord de la Bulgarie, en Mésie Inférieure). Époque impériale.

ΗΡΩΤΙ ΔΟΜΙΤΙΟΣ ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΕΓΑΙΤΑ
ΛΙΚΗΣΕΥΧΗΝ ΕΘΗΚΕΝ

Fig. 14: Dédicace d'un légionnaire à Héros (fac-similé).

Ἡρωτι Δομίτιος Μάρκος, στρ(ατιώτης) λεγ(ιῶνος) α' Ἰτα-
vac. λικῆς, εὐχὴν ἔθηκεν.

‘Domitios Markos, soldat de la légion Ière Italique, a consacré à Héros en action de grâce’.

²³ Voir D. Dana 2009, 189 et 195, avec la bibliographie.

²⁴ Dans le catalogue, le groupe statuaire est attribué, de manière erronée, au culte de Mithra.

La première lettre est plutôt un *êta* qu'un *oméga*, comme le lapicide semble avoir gravé par erreur. Il convient donc de comprendre Ἡρώτι, datif rare mais attesté dans l'espace thrace pour ce théonyme générique (*IGB* I² 362; *IGB* III.1 1519; *IGB* III.2 1727, 1750). À la fin de la dédicace, apparaît une formule moins usuelle, εὐχλὴν ἔθηκεν. L'appartenance du dédicant à la *legio I Italica*, en garnison à *Novae* (auj. Svištov), suggère comme lieu de découverte un sanctuaire de la partie orientale de la Mésie Inférieure.²⁵ Domitius Marcus était sans doute originaire d'une province hellénophone, puisqu'il érige la dédicace en grec. On pourrait suggérer comme possible origine la Bithynie, où les *Domitii* sont particulièrement nombreux,²⁶ mais cela reste hypothétique. Tout bien considéré, on pourrait dater cette dédicace dans le courant du IIe s. de notre ère, et ajouter Domitius Marcus à la prosopographie des membres de la Ière *Italica*.²⁷

15. Dédicace à Apollon Sgoulamènos (Fig. 15)

G. Kabakčieva, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2005, n° 108 (avec photo). Plaque votive de marbre, comportant un relief à deux registres, qui représente le Cavalier Thrace et des scènes de chasse (ht. 43 cm). Au-dessus du relief, une ligne avec le nom de la divinité; en-dessous du relief, deux lignes inscrites, dont la dernière, en caractères plus petits, est très effacée. Des traces de pigments foncés sont encore visibles dans le tracé des lettres. Ligatures: ΩΝΣ, ΜΗΝΩ (l. 1), ΗΝ (l. 2). Ht. des lettres inconnue; *omicron* petit; *sigma* carré; *oméga* carré. Lieu de découverte inconnu, mais vraisemblablement la région du sanctuaire de Trud (territoire de *Philippopolis*). Fin du IIe-début du IIIe s.

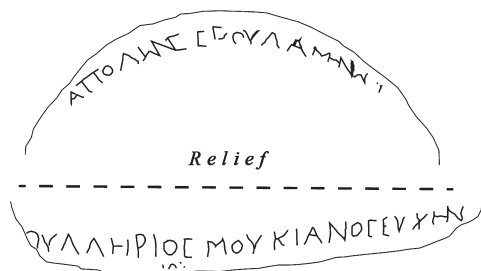


Fig. 15: Dédicace à Apollon Sgoulamènos (fac-similé).

²⁵ D'autres dédicaces similaires érigées par des légionnaires de la Ière Italique ont été trouvées à Liljače (dép. de Vraca, *Année épigraphique* 1932, 29), Glava Panega (dép. de Loveč, *ILB* 205), Suhindol (dép. de Véliko Tărnovo, près de *Nicopolis ad Istrum*, *IGB* V 5238), Trănčovica (dép. de Plevén, près de *Novae*, *ILB* 244, 245) et Drjanovec (dép. de Razgrad, *CCET* II.2 597).

²⁶ Comme gentilice mais aussi comme *cognomen* et idionyme pérégrin; voir J. et L. Robert, *Bulletin épigraphique* 1953, 194; 1958, 476; 1963, 263–65; *LGPV* V.A 147.

²⁷ Pour la prosopographie de la légion, voir en dernier lieu Matei-Popescu 2010, 88–122. Pour des généralités, voir Gočeva 1990; 2009; Boteva 2005; 2007.

Ἀπόλων<ι> (*sic*) Σγουλαμηνῶ [.]
relief
 Οὐαλήριος Μουκιανός εὐχτήν
 3
 1 ΑΠΟΛΩΝΣ lap.

‘Valerius Mucianus à Apollon Sgoulamènos, par vœu (...)’.

La simplification des géminés dans le nom de la divinité est un phénomène banal.²⁸ Il est plus intéressant de noter que la même épithète indigène d’Apollon apparaît dans la série des dédicaces *IGB* III.1 1457–1462, au sanctuaire de Trud, au nord de la ville de Philippopolis.²⁹ Dans une majorité de cas la graphie est Ζγουλαμηνός, et seulement en *IGB* III.1 1461 elle comporte un *sigma* initial. Il s’agit le plus probablement d’une épithète toponymique, bâtie sur le nom d’une localité *Ζγουλαμα.³⁰ Le dédicant porte le gentilice latin *Valerius* – la graphie grecque avec -η- est néanmoins très rare – et comme *cognomen* le nom d’assonance thrace le plus fréquent, *Mucianus*/Μουκιανός (*OnomThrac* 246–255); il était sans doute un militaire.³¹

16. Épitaphe de Macédoine Orientale (Fig. 16)

G. Kabakčieva, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2005, n° 116 (et photo). Stèle funéraire de marbre vaguement carrée (ht. 62 cm), avec tenon d’encastrement, figurant un banquet funèbre qui présente le schéma habituel d’un couple. À gauche, l’homme est allongé sur une *klinè*, appuyé sur le coude gauche, tenant dans la main gauche un gobelet, la main droite tendue vers les mets déposés sur une *mensa tripes*. La femme, qui tient de sa main droite l’himation remonté sur la tête, est assise à droite, les pieds posés sur un petit tabouret. À gauche de la table sont représentés un petit serviteur et un chien. Gravure profonde, lettres parfois ornées d’*apices*. Ht. des lettres inconnue. Lettres remarquables: *alpha* à barre brisée; *epsilon* lunaire; *sigma* lunaire; *oméga* cursif, lunaire. Lieu de découverte inconnu – très probablement le Sud-Ouest de la Bulgarie (vallée du Moyen Strymon). IIe s. ap. J.-C.(?).

²⁸ Cf. Slavova 2004, 113 (§ 7.4.1), avec de nombreux exemples.

²⁹ Ce sanctuaire a livré en tout une quinzaine de plaques inscrites (*IGB* III.1 1457–1470); sur ce site, voir Oppermann 2006, 204–05.

³⁰ Pour d’autres toponymes thraces qui commencent par ζγ-/σγ-, voir *vicani Zcambu*[---] dans le territoire de Philippos de Macédoine (Pilhofer 2009, n° 519); voir aussi l’épithète divine Σγεβδηνός à Malka Vereja, dans le territoire d’*Augusta Traiana* (*IGB* III.2 1654–1655, et Ζγεβδη[νός] *IGB* III.2 1656).

³¹ Pour le gentilice *Valerius* chez les militaires thraces, voir D. Dana 2011, 56–57, 63 et 78.

séparés par des points médians. Ht. des lettres inconnue. Lettres assez profondément gravées, ornées d'*apices*. Nombreuses ligatures: ET, VAL (l. 1); NTH, ET, NTH, TRE (l. 2); NE, NTE, VE, VNT (l. 3). Lieu de découverte inconnu, sans doute le Nord (voire le Nord-Ouest) de la Bulgarie (Mésie Inférieure). Époque impériale.



Fig. 17: Dédicace aux Nymphes sylvestres et à Silvain (fac-similé).

D(eabus) Silvestres (sic) et Silvano Val(erii)

Xanthias et Yacintus fratres

3 *negotiantes ex voto posuerunt.*

1 *D. Silvestres et Silvanos? Gočeva*

‘Les frères Val(erii) Xanthias et Yacintus, marchands, ont dédié à la suite d’un vœu aux Déeses Sylvestres et à Silvain’.

Cette nouvelle dédicace au dieu champêtre Silvain³³ est précieuse, tant par l’iconographie que par l’association avec les nymphes sylvestres.³⁴ On connaissait des dédicaces aux *Deae Silvestres* en Mésie Supérieure: ainsi, à Čair près de *Viminacium*, une dédicace *Deabus Silvestris (sic)* posée par *Achilleus*, probablement de condition servile (IMS II 41); une autre, de Podujevo (*ILLug* III 1406),³⁵ érigée par *Gaudens Livi(a)e s(ervus)*, est particulièrement intéressante par sa formule introductive, *Deabus S(silvestribus) Virgines*. On y retrouve la même faute d’accord de l’apposition que dans notre inscription, *D(eabus) Silvestres* – qui plus est, avec des géménées non justifiées³⁶ – au lieu de *Silvestribus (Virgines et non Virginibus)*. On peut même se demander si l’erreur ne peut s’expliquer par la terminaison en *-tres*, en rapport avec les trois Nymphes représentées sur le relief. Les deux frères et négociants qui érigent la dédicace sont porteurs du gentilice *Valerius* et de *cognomina* grecs, *Xanthias* et *Yacintus* (au lieu de *Hyacinthus*), attestés pour la première fois en graphie latine dans la province sud-danubienne; ces noms grecs pourraient suggérer une origine

³³ Pour son culte, voir Nagy 1994 (et l’iconographie); et la monographie récente de Dészpa 2012 (en partic. 71–86, pour la Mésie Inférieure).

³⁴ Pour l’iconographie des Nymphes en Thrace, voir Karadimitrova 2007; sur leur culte, voir Schirripa 2012. Sur l’association iconographique et épigraphique entre Silvain et une ou plusieurs figures féminines en Mésie Inférieure, voir l’étude de Gočeva 2007.

³⁵ Sur le culte de Silvain en Mésie Inférieure, voir brièvement Velkov et Gerasimova-Tomova 1989, 1344.

³⁶ Voir Mihăescu 1978, 250–51 (accord de l’apposition) et 208–09 (géménées, par exemple *Fausstinus et maiesstati*).

servile (sont-ils des affranchis?). En Mésie Inférieure, on peut citer une dédicace latine aux divinités sylvestres provenant du sanctuaire de Liljače (départ. de Vraca) (*Année épigraphique* 1932, 29 = 1933, 126 = 1955, 67). Ce relief représente Silvain sous les traits du Cavalier Thrace et porte l'inscription suivante: *Silvano et Silvestri(bus?) | Vlp(ius) Eptezenus p(rinceps) d(uplicarius) leg(ionis) | I Ital(icae) v(otum) p(osuit)*. Il convient d'ajouter une dédicace *Silva|no et Silvestr|is s(acrum)*, érigée par Iulianus (*CIL* III 12367), comportant un relief avec Silvain et une figure féminine, *Silvestris*, à Berkovica (départ. de Vraca); enfin, un relief avec Silvain, Diane et trois Nymphes, à Orjahovica (départ. de Plevén).³⁷ Cette concentration dans la partie occidentale de la Mésie Inférieure, vers la Mésie Supérieure et l'espace dalmato-pannonien,³⁸ pourrait indiquer l'origine probable de notre monument.

2. Dédicace à Jupiter et à Junon (Fig. 18)

G. Kabakčieva, dans *Coll. Božkov* 2005, n° 113 (avec photo). Autel rectangulaire en marbre, partiellement brisé à l'angle supérieur droit (ht. 67,5 cm). Quatre lignes de texte en latin; les mots sont séparés par des points médians (ll. 1-2). Ht. des lettres inconnue. Lettres profondément et soigneusement gravées, avec des *apices*. Lieu de découverte inconnu – très vraisemblablement le Nord de la Bulgarie (Mésie Inférieure). Époque impériale.



Fig. 18: Dédicace à Jupiter et à Junon (fac-similé).

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)

et

3 *Iunon[i]*

Reginae.

3 IVNON[AE] Kabakčieva || 4 REGIN(N)AE Kabakčieva

‘À Jupiter Très Bon et Très Grand et à Junon Régine’.

³⁷ Gočeva 2007, 189 (et photo 192, fig. 5).

³⁸ Cf. une dédicace de *Clissa* (Dalmatie) (*ILIug* III 2003): *[Ex i]mperio domini Iovis | [Opt]imi Max(imi) iussit sibi aedem | [f]e[ri] cum suo Consentio deor(um) dearum | [q(ue) si]lvestr(i)um Nymphis fontanis cum Sil[van]o Nymphis silvestrium cum Silvano Fe[sc]e[n]ia Astice cum suo pare coniuge T(ito) | [---]o Fausto V[ir]o et Aug[ustali] a solo restituit.*

Dédicace banale au couple divin suprême du panthéon romain,³⁹ érigée par un anonyme, mais impliquant un coût non négligeable.

3. Dédicace d'un vétéran thrace (Fig. 19)

Appartenant à la collection Ares, cet objet fut exposé lors d'une exposition temporaire au Musée National d'Histoire de Sofia (NIM, Bojana), où l'un des auteurs a eu l'occasion de l'examiner en avril 2010. Colonne de marbre partiellement brisée, de dimensions inconnues, avec une dédicace sur quatre lignes en latin. Lettres assez profondément gravées. Ht. des lettres inconnue. Lieu de découverte inconnu – très vraisemblablement le Nord de la Bulgarie (Mésie Inférieure). Première moitié du III^e s. ap. J.-C.

Iove (sic) et Iun(oni)
Aur(elius) Sudis
 3 *veteranus*
ex voto po-
suit.

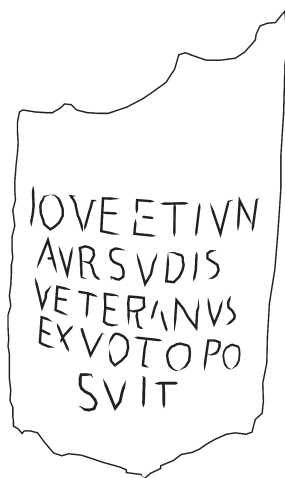


Fig. 19: Autre dédicace à Jupiter et à Junon (fac-similé).

‘Le vétéran Aurelius Sudius a dédié à Jupiter et à Junon à la suite d’un vœu’.

Dédicace banale au couple divin suprême, érigée par un vétéran d’un corps inconnu (légion, unité auxiliaire?), très probablement sur le territoire de la Mésie Inférieure, étant donné qu’elle est rédigée en latin. Pour le premier mot, on constate une faute du lapicide, qui, à la place de l’attendu *Iovi*, a gravé *Iove*, comme s’il s’agissait d’un ablatif. Or, il est préférable de supposer, comme il arrive parfois dans les inscriptions, la notation d’un *e* non accentué à la place d’un *i* non accentué, y compris après l’accent principal du mot.⁴⁰ D’après le gentilice impérial *Aurelius*, le vétéran était un citoyen récent (après 212), ce qui place la dédicace dans la première moitié

³⁹ Sur le culte de Zeus et Héra et Mésie Inférieure et en Thrace, voir Velkov et Gerasimova-Tomova 1989, 1345–49.

⁴⁰ Pour ce phénomène, voir Mihăescu 1978, 175–76 (§ 119).

du III^e s. Plus intéressant s'avère être son *cognomen*, qui est de facture thrace occidentale,⁴¹ ce qui indique pour cet ancien militaire une origine de cette région ou même de la Macédoine Orientale. D'autres soldats porteurs de ce *cognomen*, dont un parfait homonyme, sont: *Aurel. Sudius*, cavalier de la garde impériale, qui avait servi avant dans l'*ala I Dardanorum* en Mésie Inférieure (*CIL* VI 31164 = *DKR* 63, en 241 ap. J.-C.); toujours à Rome, *Valerius Sudius*, sans doute militaire (*CIL* VI 15628); à Tibur, *Val. Sudius, miles leg(ionis) I Ital(icae), provinciae T(h)raci(a)e* (*CIL* XIV 3631 = *I. Italiae* IV.1 164); enfin, à Aquilée, *Sudis*, sans doute militaire (*ILCV* II 2759, épitaphe tardive).

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⁴¹ *OnomThrac* 336–337 compte une quinzaine d'occurrences, avec les graphies *Sudis*, *Sudius*, Σουδης, Σουδιος.

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CALLATIS AND THE DELPHIC ORACLE: ON THE LOCAL PANTHEON OF A WEST PONTIC CITY (4TH–2ND CENTURIES BC)

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Abstract

Three oracular inscriptions (*ISM* III 48–49) attest several old Megarian cults at Callatis. Bringing evidence from the Megarid, I argue that Dionysos *Bakchos* and Apollo *Apotropaios* have to be added to this group of deities. Besides, the list of deities *ISM* III 48 A could be interpreted as an official codification of the Callatian pantheon by the Delphic oracle, shortly after the foundation of the city (around 390–370 BC). I also discuss in the article two friezes from Callatis recently published that may illustrate Hera sitting on an omphalos, and this symbol refers to the oracular powers of the goddess.

The religious and the political institutions of Callatis are often illuminated by the discoveries from Megara and its colonies. The Callatians reproduced the institutions of their mother-city, Heraclea Pontica, itself a colony of the Megarians and the Boeotians.¹ In the corpus of inscriptions of Callatis, Alexandru Avram devoted a section of the volume to the Megarian cults found at Callatis. It is my intention to revisit this subject, especially by bringing here further evidence from Megarid.

The Callatian pantheon is known mainly thanks to a series of oracular inscriptions mentioning several divinities (*ISM* III 48–49).² According to the form of the letters, the list of divinities *ISM* III 48 A was dated to the 4th century BC; on the reverse of the stone a Delphic oracle, *ISM* III 48 B, was inscribed during the 2nd century BC (Figs. 1–2). This latter presents the same formula as *ISM* III 49, which belongs also to the 2nd century BC (Fig. 3). Apollo *Pythios* of Delphi is the god who delivered the oracles, since one document was restored with confidence: Πυ[θίου Ἀπόλλωνος χρησμού]· ὁ θεὸς ἔ[χρησε λόγον καὶ ἄμεινον εἶμεν] (*ISM* III 49, l. 3–4).

The most ancient inscription of the series, *ISM* III 48 A, lists the following deities: Dionysos *Patroos*, Dionysos *Bakchos*, Aphrodite *Pandemos*, Peitho, Dasyllios, Artemis, Chthonia and Kronos. In this list, Dasyllios is the epiclesis of Dionysos, and Chthonia refers very probably to Demeter *Chthonia*. The two divinities were

¹ Burstein 1976, 16–17; Robu 2014, 293–304.

² *ISM* III 50 reports also a Delphic oracle, but this inscription is very fragmentary and mentions no deity.



Fig. 1: Callatis. List of deities, *ISM III 48 A*. Callatis Museum, Mangalia. Inventory no. 274. Photograph by author. Courtesy Callatis Museum.



Fig. 2: Callatis. Delphic oracle, *ISM III 48 B*. Callatis Museum, Mangalia. Inventory no. 274. Photograph by author. Courtesy Callatis Museum.



Fig. 3: Callatis. Delphic oracle, *ISM* III 49. Museum of National History and Archaeology, Constanța. Inventory no. 1453. Source: *ISM* III 49.
Courtesy Museum of National History and Archaeology, Constanța.

widely known at Callatis at this period, and this explains why they are named only by epiclesis.³ Indeed, an inscription attests an association of Demeter *Chthonia* (*ISM* III 40), while a sacred regulation mentions the sacrifices to perform to Dionysos and also the Dasylleion, i.e. the sanctuary of Dionysos *Dasyllios* (*ISM* III 47).

Dionysos *Patroos* and Dionysos *Dasyllios* are certainly Megarian cults: they appear in the description of Megarid provided by Pausanias. Moreover, Pausanias attests two others deities mentioned by the list from Callatis. Pausanias saw in the *temenos* of Dionysos located in the Megarian *agora* the statues of Dionysos *Patroos* and of Dionysos *Dasyllios*. Next to this sanctuary was situated the temple of Aphrodite *Praxis*; one could admire here an ivory statue of the goddess, as well as the statues of Peitho and of Paregoros, these last two being the works of Praxiteles (Pausanias 1. 43. 5–6).⁴ Avram and Lefèvre suggest that the Callatians might have had the same organisation of the sacred area as the Megarians. Besides, since the

³ *ISM* III, pp. 92–93.

⁴ On the location of the sanctuaries of Dionysos and of Aphrodite in the *agora* of Megara, see Muller 1984, 260–61, 264–65.

archaeological finds indicate that the sacred area of Callatis was rebuilt (or re-founded) during the 4th century BC, the list of divinities could be considered as an official codification of the cultic reorganisation. They both wondered if the list from the 4th century BC was not established with the help of the Delphic oracle, because the same stele was reused in the 2nd century BC to inscribe on the reverse a Pythian oracle.⁵ They note that Demeter *Chthonia*, Artemis and Kronos belong also to the oldest group of divinities of Callatis, the only exception being Dionysos *Bakchos*, a cult which could be integrated the city's pantheon during the 4th century BC.⁶

I would like to make here some comments on these oracular inscriptions and on the interpretation proposed by Avram and Lefèvre. First, we should stress the analogies, but also the differences, between the Callatian and Megarian pantheons. It should be noted that Dionysos *Dasyllios* gained autonomy at Callatis: the god is named only by the epiclesis *Dasyllios* and the Dasylleion appeared independently in a sacred regulation. On the other hand, Dionysos *Dasyllios* is celebrated at Megara in the same temple as Dionysos *Patroos*, and it is very probably that Dionysos *Patroos* was the main cult there, since his statue was the most ancient, being consecrated by the seer Polyeidon when he built the temple. Euchenor, the grandson of Polyeidos, dedicated the statue of Dionysos *Dasyllios*.⁷

I believe that Dionysos *Bakchos* is also an old Megarian deity. The proof is provided by an inscription mentioning in the imperial period a religious association called the 'Old Bakcheion' (τὸ παλαιὸν βακχεῖον).⁸ The adjective 'old' indicates the desire of the members of this group to stress their ancient origin and in this way to distinguish themselves from the members of more recent Dionysiac associations.

⁵ Avram and Lefèvre 1995, 21, wrote on the analogies between the sacred spaces of Callatis and of Megara: 'On remarque aisément que la succession des divinités, dans la première partie de notre fragment, suit assez précisément la description of Pausanias. Ce dernier a vu à Mégare le sanctuaire de Dionysos, adoré avec les surnoms de Patrôos et de Dasyllios. Après (μετὰ δὲ), il a pu admirer dans le temple d'Aphrodite diverses œuvres, parmi lesquelles une statue de Peithô. On peut donc, dans les grandes lignes, calquer notre liste de divinités sur l'itinéraire mégarien du Périégète. (...) Ainsi, il est fort possible que l'on retrouve à Callatis un aménagement de l'espace religieux très semblable à ce qui existait à Mégare. Le rapprochement devient encore plus séduisant si l'on sait que le téménos de la cité pontique fut réaménagé (ou refondé) au cours du IV^e siècle: notre texte était-il l'acte officiel sanctionnant ce réaménagement? Le fait que l'autre face de la stèle ait plus tard été utilisée pour transcrire des réponses de l'oracle pythique, auquel les Callatiens avaient visiblement souvent recours, autorise-t-il à penser que cette entreprise fut accompagnée préalablement d'une consultation à Delphes? Il est à ce jour impossible de répondre à ces questions.' Cf. *SEG* 45. 911.

⁶ Avram and Lefèvre 1995, 21–22; *ISM* III, p. 92: 'Le seul dieu qui n'appartient pas à cette catégorie d'anciennes divinités, bien qu'il figure dans la même liste, est Dionysos Βακχεύς dont le culte aurait pu pénétrer à Callatis aux environs de la date même de notre inscription.'

⁷ Antonetti and Lévêque 1990, 201, 203.

⁸ Jaccottet 2003 II, 37–39, no. 6.

Two goddesses appear in *ISM* III 48 A with epiclesis not yet attested at Megara: the cases of Demeter *Chthonia* and of Aphrodite *Pandemos*. The Megarians celebrated only Demeter *Thesmophoros*, Demeter *Malophoros*, Aphrodite *Praxis* and Aphrodite *Epistrophia*, and all of these cults are presently unknown at Callatis.⁹ Kronos is not documented at Megara and its colonies, but we may expect that this god belonged to the old group of cults of Callatis.¹⁰ In short, the Callatians have not reproduced exactly the Megarian cults, and local particularism is important in establishing the pantheon of this West Pontic colony.

A second point that needs to be highlighted is the question of the date of *ISM* III 48 A and the consequences for the history of Callatis. We have seen that the first editors proposed a reorganisation of the sacred area, or even a re-foundation, eventually after consulting the Delphic oracle. This thesis is based on the assumption that Callatis was founded at the end of the 6th century BC. Nevertheless, the foundation of Callatis is not firmly established. The only source on this event is a passage of Ps.-Scymnus (F 4, ed. D. Marcotte) attesting that the city was founded at the time when Amyntas became king of Macedonia. But this is not precise information, since we have to choose between two Macedonian kings: Amyntas I (ca. 540–498 BC) and Amyntas III (ca. 390–370/69 BC).¹¹ The archaeological evidence is inconclusive on this matter; no ceramics discovered at Callatis predate the 4th century BC.¹²

We might ask if the connection between Aphrodite and Peitho that we find at Megara has an Archaic or a Classical origin. Pausanias reports that the statues of Peitho and Paregoros located in the Aphrodision was the work of Praxiteles (active ca. 370–320 BC),¹³ and this information suggests that the celebration of Peitho in the Megarian temple of Aphrodite does not antedate the 4th century BC. I think that this is also the case for the Callatian list of divinities mentioning Aphrodite and Peitho. In this case, and if we accept the lower date of Callatis' foundation, we might consider *ISM* III 48 A not as sanctioning the re-foundation of the sacred space, but as one listing the divinities that the Callatians decided to honour shortly after the foundation of their city, probably in accordance with a Delphic oracle. In this affair the Megarians from Greece seem to have an important role, probably thanks to their connections with Delphi. This hypothesis is supported by the fact

⁹ Highbarger 1927, 39–40, 46–47; Antonetti 1997, 88, 92.

¹⁰ *ISM* III, p. 93.

¹¹ *ISM* III, pp. 9–11; Avram, Hind and Tsetskhladze 2004, 934.

¹² Avram 2009, 217–18; Bîrzescu and Ionescu 2016.

¹³ Pausanias 1. 43. 6; cf. Kansteiner *et al.* 2014, *s.v.* Praxiteles, 104–05, no. 21, 1908.

that a Delphic decree for two Callatians was inscribed on the Megarian treasury at Delphi (ca. 263 BC).¹⁴

The analogies between the institutions of Megara and Callatis are not limited to the religious sphere. Most of the magistracies are the same in the both cities. It is the case of the eponymous *basileus*, the *probouloi* and the *stratagoi*. Callatis is even the only city from the Megarian world that has the college of *probouloi*, while the name of the president of the Callatian assembly, the *πραισιμνῶν*, is reminiscent of the Megarian college of *aisimnatai*.¹⁵

The question is whether all these data arrived at Callatis only through Heraclea Pontica, or were there some direct connections between Megara and Callatis? We mentioned the decree for Callatians inscribed on the Megarian treasury at Delphi and we know that the Megarians collaborated with their *apoikoi* in order to found new settlements. For instance, Selinous was founded by the Megarians from Sicily and Greece (Thucydides 6. 4. 2), Mesambria by the Calchedonians and the Megarians (Ps.-Scymnus 738–742). Thucydides states that in the case of the foundation of Epidamnus by the Corcyrians the oikists came from Corinthos, according to an old rule. The founder was also accompanied by *apoikoi* from Corinthos and other Dorian states (Thucydides 1. 24. 2).

Following the examples of the Calchedonians and of the Megarians from Sicily, the Heracleotes could also have asked Megarians from Greece to assist them in the foundation of new settlements, maybe by sending the founders of the *apoikiai*. I admit that we lack direct testimony for this opinion: there is only indirect evidence, provided by the political and religious institutions.

In favour of this thesis, I would like to invoke another analogy between Megara and the Heracleote colonies. It is the presence at Chersonesos, and very probably also at Callatis, of an epigraphical habit specific to Megara. In these cities, rectangular tablets were used to inscribe epitaphs, the platelet being afterward inserted in free-standing stele.¹⁶ This practice presents economic advantages, since only the tablet was in marble, while the stele was usually in limestone, a cheaper stone. Besides, the stele could easily be reused, by inserting a new tablet or by inscribing a new name on the reverse of the same platelet. This epigraphic habit is attested at Megara from the end of the 6th–beginning of the 5th century BC until the Hellenistic period.¹⁷ The ancient epitaph of Callatis is a tablet (dated to the 4th century BC: *ISM* III 152), while the stelae with tablets from Chersonesos

¹⁴ Avram and Lefèvre 1995, 16.

¹⁵ Avram 1994; *ISM* III, pp. 85–89; Robu 2014, 367–75, 382–89, 391–401.

¹⁶ Robu 2014, 407–08.

¹⁷ Robu 2016.

belong to the 3rd–2nd centuries BC.¹⁸ We have no evidence that this epigraphical transfer between Megara and the Pontic cities was realised through Heraclea Pontica. It is more likely that the practice arrived in the Black Sea cities thanks to relations of Megara with Callatis and Chersonesos. The Megarians used tablets for inscribing epitaphs during the Classical and Hellenistic periods and we may assume that it was during these times that the cultural transfer was realised.

We have to turn now to the oracular inscriptions *ISM* III 48 B–49. According to Avram and Lefèvre, these attest new consultations of the Delphic oracle by the Callatians during the 2nd century BC. They mention a second group of deities, most of them protecting the *agora* and civic life.¹⁹ This group of divinities includes Themis Agoraia, Apollo(?) *Nomios*, Nymphs, Hygeia, Poseidon *Asphaleus*, Apollo *Apotropaïos*, Athena *Hypata*, Gaia, Athena *Hyperdexia* and Aphrodite *Agoraia*; the names of Asklepios, Dionysos, Hermes and Hermes *Agoraios*, Pan, Zeus *Hypathos*, Zeus *Agoraios* and Zeus *Hyperdexios* were also restored in the two inscriptions.

Among all these deities Apollo *Apotropaïos* is very probably an old Megarian cult. This is proved now by a 5th-century BC inscription found recently in the Megarid, in the Archaic–early Classical sanctuary excavated at modern Bourri, close to the ancient Pagai.²⁰ Poseidon also had a pre-eminent place in the Megarian pantheon: he had a sanctuary at Nisaia, the harbour of Megara on the Saronic Gulf (Thucydides 4. 118. 4), and his symbol, the trident, appeared on coins issued by the city during the second part of the 4th century–beginning of the 3rd century BC.²¹ But we have no evidence that the Megarians also celebrated Poseidon *Asphaleus*.

On the basis of the inscriptions previously commented upon, the following situation may be supposed. The city of Callatis was founded *κατὰ χρεσμόν* around 390–370 BC, and we can assume that it was an oracle of Apollo from Delphi.²² Soon after the foundation of their city, the Callatians sent a sacred embassy to Delphi to demand an official codification of their pantheon. The Megarians could have acted in this affair as councillors and by providing help to their *syngeneis*. The Pythian response (*ISM* III 48 A) mentioned several old Megarian deities. Later, in the Hellenistic period, the Callatians decided to consult again the oracle from

¹⁸ Posamentir 2011, 209, 215–26.

¹⁹ Avram and Lefèvre 1995, 22: ‘Un deuxième groupe de divinités, peut-être fixé plus tardivement, est celui de l’agora et de la vie civique.’

²⁰ Valta 2005, 125.

²¹ Robu 2013, 69.

²² Ps.-Scymnus F 4 (ed. D. Marcotte). Cf. Avram and Lefèvre 1995, 16; Herda 2016, 33. Amato (2007) supposed that the Megarian Lampos/Lampon who consulted the Delphic oracle according to Favorinus *On Exile*, 24. 7–9 (ed. A. Barigazzi), might be the oikist of Callatis. Cf. Robu 2014, 108.

Delphi, and in the new lists of the deities we find at least one Megarian, i.e. Apollo *Apotropaios* (*ISM* III 48 B–49). The Delphic oracles structured the local pantheon of the West Pontic city over a long period (4th–2nd centuries BC), but they were also sources of local pride. They provided evidence of the noble origin of the Callatians and of their connections with the most prestigious religious centre of the Greek world.

Here, at the end of this study, I wish to discuss briefly a marble frieze recently found at Callatis and dated to the 3rd–2nd centuries BC, but still poorly known by scholars (Fig. 4).²³ It is an iconographic document very well preserved, a masterpiece of the Hellenistic art. Among the four divinities represented on the frieze, we recognise easily Athena. The goddess wears a helmet and carries a spear and shield. On the opposite part is depicted a male deity. I. Pâslaru and S. Colesniuc suggested that we may have here a representation of Poseidon, but the absence of the symbolic attributes does not allow for certain identification.

On the other hand, two goddesses who speak to each other and hold hands occupy the central part of the relief. One is represented standing and holding in her left hand (probably) a flower originally painted; the other is sitting on an omphalos and has a spear in her left hand. They were identified with Aphrodite and Hera, the representation of Hera with spear being known elsewhere. But the depiction of Hera sitting on an omphalos is certainly uncommon. We know that the omphalos is the symbol of Apollo and of his mother, Leto. For example, Apollo sitting on an omphalos appears on the coins of Calchedon in the Hellenistic period, and this is a reference to the oracular powers of the Apollo *Chrestorios* celebrated by the Calchedonians.²⁴ An Attic relief dedicated to Apollo during the first half of the 4th century BC, presently kept in the Barracco Museum in Rome, depicts Leto on an omphalos, accompanied by Apollo, Artemis and devotees.²⁵

Nevertheless, oracles of Hera are attested, as at Corinthos and at Cyme. Strabo mentions an oracle of Hera Akraia at the Heraion from Perachora in Corinthia, close to the Megarian border (Strabo 8. 6. 22, C 380),²⁶ and one can ask if this isthmian tradition could not also be present at Callatis. This could explain the association of Hera with an omphalos on the frieze.

²³ Pâslaru and Colesniuc 2003–04.

²⁴ Robu 2007, 142.

²⁵ Smith 2008.

²⁶ Cf. Dunbabin 1951; Salmon 1962, 165–68. The oracle of Hera Akraia was probably consulted also by the Megarians. According to Antonetti (1998, 37), the Heraion from Perachora was 'le pivot du culte d'Héra pour l'Isthme entier'. For the oracle of Hera from Kyme, see Salmon 1972, 165.



Fig. 4: Callatis. Fragmentary frieze depicting deities. Callatis Museum, Mangalia. Inventory no. 3225. Photograph by author. Courtesy Callatis Museum.



Fig. 5: Callatis. Fragmentary frieze depicting two goddesses. Museum of National History and Archaeology, Constanța. Inventory no. 5205. Photograph by author. Courtesy Museum of National History and Archaeology, Constanța.

It should be added that several reliefs with representations of deities were found in West Pontic cities, but the Callatian frieze was made in a different style.²⁷ However, we can mention here another fragmentary frieze discovered at Callatis and dated to the 2nd–1st centuries BC (Fig. 5).²⁸ Two goddesses are represented on it and it is noteworthy that one of them is probable sitting on an omphalos. If this is the case, we may have a second representation of Hera as an oracular deity at Callatis. The two iconographic documents confirm that the Callatian pantheon is extremely rich and diversified in the 4th–2nd centuries BC. This undoubtedly reflects the importance of the city and its connections with the Aegean world during this period.

Bibliography

Abbreviation

ISM III A. Avram, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Scythie Mineure, III: Callatis et son territoire* (Bucharest/Paris 1999).

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²⁷ Oppermann 2004, 263–64, 278–82, figs. 62.3a–b, 63; Pâslaru and Colesniuc 2003–04, 414.

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OBSERVATIONS SUR LA POPULATION DANS LE TERRITOIRE DE TOMIS À L'ÉPOQUE ROMAINE (I^{er}–III^e S. AP. J.-C.)

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Abstract

The topic of the present paper is focused on the rural communities of the territory of ancient Tomis, where several *vici* and one *komè* are attested epigraphically. A presentation stage by stage of these settlements is carried out according to the Roman presence in the area, to the status of the city of Tomis and to the terms and conditions of the administrative organisation of its territory. An analysis of the toponyms and their possible localisation across the territory is also undertaken. Particular attention is devoted to the presence of military units (first of all veterans), whose leading part in the Romanisation process of Moesia Inferior is largely recognised. The onomastic analysis aims at the structure of names, their possible ethnical origin as well as the social status of their bearers.

L'étude de l'évolution historique de Tomis, telle qu'abordée à plusieurs reprises au cours des dernières décennies et sous divers aspects, a entraîné tout naturellement, l'analyse du rapport *civitas-territorium*. Dans ce contexte, la question de la population rurale ne pouvait être ignorée, la recherche à ce sujet se concentrant sur l'identification de certaines structures rurales (toponymie, statut), sur la structuration ethnique et sociale, le régime du sol, de même que sur divers aspects économiques, mais aussi spirituels et culturels.¹

A partir d'une sélection récente de tout le matériel épigraphique de Tomis et de ses alentours (et parfois au delà, en raison de la circulation des pièces, bien attestée dans l'antiquité et à l'époque moderne), nous estimons qu'un total d'environ 70 textes épigraphiques peuvent provenir du territoire de Tomis.²

¹ Suceveanu 1977; 1998; Bărbulescu 2001; Băltăc 2011; Buzoianu et Bărbulescu 2012; *infra* n. 3–4; dans le territoire de Tomis, au cours des dernières années, plusieurs recherches de surface et de sauvetage ont été effectuées; encore inédites, leurs données archéologiques ne font pas l'objet de la présente étude.

² Autant chez I. Stoian dans *ISM* II, que chez les auteurs indiqués à la note 1, les considérations sur la provenance des inscriptions du territoire ou de Tomis sont variables. Dans la présente sélection nous avons pris en compte aussi les observations du collègue A. Avram, faites à l'occasion de la préparation, aux côtés des signataires de ces lignes du volume VI de la série *ISM*.

Après nous être intéressées récemment³ aux sources épigraphiques et aux structures rurales repérées sur le territoire de Tomis, aussi bien qu'aux cultes de cet espace,⁴ nous nous pencherons cette fois sur la population, surtout d'un point de vue onomastique, mais tout en tenant compte des autres données fournies par le contexte épigraphique, dans une présentation chronologique, autant que possible, en fonction des étapes de développement des habitats ruraux.

La façon dont la domination romaine s'est installée dans l'espace ouest-pontique a souvent été abordée⁵, la cité de Tomis ayant probablement le statut de *civitas libera et immunis*,⁶ avec des droits entiers sur son propre territoire. L'insécurité dans la région, décrite par Ovide,⁷ allait baisser avec la création de la province de Mésie (15 ap. J.-C.) et plus tard, avec le rattachement à cette province de toute la zone du Bas Danube (environ 46 ap. J.-C.).⁸ La situation politique du début du Ier s. ap. J.-C. se reflète dans l'absence d'inscriptions de la *χώρα* de Tomis, à l'exception d'une petite stèle en marbre (Ier s. av. J.-C.–Ier s. ap. J.-C.), pièce de réemploi pouvant provenir des alentours ou même de la nécropole de la cité. Le nom de l'un des frères pour lesquels le monument a été érigé, Ἀρτεμίδωρος, un théophore connu, mais surtout celui du père qui a commandé l'inscription, Φαρνάκης, un anthroponyme iranien, nouveau à Tomis, mais connu dans l'espace nord-ouest-pontique et dans d'autres centres grecs,⁹ semblent se rapporter plutôt à des personnes établies dans la ville; ces noms restent, cependant, incertains pour le territoire.

La première étape concernant le territoire de Tomis, reconfiguré après l'extension de la Mésie, s'inscrit entre la deuxième moitié du Ier s. ap. J.-C. et la première partie du IIe s. ap. J.-C.

La période se caractérise par une présence romaine individuelle; à savoir, la présence d'abord, des vétérans, détenteurs de *praedia*; l'entrée en possession avait commencé ou, de toute façon, avait été favorisée au cours de la période où la cité bénéficiait du statut de *civitas stipendiaria* (après ce que son statut de *civitas libera* lui ait été retiré par Vespasien, la preuve en étant la présence d'unités militaires sur place), et jusqu'à ce que ce statut lui soit rendu par Hadrien, ainsi qu'il a été affirmé à diverses reprises.¹⁰ Le processus d'installation des vétérans dans le territoire a

³ Bărbulescu et Buzoianu 2013.

⁴ Bărbulescu et Buzoianu 2016.

⁵ Voir Avram dans *ISM* III 54–60; Matei-Popescu 2014a, 174–81; 2014b, 461–67; voir aussi Bărbulescu et Buzoianu 2014b, 422–28.

⁶ Doruțiu-Boilă 1975a, 152; Suceveanu 1977, 47; Matei-Popescu 2013, 204–09.

⁷ Podossinov 1987, 126–60; Franga 1990; Franga et Franga 2004–05.

⁸ Vulpe et Barnea 1968, 48–49.

⁹ Bărbulescu et Câteia 2006, 207–08, n° 2 (*SEG* 56. 859); Avram, *Bulletin épigraphique* 2008, 371, 2. Pour Φαρνάκης, voir *LGN IV* (s.v).

¹⁰ Suceveanu 1975, 118–24; Băltăc 2011, 107; Bărbulescu et Buzoianu 2013, 177–78.

continué ensuite au II^e s. ap. J.-C., la clause de l'intangibilité des territoires des cités libres n'étant plus strictement respectée.¹¹

La preuve épigraphique concernant, une *κώμη Ἀπολλωνίου* aux alentours de Tomis,¹² mais aussi l'attestation de quelques villages (*vici*) avec une population romaine dans le voisinage, pose la question d'une évolution similaire à celle d'Histria (mieux connue),¹³ à savoir, qu'en dehors de la *χώρα* il a dû exister une *regio Tomitana*.¹⁴

Les deux hypothèses continuent à retenir l'attention des spécialistes; dans le cas de la première, la présence de quelques garnisons à Tomis ne semble pas se confirmer; par contre, on relève un nombre assez important de militaires d'active à Tomis (au service du gouverneur ou affectés à la garde des routes côtières) et de vétérans,¹⁵ dont certains auraient pu s'établir dans le territoire. Il y a ensuite deux preuves épigraphiques concernant 'la restauration de la liberté' de la cité ou, du moins, de certains privilèges accordés à la ville, probablement par Hadrien.¹⁶ En ce qui concerne la deuxième hypothèse, également logique, il nous manque, pour le moment, une délimitation propre (le territoire étant configuré approximativement à partir des horothésies d'Histria¹⁷ et de Callatis);¹⁸ l'existence de villages romains au voisinage de Tomis reflète, selon nous, différentes étapes de l'intervention romaine, y compris la diversification du type d'exploitation agricole. L'absence de communautés de *veterani consistentes* dans le territoire, confirme le statut supérieur de Tomis, mis souvent en évidence.

Revenant à la période discutée: des vétérans sont déjà attestés à Tomis du temps de Vespasien (provenant de différentes parties de l'empire)¹⁹ mais sans que nous puissions préciser dans quelle mesure ils se sont installés dans le territoire.

Par contre, un indice certain en ce sens nous est fourni par l'exemple du vétéran de Trajan, M. Ulpius Longinus, *ex dec(urione)*, avec un *cognomen* spécifique au *limes*, entré dans l'élite de la cité (*buleuta Tomitan(orum)*) et établi (dans la première

¹¹ Suceveanu 1998, 122.

¹² Bărbulescu et Rădulescu 1994, 168–70, n° 6 (*L'Année épigraphique* 1995, 1344; *SEG* 46. 911); voir aussi Suceveanu 2001–02, 170.

¹³ Avram 1990, 11–14; Matei-Popescu 2013, 215–27.

¹⁴ Avram 2007, 99.

¹⁵ Cf. Matei-Popescu 2014a, 181–95, 202–05, catalogue n° 10–48; identifie environ 43 soldats à Tomis, dont 24 actifs, 13 vétérans et les autres avec un statut indéterminé.

¹⁶ *ISM* II 47: Ἐλευθ[έριος]; Avram 2014, 161–67, n° 1 (l. 4): ἀποκαθ[εσταμένης τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῆ[μῶν?].

¹⁷ *ISM* I 67, 68 et *supra* n. 13.

¹⁸ *ISM* III 51–55.

¹⁹ *ISM* II 8, 170, 169; voir aussi Petolescu 2000; Bărbulescu et Buzoianu 2013, 177, n. 22–24; *ISM* II 172; Conrad 2004, n° 129; Matei-Popescu 2010, 167, n.1340 et 265, n. 2353.

moitié du IIe s.), *in praedio suo*, avec son épouse, Ulpia Aquilina, qui porte le même *nomen gentile*, étant, probablement une affranchie.²⁰

En ce qui concerne M. Iulius Tertullus *veteranus cohortis I (Flaviae) Commagenorum*²¹ et Q. Allidius Celer *veteranus cohortis I Lusitanorum (Cyrenaica)*²² attestés à Tomis dans la période qui précède le règne d'Hadrien, nous ne disposons d'aucune donnée attestant qu'ils se sont établis dans le territoire.

Le nombre d'éléments grecs connus dans le territoire dans cette première période est extrêmement réduit et reste incertain.²³

Le nombre également restreint de noms thraces à Tomis (Ier–IIe s. ap. J.-C.),²⁴ surtout dans cette première période, est confirmé aussi par leur absence au sein de l'élite locale (ouverte par ailleurs aux Romains et aux étrangers, dans cette ville cosmopolite).²⁵ Dans le territoire, les habitants (Gètes/Thraces du sud), soit gardent leur tradition onomastique, soit, surtout, évoluent vers le registre socio-culturel romain.

A cet égard, un exemple pourrait être constitué par le cas du chef d'une formation indigène (*loci princeps*), qui avait reçu la citoyenneté romaine, M. Attius Firmus,²⁶ citoyenneté détenue également par sa femme, Cocceia Iulia (fin du Ier–début du IIe s. ap. J.-C.);²⁷ malheureusement, la découverte de l'inscription à Techirghiol ne certifie pas son origine, la pièce provenant plutôt de la région danubienne (Seimenii Mari près de Capidava) ou de l'arrière-pays, où cette fonction avait des analogies plus naturelles.²⁸

²⁰ *ISM* II 180 = *CIL* III 770; Suceveanu 1998, 122–23; Băltăc 2011, 151 et le tableau I. 13, n° 44–45; Ruscă 2005, 152, n. 105; Matei-Popescu 2014a, 183, n. 90 et 203, n° 27.

²¹ *ISM* II 176 = Conrad 2004, n° 181 (fin du Ier s. ap. J.-C.); Matei-Popescu 2014a, 183, n. 89 et 203, n° 25; Matei-Popescu 2010, 207, n. 1794–1795.

²² *ISM* II 196; Matei-Popescu 2010, 222, n. 1958; 2014a, 183, n. 91 et 203, n° 29.

²³ Bărbulescu et Buzoianu 2014a, 150–56, n° II. Bărbulescu et Căteia 2006, 208–09, n° 3, *Bulletin épigraphique* 2008, 371(3); *SEG* 56. 860.

²⁴ Cojocaru 1996, 136: le diagramme des catégories de noms, n° 2 (Tomis); Dana et Dana 2013, 296, n. 52, sur l'onomastique indigène assez réduite à Tomis.

²⁵ Pour la structure de l'élite à Tomis, voir Ruscă 2005, 151–54.

²⁶ *ISM* V 4 (Seimenii Mari): M(arcus) Attius / M(arci) f(ilius) Firmus = *ISM* II 183 = *CIL* III 772: 'M(arcus) Attius, / T(itus) f(ilius), Firmus' (Techirghiol); Suceveanu 2001–02 considère qu'il s'agit d'une copie de la même inscription et maintient *locus* à Techirghiol; de même, Băltăc 2011, 153–54 et dans les tableaux. Pour d'autres *Attii* dans la Mésie Inférieure, voir aussi *ILB* 321; *ILB* 311 = Conrad 2004, n° 403 (Novae); *ISM* V 137 (Troesmis, 134 ap. J.-C.), etc.

²⁷ Sa famille a pu obtenir la citoyenneté par la Constitution de Nerva de 97. Pour d'autres *Cocceii* à Tomis, voir *ISM* II 181, 260 et 182 = Conrad 2004 n° 145 (ici *cognomen*). Nous rencontrons une Cocceia Iulia à Capidava (*ISM* V 30, IIe s. ap. J.-C.), auprès de nombreux Cocceii, voir *ISM* V 329 (*indices*).

²⁸ Voir la discussion en *ISM* V 27 et n° 77 (pour *loci princeps*); Bărbulescu et Buzoianu 2013, 178–79.

La situation est différente pour Ti. Claudius Mucasius, qui consacre un autel bilingue au Héros, découvert à Poarta Albă.²⁹ Le personnage porte les *tria nomina*, avec *praenomen* et *nomen* impérial, fréquents dans le milieu militaire et civil de la Mésie Inférieure³⁰ mais conserve comme *cognomen* l'idionyme thrace à désinence latinisée;³¹ sa présence dans le territoire de Tomis semble certaine, sa situation matérielle lui facilitant probablement l'obtention de la citoyenneté romaine.³²

La deuxième étape concernant la population du territoire de Tomis s'inscrit entre les règnes d'Antonin le Pieux/Marc-Aurèle et celui de Maximin le Thrace, au siècle suivant, quand le nombre des inscriptions est beaucoup plus fourni (par rapport à la période précédente). Les principales caractéristiques de cette période sont:

1. La persistance de la présence à Tomis et dans son territoire, de vétérans mentionnés individuellement dans quelques possibles villages (mais pas dans des *conventus*).
2. L'attestation de quelques *vici* dans des inscriptions découvertes par hasard dans le territoire et à Tomis, raison pour laquelle la localisation des villages reste hypothétique; de toute façon, il s'agit de la catégorie d'inscriptions la plus précieuse, la présence des signataires dans le territoire étant certaine.
3. Dans le cas de certains *vici*, ou dans le cas des villages dont le nom reste inconnu, en raison d'un nombre supérieur d'inscriptions provenant d'une certaine localité, il est possible de faire quelques remarques au sujet de la population rurale, dans la même perspective chronologique.³³

En ce qui concerne le premier aspect, on peut citer l'exemple de Sextus Catonius Terminalis, possible centurion ou vétéran de la *Legio V Macedonica*, mentionné sur une inscription provenant de Tomis;³⁴ le personnage porte un *nomen* connu, rencontré aussi chez deux autres militaires de la même légion³⁵ et un *cognomen*

²⁹ ISM II 128. À Poarta Albă ont été trouvées aussi les inscriptions ISM II 43, 106 (qui proviennent de Tomis).

³⁰ Voir les exemples de *Tiberii* et *Claudii* chez Mihăilescu Bîrliba et Dumitrache 2012, 45–47, 70–71.

³¹ Dana 2011, 66, n. 108; Oppermann 2006, 84, n. 247 (Héros); Alexianu 2005, 307, n° 1 et 310–12.

³² Voir aussi ISM II 227 (Tomis) et Russu 1959, 141–42, n° 4 = ISM IV 83 (Dumbrăveni, le territoire de Tropaeum Traiani), où apparaît le même personnage; voir aussi Suceveanu 1998, 125, n. 57; Barnea 1998, 23.

³³ C'est un sujet que nous avons en vue pour un futur commentaire.

³⁴ ISM II 466; Matei-Popescu 2010, 74, n. 493 (la première moitié du IIe s. ap. J.-C.); Conrad 2004, n° 295 (date la pièce, selon la forme de la stèle, de la deuxième moitié du IIe s. ap. J.-C.).

³⁵ ISM V 137, col. VI 25: Cat(onius) Sec(undus); col. VI 21 (incertain) (134 ap. J.-C.). Voir aussi la présence en Mésie Inférieure du gouverneur Catonius Vindex et la discussion à son sujet dans LPI 20:096 (169–176 ap. J.-C.).

d'origine italique.³⁶ Le militaire mentionné semble être le patron de deux affranchis, Catonius et Catonius Epaphroditus (ce dernier gardant son nom grec antérieur comme *cognomen*),³⁷ de possibles *actores*, qui consacrent à leur patron une stèle découverte à Basarabi.³⁸

La ville et son territoire sont très 'attractifs' non seulement pour les militaires des troupes de Mésie Inférieure (en raison de la vie urbaine sur le *limes* danubien qui se développe surtout à partir de la deuxième moitié du IIe s.), mais aussi pour ceux qui avaient servi dans d'autres provinces ou qui avaient été détachés et avaient fini par s'y établir. C'est le cas du vétéran de la *Legio XIII Gemina d'Apulum*, C. Antonius Fronto, ancien bénéficiaire consulaire, qui avait préparé pour lui et les siens *lucum et sepulchrum*/τὸ σύνδενδρον καὶ τὸ μνημῆον,³⁹ soit dans la nécropole de Tomis, soit sur sa propriété située dans le territoire.

Dans le texte grec de l'inscription bilingue (utilisée, comme il a été remarqué, pour mettre en évidence sa propre importance pour les habitants) on trouve des latinismes appartenant au domaine militaire: οὔρετ(ερᾶνος) et λεγι(ῶνος), typiques pour l'état de *koinè* à l'époque romaine dans les régions hellénophones.⁴⁰ En fait, les liens avec la Dacie sont prouvés aussi par d'autres découvertes épigraphiques de Tomis⁴¹ et du territoire.⁴²

Pour en revenir à C. Antonius Fronto, on a considéré qu'il est à identifier avec l'homonyme mentionné sur une inscription votive grecque découverte à Noviodunum, apportée probablement du littoral.⁴³

Enfin, un autre vétéran, dont nous voudrions faire mention ici, est l'ex-centurion primipilaire Iulius Fronto, qui possède un important domaine dans le territoire de Tomis, administré par un intendant (πραγματευτής), Καστρήσιος (probablement

³⁶ Schulze 1933, 278 et 487; voir aussi Claus-Slaby s.v. *Terminalis* (421 exemples, la plupart de Rome et d'Italie).

³⁷ Le *cognomen* Epaphroditus fréquemment rencontré à Rome et en Italie (y compris dans le cas de certains affranchis); voir *CIL* VI, *passim*; Claus-Slaby (s.v.).

³⁸ *ISM* II 297; Suceveanu 1998, 123; Bărbulescu 2001, 55.

³⁹ *ISM* II 190 (= *CIL* III 7545) (autel trouvé à Constanța) = *IDRE* II 344 (la discussion sur *luci*); Aricescu 1977, 45, 206–07, date l'inscription dans les IIe–IIIe s. ap. J.-C.; voir cependant, Barnea 1975, 256 'peu après le milieu du IIe s. ap. J.-C.'; voir aussi Matei-Popescu 2014a, 183, n. 93 et 203, n° 28.

⁴⁰ Alexianu 2005, 307, n° 3 et 310–12.

⁴¹ *ISM* II 221 (= *CIL* III 14214, 30), *bf. co(n)sularis* de la *Legio XIII Gemina* (Tomis, IIe s. ap. J.-C.).

⁴² *ISM* II 296 (= *CIL* III 12479) (Cumpăna): Q. Baebius Proculus *vet(eranus)* de la *Legio XIII Gemina*. Sur d'autres *Baebii*, de la Mésie Inférieure recrutés probablement en Italie, voir aussi Mihăilescu Bîrliba et Dumitrache 2012, 52 et 66–67; pour un porte-drapeau ([σημαιο]φόρος) de la *Legio XIII Gemina*, voir *ISM* II 363 (Agígea, inscription provenue, probablement, de Tomis). Sur les liens avec la Dacie, voir aussi Ruscu et Ciongradi 2005, 276, n. 28.

⁴³ Barnea 1975, 255–56, n° 1 = *ISM* V 272 (la seconde moitié du IIe–le début du IIIe s. ap. J.-C.).

un affranchi au nom romanisé).⁴⁴ Ce dernier parvient, à son tour, à une bonne situation matérielle, puisqu'il peut se faire fabriquer un sarcophage, pour lui et son épouse, Εὐφροσύνη (probablement une affranchie, également) qui garde son nom grec.⁴⁵

Parmi les témoignages épigraphiques les plus récents concernant les villages de la Scythie Mineure, se place l'autel consacré à *IOM* pour la santé de l'empereur Antonin le Pieux et du *caesar* Marc Aurèle par *c(ives) <R(omani) ?> c(onsistentes) / vic(o) I Urb [...]* (139–161 ap. J.-C.).⁴⁶

Le nom du village, partiellement conservé, provient probablement d'un *cognomen* romain, comme c'est le cas pour la plupart des villages de la région.⁴⁷ La localisation du village reste incertaine à cause de l'existence de deux mentions concernant la provenance de l'inscription: de Medgidia, conformément à une note dans le manuscrit de G. Tocilescu, ou des environs de Tulcea, comme le précise le même auteur lors de la publication de la pièce,⁴⁸ localisation reprise par la suite dans le *CIL*. La découverte ultérieure d'une inscription près de la cité d'Aegyssus (Tulcea), qui atteste l'existence d'un *vicus Urbiin* (fin du IIe s.–début du IIIe s.),⁴⁹ au nom similaire, semble soutenir l'hypothèse de l'emplacement de ce village dans le territoire d'Aegyssus.⁵⁰

Comme dans d'autres cas, on a observé cette fois aussi que le nom du village – *vicus I(primus?) Urb...* – est précédé par une haste, un signe distinctif, ce qui n'exclut pas la possibilité qu'il s'agisse de deux villages différents, le premier, attesté chronologiquement, situé probablement aux confins du territoire de Tomis, à Medgidia.⁵¹

Sous réserve de cette localisation hypothétique, on peut préciser que les commanditaires de la dédicace de l'autel, suite à une décision des villageois (*d(ecreto) v(icanorum)*), se trouvent être deux de ces derniers, porteurs des *tria nomina*; le premier, C(aius) Mag(.) Iul(ianus) porte un *nomen* qui est assez fréquent dans l'Empire –Mag(ius)–, mais pas en Mésie Inférieure, et un *cognomen* latin également

⁴⁴ *ISM* II 289 (IIe–IIIe s. ap. J.-C.); Bărbulescu et Buzoianu 2013, 185, n. 85. Pour le *cognomen* Castre(n)sis, voir Kajanto 1965, 208.

⁴⁵ Voir aussi *ISM* V 242: Εὐφροσύνης (Nalbant, dép. Tulcea, pièce apportée de l'un des centres du littoral, probablement Histria ou de son territoire rural); (IIIe s. ap. J.-C.).

⁴⁶ *CIL* III 14441; *ISM* IV 242; voir aussi les notes suivantes.

⁴⁷ Voir *supra* n. 1 et 3; Florescu 1990, 112, n. 87, lit cependant *vic(us) I urb(anus)* et situe le village à Aegyssus.

⁴⁸ Tocilescu 1900, 205, n° 28; 1903, 53, n° 77; Doruțiu-Boilă 1964, 132, n° 4 (sur la provenance de la pièce de Medgidia); voir aussi Bounegru 2003, 134–35, n. 20–21.

⁴⁹ Baumann 1984, 223–24, n° 3 et fig. 55; Conrad 2004, n° 219; *Année épigraphique* 2004, 281.

⁵⁰ Băltăc 2011, 144–45, 236 II a et le tableau I.1, n° 5–6.

⁵¹ Bărbulescu 2001, 115, 164–65 (avec l'observation qu'elle localise le village dans le territoire axiopolitain).

commun ici, Iulianus;⁵² le nom du deuxième *civis*, lu différemment, semble être D(ecimus) M (.). Anibal,⁵³ avec un *nomen* abrégé peut-être en M[a(gius)?], et un *cognomen* inédit, Anibal, avec une résonance historique bien connue.

La dernière observation pourrait soutenir l'idée que certaines communautés de *c(ives) R(omani)* établies en Scythie Mineure,⁵⁴ avaient des activités commerciales; c'est le cas de *c(ives) c(onsistentes)* établi dans un endroit favorable, à mi-distance entre les deux centres connus de Tomis et Axiopolis, si l'inscription provient bien de Medgidia.

C'est du *vicus Narcissiani*, localisé de manière hypothétique aux alentours de Constanța, à Poiana (ancien Cocoșu), que provient l'autel consacré à *IOM* pour la santé de l'empereur Marc Aurèle, autel offert au village par le *magister* Pontianus Valens.⁵⁵ Le nom du maire noté à l'ablatif, formé de deux *cognomina*,⁵⁶ témoigne d'une romanisation plus récente de l'anthroponyme; retenons, également, comme particularités linguistiques dans le texte, l'utilisation plus inhabituelle du verbe *voveo* (*voveit*).⁵⁷

Le seul village du territoire tomitain dont le nom apparaît sur trois inscriptions, deux étant datées de la fin du IIe s., est le *vicus Clementianensis/-ni/-us*;⁵⁸ le toponyme provient du premier propriétaire,⁵⁹ le village étant probablement situé dans la zone de la localité de Mihail Kogălniceanu.

A signaler d'abord la présence d'éléments indigènes dans la localité, fournis par l'épithaphe de Castus Mucapori, commandée par son épouse et ses fils.⁶⁰ Le nom du défunt est formé du *cognomen* latin Castus⁶¹ et du patronyme Mucapor (en génitif), l'un des noms thraces les plus fréquents;⁶² le nom de l'épouse Sedida Reti[.]tis, semble appartenir au groupe onomastique thrace.⁶³

⁵² Pour Mag(ius), voir Clauss-Slaby (s.v.). Le *cognomen* Iulianus est fréquent dans la province, voir *ISM* II 169; *ISM* V 137, 296, *ISM* III 74 A; *ISM* IV 55 (Tropaeum Traiani); *ISM* IV 110, 117, 120 (Durostorum), etc.; sur le *cognomen*, voir aussi Kajanto 1965, 148.

⁵³ Tocilescu 1903, 53, n° 77: D. M. Anibal; 1900, 205, n° 28: D(ecimus) Man(lius) Bal; *CIL* III 14441: MANI; cf. Bărbulescu 2001, 189, n. 616; ajoute Avram 2007, 107, n° 18 et *ISM* IV 242.

⁵⁴ Bounegru 2003, 121–29 et 131–62; Avram 2007.

⁵⁵ *ISM* II 133 (éventuellement 172–180 ap. J.-C.); cf. Bărbulescu et Buzoianu 2013, 180, n. 46–49.

⁵⁶ Voir Kajanto 1965, 153; *ISM* V 137 II 16; *ILB* 223 (s.v. Pontianus), 223 (s.v. Valens); Băltac 2011, 146, tableau I. 12, n° 183: c.R.

⁵⁷ Vulpe 1938, 241 et 193; Tudor 1962, 119–20, n° 3.

⁵⁸ Voir les notes suivantes; Bărbulescu et Buzoianu 2013, 181–82, n. 54–66.

⁵⁹ *ISM* V 118: les suffixes *-ianus*, *-a*, *-um* habituels pour les propriétés.

⁶⁰ *ISM* II 191 (IIe s. ap. J.-C.) = *CIL* III 7565; Suceveanu 1998, 124.

⁶¹ Voir *ISM* II 170; *ISM* V 124 (le territoire d'Histria); *ILB* 338, 391, 438 II 18, etc.

⁶² Pour *Mucapor*, voir Dana 2011, 69; 2014a, 230–31 et suiv., LXXXVI et CXIV.

⁶³ Dana 2014a, 310 et 292.

Le changement des anthroponymes, qui annonce le début du processus de romanisation, se reflète ici dans les noms des enfants – Longinus, Martia et Valerius, des noms préférés par les milieux militaires;⁶⁴ la possibilité que le *vicus Clementianensis* soit un village de vétérans, n'est pas à exclure.⁶⁵

Dans la zone de la localité de Mihail Kogălniceanu, a été trouvée une inscription consacrée à la Mère des Dieux par Σοῦρι[.] (reconstitué Σοῦρι[ος] ou Σοῦρι[ς]), un anthroponyme rencontré aussi sous diverses formes dans les zones thraces,⁶⁶ sous réserve d'en déterminer l'appartenance ethnique, dans le présent cas, de la / du dédicant(e), seulement sur la base de la similarité onomastique.⁶⁷

L'organisation romaine du *vicus Clementianensis* est attestée par deux inscriptions consacrées à *IOM* par les maires en fonction: la première en 195 ap. J.-C. par le *magister vici Aelius Aelianus*, qui porte un *nomen* et puis un *cognomen* dérivé du premier, fréquemment rencontrés dans le milieu militaire et civil de la Mésie Inférieure.⁶⁸

Certaines particularités de vocabulaire dans l'inscription citée, parmi lesquelles l'emploi du datif au lieu du génitif demandé par le contexte, du mot *magistratus* pour *magister* et de *ara* avec *-m* final tombé en accusatif, sont fréquentes dans les villages de la région.⁶⁹

Le deuxième autel a été érigé par le maire en fonction l'année suivante, 196 ap. J.-C., Flavius Ianuarius,⁷⁰ qui a un *nomen* impérial attesté depuis longtemps à Tomis et un *cognomen* qui peut correspondre à un élément romain assez récent.⁷¹ De toute façon, les noms des magistrats, avec leur structure caractéristique pour l'époque – à deux éléments – révèlent que ces deux «officiels» possédaient la citoyenneté romaine.

Toujours sur les découvertes dans la zone de la localité de Mihail Kogălniceanu, mentionnons également deux inscriptions funéraires grecques: l'une commémorant

⁶⁴ Dana 2011, 84.

⁶⁵ Băltăc 2011, 146.

⁶⁶ Bărbulescu, Câteia et Wiśożenski 2009, 411–14; *L'année épigraphique* 2009, 1217; *SEG* 59. 788; *Bulletin épigraphique* 2010, 453; Dana 2014a, 340.

⁶⁷ Voir la discussion dans Curcă et Zugravu 2005, 313–17.

⁶⁸ *ISM* II 134 = *ISM* V 92; pour Aelius (Αἴλιος) à Tomis, voir *ISM* II 375–76 et 381 (*s.v.*); Ruscu 2014, 479, n. 55: 13 *Aelii* attestés à Tomis; un autre Aelius Aelianus était magistrat dans le municipe Troesmis (après 177), voir *ISM* V 164; *ILB* 215 (*s.v.* Aelius).

⁶⁹ *ISM* V 92; pour l'omission du *-m* final, Mihăescu 1960, chap. 18 et 131 (la confusion entre le génitif et le datif).

⁷⁰ *ISM* II 136 = *ISM* V 93.

⁷¹ Pour des *Flavii* à Tomis, voir Ruscu 2014, 477, n. 55; au sujet des *Flavii* de Troesmis et d'ailleurs, voir Mihăilescu Bîrliaba et Dumitrache 2012, 74–75. Le *cognomen* Ianuarius apparaît aussi à Satu Nou (près de Medgidia), voir Bărbulescu, Buzoianu et Cliaente 2011, 149–51, n° 3, n. 68–69 et in *vicus Turris Muca* ... (*infra* n. 103).

Ἰουλίᾳ E...,⁷² probablement l'une des Grecs qui résidaient sur place mais ayant reçu la citoyenneté romaine; la seconde, érigée par Γ. Πόντιος Λικινιανός, pour ses frères de mêmes *praenomen* et *nomen* mais aux *cognomina* différents – Φοιβιανός et Μαρκιανός, montrant qu'on a affaire à une famille d'affranchis orientaux romanisés (IIe–IIIe s. ap. J.-C.).⁷³ L'ethnonyme Πόντιος, moins habituel, apparaît aussi dans le territoire, à Castelu;⁷⁴ deux de ces frères ont des *cognomina* romains, et le troisième, un *cognomen* formé à partir d'une épithète d'Apollon (Φοῖβος), connu aussi comme anthroponyme; par exemple, dans la zone, Φοῖβος Νικομηδεύς, l'artisan de l'un des monuments mithriaques découverts à Târgușor, les Bithyniens étant bien connus à Tomis aussi bien que dans le reste de la Mésie Inférieure.⁷⁵

Enfin, un autel votif trouvé aussi à Mihail Kogălniceanu fait état au même degré de liens avec l'Orient, par l'existence d'un collège (*dumus*) d'adorateurs, probablement, de Cybèle;⁷⁶ l'association avait à sa tête un père (*pater dumī*), Aur(elius) Valerianus et une mère (*mater dumī*), Flavia Nona, les deux avec des noms romains;⁷⁷ le porte-drapeau de l'association (*vixillarius*), Dionusius, selon l'unique nom qu'il portait, faisait partie probablement des personnes d'origine servile. Des *sacrati dumī* résidaient plutôt à Tomis, sans qu'un rapport avec le territoire soit exclu puisque, à Mihail Kogălniceanu, comme nous l'avons vu, nous disposons d'une autre preuve de l'adoration de la Mère des Dieux.

Le nom du *vicus Sc...ia* reste fragmentaire, et sa localisation à Palazu Mare est due à la pièce qui l'atteste non loin de cette localité.⁷⁸

Le toponyme apparaît, en effet, sur l'autel consacré à *IOM*, pour la santé du village, la sienne et pour celle des siens, par le *mag(ister) vici [Ap]olloni[us Dada]e* (IIe–IIIe s. ap. J.-C.).⁷⁹ Depuis un certain temps, on a remarqué la possible identification de ce maire avec Apollonius Dadae, lequel a consacré une pierre tombale à sa mère – Mama Dadae – *sacerdos Tomitanorum*, approximativement à la même époque;⁸⁰ il y aurait ainsi la preuve des liens du maire avec Tomis (le village se trouvait dans le voisinage) et surtout celle de la présence de sa mère dans l'élite

⁷² *ISM* II 331; voir aussi Barnea 1998, 225; Băltăc 2011, tableau I. 12, n° 179 (c.R.).

⁷³ *ISM* II 381.

⁷⁴ Bărbulescu et Buzoianu 2009, 489–93, n° 1.

⁷⁵ *ISM* I 374, 375, 377; Avram 2013.

⁷⁶ *ISM* II 160 = *CCCA* VI 454; pour δοῦμος = *dumus*, voir Pippidi 1969, 229–33 (n'exclut pas l'adoration ici de la déesse iranienne Anāitis).

⁷⁷ Pour des *Aurelii* à Tomis, voir *ISM* II 376 et 381 (s.v.); ajoute Bărbulescu et Buzoianu 2010, 356–59, n° 5.

⁷⁸ *ISM* II 137; les autres inscriptions trouvées à Palazu Mare, *ISM* II 86, 205, 273 et 340 proviennent de Tomis; *ISM* II 10 est un fragment d'un monument commémoratif érigé près de Tomis.

⁷⁹ *ISM* II 137; Bărbulescu et Buzoianu 2013, 180–81, n. 50–53.

⁸⁰ *ISM* II 295 (IIe–IIIe s. ap. J.-C.); pour *Lallname* Mama, voir Dana 2014a, XCIX et 205.

sacerdotale de la cité. Enfin, un homonyme a été identifié aussi à Piatra: Ἀπολ[λ]ώνιος Δαδα[ς] apparaît donc dans une ‘formule d’interférence onomastique gréco-indigène’.⁸¹ Le patronyme Dada/Δαδας ayant l’aspect d’un *Lallname* (dans ce cas, le nom coïncide avec le radical dace *dada-/ δαδα-*) est très fréquent dans la zone ouest-pontique.⁸²

Un autel votif fragmentaire découvert récemment à Tomis est consacré à *IOM D(olichenus)* par les prêtres de la divinité qui ont aussi la qualité de [*mag(istri) vici S...*]⁸³ Ce qu’il est difficile de préciser, c’est s’il s’agit du village mentionné plus haut ou plutôt d’une autre localité dont le nom commence par la même lettre, S; selon les traces des lettres conservées sur la pierre, au moins l’un des dédicants porte les *tria nomina*, et on y distingue clairement le *cognomen* Rufus;⁸⁴ le verbe est au pluriel (*posieront* au lieu de *posuerunt*), ce qui signifie qu’il y avaient deux *magistri* qui dirigeaient le village S..., la même année, 193 ap. J.-C., à la différence du village Sc...ia dirigé par un seul maire, comme nous l’avons déjà montré.

Le problème de la localisation du *vicus Celeris* tient aux endroits différents où ont été découvertes les deux inscriptions qui en font état, ce qui explique que le village ait été placé tantôt dans le territoire histrien, tantôt dans celui de Tomis.⁸⁵

Tournons nous maintenant sur le contenu de deux épigraphes évoquant un toponyme: d’abord, un autel consacré à *IOM* et à *Iuno Regina*, pour la santé de l’empereur et (la prospérité) du *vicus de Celeris*, par le *magister* Ulpius Ulpianus (en 177 ap. J.-C.), inscription trouvée à Histria.⁸⁶ La localité a été nommée d’après le *cognomen* de son ‘fondateur’ Celer, et le nom du maire Ulpius Ulpianus nous montre qu’il était citoyen romain.⁸⁷ Dans le texte, le nom du maire est à l’accusatif au lieu de l’ablatif, et celui de l’empereur est noté comme collègue consulaire (Verus Caesar et Quintillus).

En ce qui concerne la deuxième inscription, il a été précisé, il y a quelque temps, qu’elle avait été trouvée à Sibioara (et non pas à Vadu comme annoncé initialement).⁸⁸ Il s’agit de la pierre tombale de ‘la trop-bonne Diana’, sur laquelle sont mentionnées: la célébration ‘de la fête des roses’ (*Rosalia*), le 8 juin, l’obligation faite aux maires en fonction l’année en question (*per mag(istros) q[ui] tunc erunt*) de vérifier la tombe, ainsi que le don de 75 *denarii* fait ‘au village de Celer’ (*vico Ce(l)*

⁸¹ Cf. Dana 2014b, 471–73, n° 4.

⁸² Dana 2014a, 105–06; voir aussi Dana 2001–03, 85.

⁸³ Bărbulescu, Buzoianu et Băjenaru 2014, 426–30, n° 3.

⁸⁴ Voir Kajanto 1965, 26, 27, 30, etc.; *ISM* II 302, 226, 292, 150, etc.

⁸⁵ Suceveanu 1998, 125 et 166; Bărbulescu 2001, 152–53; Băltăc 2011, 145–46, 248, 3a–b, n. 24; Bărbulescu et Buzoianu 2013, 184–85, n. 84 et 201 II B, 2.

⁸⁶ *ISM* I 351 (pièce remployée dans le mur d’enceinte tardif).

⁸⁷ Ruscu 2014, 479, n. 55: des *Ulpii* à Histria (21) et à Tomis (4).

⁸⁸ Doruțiu-Boilă 1964, 132 (basée sur le manuscrit de Tocilescu, vol. 5132, f. 2).

eris) afin de célébrer la fête patronale à l'endroit concerné, le 31 mai.⁸⁹ On perçoit ainsi l'existence d'au moins deux villages, l'un qui reste anonyme, gouverné par des (deux) *magistri*, et où se trouvait la tombe (ainsi que la propriété du donateur), à Sibioara, et un *vicus Celeris* situé ailleurs. Comme l'avertissement final adressé aux villages ainsi que les conséquences de sa transgression (*quod si q[ui] ex eis vicis non feceri[nt]...*) visait les deux villages, *vicus Celeris* devait se trouver assez près, dans la zone de Sibioara.⁹⁰

Du point de vue onomastique, le théonyme Diana utilisé comme anthroponyme reste inhabituel.⁹¹ Dans cette inscription du IIIe s. ap. J.-C. plusieurs particularités de vocabulaire sont à noter: *titulus* – ‘pierre tombale’, ‘dalle funéraire’ et par extension, ‘tombe’; *frequentare* et *cofrequentare* – ‘vérifier la tombe à des dates précisées’; *facere* (sans complément) – ‘célébrer le service divin près de la tombe’, ‘accomplir le rituel de commémoration des morts’; *ponere* – ‘consacrer l'inscription commémorative’, ‘sacrer la tombe’, fréquentes dans les provinces danubiennes.⁹² On peut y ajouter la fête des *Rosalia*, si célébrée dans le monde rural, l'une des expressions de la romanité des habitants.⁹³

Enfin, un membre de la *Legio V Macedonica bis fortis* de la colonie Oescus, attesté par une inscription fragmentaire grecque de Sibioara,⁹⁴ probablement un vétéran, serait l'exemple le plus tardif d'un militaire établi dans le territoire de Tomis au IIIe s. ap. J.-C.

Particulièrement intéressante est la découverte d'une *κώμη Ἀπολλωνίου* près de Tomis à l'époque des Sévères,⁹⁵ les structures de type *κώμη* étant connues sur le littoral ouest-pontique et dans la Mésie Inférieure.⁹⁶ La forme du toponyme, d'après le nom du fondateur, témoigne de la présence d'éléments grecs, alors que l'organisation du site à la manière romaine, attestée dans le cas d'autres *κῶμαι*,⁹⁷ ne peut être que supposée.

⁸⁹ ISM II 371 (IIIe s. ap. J.-C.) = ISM I 352 (IIe s. ap. J.-C.)(?).

⁹⁰ L'hypothèse pourrait être soutenue par le fait qu'à Vadu deux villages sont attestés, cf. ISM I 350: *vicus Parsal*, *vicus C...*

⁹¹ ISM I 352 a, l. 1–2: *Dianes o[pti]me meae*; ISM II 371 ...*dianes*(?).

⁹² Cf. Pippidi, ISM I 352; et sur *Rosalia* aussi (la bibliographie).

⁹³ Pour *Rosalia* dans le territoire tomitain, ajoute ISM I 370 (IIIe s. ap. J.-C.).

⁹⁴ ISM II 442 (la fin du IIIe s. ap. J.-C.); Matei-Popescu 2010, 75, n. 504 (la période tardive après le déplacement de la *Legio V Macedonica* à Oescus).

⁹⁵ *Supra* n. 12 et 14. La dédicace était probablement adressée aux empereurs Septime Sévère et Caracalla (sans être nommés en début du texte fragmentaire) et au village d'Apollonios.

⁹⁶ ISM I 363, 378 A et C; ISM III 51; pour d'autres *κῶμαι* dans la Mésie Inférieure, voir Băltăc 2011, 141–43.

⁹⁷ ISM I 363 (près de la cité Histria); voir aussi Suceveanu 1998, 162; Matei-Popescu 2013, 220–21, n. 113.

La localité du territoire la plus proche, située au NO de Tomis, est Anadolchioi (actuellement quartier de Constanța). C'est ici qu'a été localisé le *vicus Turris Muca* (...),⁹⁸ toponyme qui comprend un nom composé thrace.⁹⁹ Le nom de la localité et sa composition ethnique (*cives Romani et Lae consistentes*) sont mentionnés sur un autel du IIIe s. ap. J.-C.¹⁰⁰ La variante thrace du nom n'est pas isolée: sur deux anneaux d'argent provenant du même endroit, c'est le nom Derzo, également d'origine thrace, qui est mentionné.¹⁰¹ Cet autel est élevé *p]er magistro[s] [Cai]um Ianuariusum [et] Herculanu[m]* avec une formule onomastique à deux éléments¹⁰² et des *cognomina* connus.¹⁰³

Toujours à Anadolchioi a été découvert un autre monument (autel) honorifique, consacré par Titus Crispus, *cornicularius* de Titus Flavius Longinus Quintus Marcus Turbo, le gouverneur de la Mésie Inférieure.¹⁰⁴ Vu le caractère de l'inscription et l'importance du nom du gouverneur, possesseur d'un riche *cursus honorum*, nous inclinons à attribuer l'inscription plutôt à Tomis.¹⁰⁵

Les noms sur les inscriptions funéraires trouvées dans la même localité ont tous une résonance latine: Longina,¹⁰⁶ Villatia, Matrona et Quirilus.¹⁰⁷ Dans le nom Longina (connu aussi avec la variante grecque Λογγεῖνα¹⁰⁸ nous reconnaissons la

⁹⁸ Suceveanu 1998, 123, montre ses doutes quant à l'existence d'un *vicus* dans le voisinage immédiat de la ville; voir aussi Suceveanu 2009, 220 (toponyme non latin de la série Πύργοι = *Turres*; selon Băltăc 2011, tableau I. 3, n° 8: *vicus* à organisation quasi-municipale; Aparaschivei 2010, 243: localité romaine considérée avoir été fortifiée; de même, Bounegru 2003, 139. Pour le caractère de la localité, voir aussi Bounegru 2006, 78–79; Suceveanu 1977, 126, n. 175; Avram 2007, 100 et 109, n° 34; Bărbulescu et Buzoianu 2013, 183–84.

⁹⁹ Pour le toponyme, voir Doruțiu-Boilă 1975b; voir récemment in Dana 2014a, 227 la famille onomastique avec le radical *muca-*, *μουνχα-*; Dana 2014a 227–45: des anthroponymes composés *Muca-*, et plusieurs toponymes.

¹⁰⁰ *ISM* II 141. Pour la tribu thrace des *Lai*, voir *ISM* II 174 (commentaire); Vulpe 1976; voir aussi Avram 1984.

¹⁰¹ Bărbulescu 2001, 49, n. 201; Stoian 1962, 26, fig. 6; voir Dana 2014a, 125, le radical *derz-*, *δερχ-* et la famille onomastique *Derzo*, *Derzenus* mise en relation avec le théonyme *Θεὸς Μέρζας Δερζελάς*.

¹⁰² Pour la variante *[Aeli]um Ianuariusum* voir Russu 1959, 139–40 (où *Aelius* est *nomen gentile*).

¹⁰³ Kajanto 1965, 114, 219 (*Ianuarius*); 18, 214 (*Herculanus*). Pour d'autres *Ianuarii* (ou les variantes grecques *Ἰανουάριος*, *Ἰανουάρις*) et *Herculani* à Tomis, voir *ISM* II 244, 181, 136, 212, 465.

¹⁰⁴ *ISM* II 56; pour le même gouverneur voir aussi *ISM* II 57 (inscription découverte à Sibioara mais provenant de Tomis). Pour le gouverneur voir *PIR*² F 305; Stein 1940, 70–71; *LP* I 20:086 (155); Doruțiu-Boilă 1989, 332–33 (?152–153/4 ap. J.-C.); Matei-Popescu 2014a, 205, n° 47.

¹⁰⁵ De Tomis proviennent, également, *ISM* II 12, 22, 46, 60 et probablement 426; voir Bărbulescu et Buzoianu 2013, 195, tabl. I, n° 2. Les seules provenant avec certitude d'Anadolchioi restent *ISM* II 141 (à laquelle nous nous sommes référé), 214, 223.

¹⁰⁶ *ISM* II 214; inscription datée du IIe s. ap. J.-C.

¹⁰⁷ *ISM* II 223; inscription datée du IIe s. ap. J.-C.

¹⁰⁸ Voir aussi *ISM* II 326.

variante féminine du *cognomen* Longinus (Λονγεῖνος), rencontré plus fréquemment; la formule onomastique contient seulement le *cognomen*. Le nom féminin Villatia Matrona, *coniux*, est composé d'un seul *nomen* (ou deux *cognomina*), le premier, représentant probablement une forme féminine suffixée du radical *villa-* ou *vella-*,¹⁰⁹ et un *cognomen*, Matrona qui se retrouve dans d'autres épigraphes de Tomis et de son territoire.¹¹⁰ Enfin, un *puer* (*filius*) n'est mentionné que par son *cognomen*, *Quirilus* (probablement pour *Quirinus*).¹¹¹

Conclusions

De l'analyse des documents épigraphiques présentés, on peut retenir:

- le grand nombre d'éléments militaires attestés à Tomis et dans son territoire, fait qui a soutenu et a accéléré le processus de romanisation dans la région;
- l'attestation de certains toponymes, quelques uns sous forme corrompue; l'un d'entre eux se retrouve aussi dans un autre territoire; dans ce cas nous n'excluons pas la possibilité d'avoir affaire à deux toponymes différents (i.e. correspondant à deux localités différentes);
- les localités sont désignées par des termes comme *komé*, *vicus* et *turris*, en fonction de leur taille, position et rôle dans l'organisation administrative du territoire. Les officiels de ces *vici* – *magister/tri vici* – portent, avec une exception près, des noms romains;
- les toponymes reprennent des idionymes romains (v. *Clementianensis* /-ni, v. *Narcissiani*, v. *Celeris*, v. *IUrb*...), thraces (v. *Turris Muca*...) et grecs (*komé Apolloniou*). Nous ne saurions nous prononcer sur le *vicus Sc..ia* (et encore moins sur le *vicus S...*) qui peuvent se retrouver indifféremment dans un répertoire onomastique romain ou thrace suffisamment riche; la localisation des établissements ruraux reste hypothétique, les inscriptions qui les attestent provenant de découvertes fortuites faites à Tomis ou sur son territoire;
- outre les toponymes et les communautés de *cives Romani consistentes*, la composante romaine est perceptible à travers les anthroponymes. La plupart des noms sont romains et apparaissent selon des formules diverses (*tria nomina*, *nomen* + *cognomen* ou seulement le/s *cognomen*/-ina);
- la composante grecque est attestée par la toponymie; les anthroponymes sont utilisés seuls, soit comme des patronymes soit comme des *cognomina*; on note également un phénomène de bilinguisme, soit par transcription de noms

¹⁰⁹ Voir, par exemple Kajanto 1965, 102, 108 *ter* (les variantes masculines *Villanus*, *Vellanus*), 312 (*Villaticus*), 158 (*Villianus*).

¹¹⁰ *ISM* II 345 et 351.

¹¹¹ Kajanto 1965, 53, 216 (noms divins utilisé comme *cognomina*).

romains en grec soit l'inverse, par transcription des noms grecs dans des variantes latines;

- la composante locale se reflète dans la toponymie et dans quelques noms propres; les noms, témoignant d'une descendance thrace (ou dace) apparaissent soit comme des patronymes soit comme des *cognomina*;
- les remarques faites au sujet du vocabulaire utilisé dans les inscriptions de la zone rurale sont la preuve du niveau de connaissance et d'utilisation de la langue (dans les inscriptions latines) et de la forte réminiscence grecque, normale pour les communautés qui se sont développées autour d'une cité grecque.

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CCCA	M.J. Vermaseren, <i>Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque</i> , VI (Leyde/New York/Copenhague/Cologne 1989).
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin).
Clauss-Slaby	<i>Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby</i> (db.edcs.eu).
IDRE	C.C. Petolescu, <i>Inscriptions de la Dacie Romaine. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie (Ier–IIIe siècles)</i> , t. I–II (Bucarest 1996; 2000).
ILB	B. Gerov, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae in Bulgaria repertae</i> (Sofia 1989).
ISM	<i>Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graeciae et Latinae</i> .
	I D.M. Pippidi, <i>Histria și împrejurimile</i> (Bucarest 1983).
	II I. Stoian, <i>Tomis și teritoriul său</i> (Bucarest 1987).
	III A. Avram, <i>Callatis et son territoire</i> (Bucarest/Paris 1999).
	IV E. Popescu, <i>Tropaeum–Durostorum–Axiopolis</i> (Bucarest/Paris 2015).
	V E. Doruțiu-Boilă, <i>Capidava–Troesmis–Noviodunum</i> (Bucarest 1980).
LGN IV	P.M. Fraser, E. Matthews et R.W.V. Catling, <i>A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, IV: Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea</i> (Oxford 2005).
LP	B.E. Thomasson, <i>Laterculi praesidium</i> , t. 1 ex parte retractum (Gothembourg 2009).
PIR ²	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani. Saec. I. II. III</i> , ed. altera (Berlin/Leipzig 1933).
SCIVA	<i>Studii și cercetări de istorie veche și arheologie</i> .

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VICUS NOV(IODUNUM) AND VICUS CLASSICORUM: ON THE ORIGINS OF THE *MUNICIPIUM NOVIODUNUM**

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Abstract

This paper aims to tackle the origins of the *municipium Noviodunum*, epigraphically attested during the Severan period. To meet this goal some inscriptions are reinterpreted and connected with Noviodunum. Two different civilian settlements seem to have developed near the main naval base of the *classis Flavia Moesica*: one is a *vicus Nov(iodunum)*, a civilian settlement, and the other is the *vicus classicorum*, the military *vicus*, attested by several votive altars uncovered at Halmyris. They were, it is assumed, transported from Noviodunum during the Tetrarchic period when the late Roman fort of Halmyris was constructed. It is concluded that, as in the case of the legionary fortresses, two different civilian communities developed in Noviodunum area, a military *vicus* and a civilian settlement. The latter was the one to receive the municipal grant during the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, or during Commodus' reign.

The *municipium Noviodunum* (Isaccea, Tulcea county, Romania) is recorded by a single inscription, reused in the late Roman fort from Dinogetia:¹

[- - -] / [- - -]AV. / [quae]stori / municip(ii) Nov[i]lod(uni).

The inscription dates most likely by early 3rd century, during the Severan period. Thus, the first editor assumed that Noviodunum became a *municipium* under Septimius Severus or Caracalla, based on the analogies with the *municipia* of Troesmis and Durostorum.² This assumption should now be amended, since the newly discovered fragments of the *lex municipii Troesmensis* show that the civil settlement from Troesmis received the municipal grant during the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.³ It is therefore likely that the civil settlement

* This paper was written in the framework of the Project PN-II-ID-PCE-2012-4-0490: "The Other" in Action. The Barbarisation of Rome and the Romanisation of the World', financed by the Romanian National Research Council (CNCS-UEFISCDI). I thank Constatin C. Petolescu and Dan Dana for their critical reading of the manuscript and for their corrections and suggestions.

¹ Barnea 1988; *L'Année épigraphique* 1990, 867. See also Suceveanu and Barnea 1993, 167.

² Barnea 1988, 59.

³ Eck 2013; 2014a–b.

from Durostorum became a *municipium* at the same time and not during that of Caracalla.⁴

The exact date is still a matter of controversy, since an altar raised for the good health of the *Imperator Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus* and of the *municipium Aurelium Durostorum* was discovered.⁵ The absence of the epithets *Pius* and *Felix* may indicate that the emperor was Marcus Aurelius and not Caracalla, hence the altar should be dated before AD 177. If so, it is also possible that Troesmis received its municipal grant well before the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.⁶ During their joint reign it was the only law to be sent to the *municipium*. In the difficult conditions of the Marcomannic Wars,⁷ when there was not enough bronze for the military diplomas (they are not attested between AD 168 and 177),⁸ this is something that could be understood. Nevertheless, until further discoveries are made, we should still take into consideration that the altar from Durostorum was dedicated to Caracalla (the absence of the epithets is not something out of the ordinary), both *municipia* being founded during the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, as the *lex municipii Troesmensium* seems to prove.

These details are not so important for the discussion here. It is nevertheless important to stress that Durostorum and Troesmis became *municipia* at some time between AD 169 and 180. In my opinion, Noviodunum should be added to the list. This observation raises the question of my paper: which settlement from Noviodunum, since there seems to have been two, received the municipal grant?⁹

Vicus Nov(iodunum)

By the end of the 19th century, a votive altar was discovered in the neighbourhood of Babadag. The stone is kept now by the Vasile Pârvan Institute of Archaeology

⁴ Doruțiu-Boilă 1978 assumed that *municipium Aurelium Durostorum* received the municipal grant under Caracalla. However it is more likely that Durostorum became *municipium* at the same time as Troesmis. The core of the *municipium* should have been the civil settlement (probably the one encountered archaeologically at Ostrov, Călărași county) and not the *canabae legionis* – see *contra* Boyanov 2010. The *canabae* seem to be attested by an inscription from AD 209 (*ISM* IV 110; see also *ISM* IV 101, which could date from the same year, a dedication for the good health of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, attesting the *veterani consistentes huius loci*), when the *municipium* was already founded. On the history and archaeology of early Roman Durostorum, see most recently Ivanov 2012 and Piso 2014 (both with bibliography).

⁵ *ISM* IV 94, with comments at Piso 2014, 492.

⁶ See already Eck 2013, 201, n. 7; Piso 2014, 492, n. 28.

⁷ Lower Moesia suffered during the crisis, being ravaged by the Costoboci (see Gerov 1980, 259–72).

⁸ Eck 2012, 46–49.

⁹ See also Suceveanu and Barnea 1993, 165.



Fig. 1: MNA L 353. The votive altar set by the *cives Romani* and *veterani* of the *vicus Nov(iodunum)*.

(MNA L 353).¹⁰ The text is unfortunately very badly damaged, especially in the central part of the inscription. Some part of the text can be read on the stone; for the missing part we have to credit G. Tocilescu, the first editor of the inscription. I give here the text as it is possible to read it today (Fig. 1):

*I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [s]acrum pro / [sal]ute I[m]p(eratoris) C[ae]s(aris) / Peli (sic!)
c(ives) R(omani) v(et(erani)) vico Nov(ioduno?) / su[b] cu[r]a[m] (sic!) / [S]il(vio) C[a]s(s)io
et P[.] / [.]OCV.VNI[.] / [e]t qu(a)es(tore) Caio A[l]exandri id[i]b[us] Iunis Or[fla]to et
Rufo / co(n)s(ulibus).*

The absence of the *consistentes* formula is curious.¹¹ I prefer here to read straightforwardly *c(ives) R(omani) vet(erani) vico Nov(ioduno)*, with *consistentes* implied or simply neglected by mistake. What is however even more curious is that in every

¹⁰ Tocilescu 1900, 203, no. 27; *CIL* III 14448; *ISM* V 233.

¹¹ T. Mommsen proposed in *CIL* III 14448 *c(ives) R(omani) vet(erani) vico Nov(ioduni consistentes)*, similar to *CIL* III 6167 = *ISM* V 157 *c(ives) R(omani) Tr[oesmi] consist(entes)*.

inscription from the area attesting the *veterani* and the *cives Romani consistentes*, the veterans were placed without exception before the *cives Romani: veterani et cives Romani consistentes vico*.¹² I have no explanation for that, since that line of the inscription is completely erased now and the reading cannot be checked.

The last editor of the inscription, Emilia Doruțiu-Boilă, argued convincingly that the inscription was probably found at Noviodunum, attesting therefore a *vicus Nov(iodunum)*, the civil settlement from Noviodunum.¹³ In favour of this identification speaks also its complex organisation, with two *magistri* and one *quaestor*, atypical for a *vici* from the central part of the Dobrudja, like Ulmetum for example.¹⁴ The inscription dates from AD 178 (the consuls *Sex. Cornelius Scipio Orfitus* and *D. Velius Rufus*).¹⁵ The *municipium* should have been founded therefore after that date.

Another votive altar, unfortunately not precisely dated, attests a *quinquennalis* and two *magistri*.¹⁶

[. . .] *JD cultra(m) agent(ibus) / Ti. Cl(audio) Valent(e) / q(uin)q(uennale) et Celsio / Celerian(o) et Cl(audio) / [M . . . mag(istris)]*.

It seems that it has to be related to the *vicus Noviodunum*,¹⁷ which had, like the civil settlement from Troesmis,¹⁸ a quasi-urban organisation. However, since the altar was reused in the late Roman fortification from Noviodunum, one should also take into consideration another origin, perhaps even Troesmis.

In AD 176, a sailor, *C. Iulius Valentis f. Iulianus*, was recruited from Noviodunum (*Novi(o)d(un)o ex Moesia*) into the fleet at Ravenna and discharged in 202.¹⁹ It is highly possible that he was also recruited from the civil settlement, the *vicus Noviodunum*, but the military *vicus* should not be totally ruled out of the discussion. Speaking of the military *vicus*, I must stress out that no inscription relating to a possible military *vicus* of the fort of the Noviodunum, the base of the *classis Flavia*

¹² Avram 2007, 104–09, nos. 1–34, the epigraphic supplement.

¹³ See however *contra* Bărbulescu 2001, 93–94 and 179.

¹⁴ *ISM* V 62–64; Bărbulescu 2001, 108–09 and 186–87, part of the *territorium Capidavense*.

¹⁵ Degrassi 1952, 49.

¹⁶ *ISM* V 268.

¹⁷ Vulpe (1953, 575–76) rightly assumes that, just like in the case of Troesmis, this *quinquennalis* was in fact the *censor* of the community, being elected every five years apart from the *magistri*.

¹⁸ For the two civil settlements around the legionary fortress of Troesmis, see Vulpe 1953; Doruțiu-Boilă 1972; Vulpe 1976, 290–92; Avram 2007, 93–96. The *canabae legionis V Macedonicae* and the *vicus* or *civitas Troesmensium* (former centre of a Thracian strategy, see Ovid *Ex Pont.* 4. 9. 79–80) are together attested in AD 159/160: [*q(uin)q(uennale) c]anab(ensium) et dec(urio) Troesm(ensium)* (Vulpe 1953, 562–68, no. 2 = *L'Année épigraphique* 1960, 337 = *ISM* V 158; see Vulpe's comments at Vulpe 1953, 568–79).

¹⁹ *L'Année épigraphique* 2001, 2161 = Pferdehirt 2004, no. 45.

Moesica, was discovered in the vicinity of Noviodunum. But some epigraphic information discovered not far from Noviodunum, at Halmyris (nowadays Murighiol, Tulcea county),²⁰ can be brought into discussion here.

Vicus classicorum

During the archaeological excavations in the late Roman fort of Halmyris, up to ten votive altars, many of them badly damaged, were uncovered.²¹ They were all used in the walls of one of the two towers of the northern gate of the fort.²² The almost identical texts attest the *cives Romani consistentes vico classicorum*, the votive altars being raised for *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* through the care of one *magister*.²³ The first editors assumed that this *vicus classicorum* should be related to the *statio classis* from Halmyris.²⁴ It was consequently assumed that the fort of Halmyris was garrisoned, besides an unattested auxiliary unit, by a detachment of the fleet, which had its main base at Noviodunum. The altars are preserved in Tulcea Museum and in the National Museum of Military History, Bucharest, where I had the chance to study them.

I give below the text of the best preserved altars, with some minor corrections of the readings:

Suceveanu and Zahariade 1986, 110, no. 2; *L'Année épigraphique* 1988, 987; Zahariade and Alexandrescu 2011, 29–30, no. 6:

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / c(ives) R(omani) c(onsistentes) vico] / classicor[um] / cura agentem (sic!) / Paparione St[r]latonis magistr(o) / [e]t Collumela (sic!) d[e] / suo pos<s>uit

²⁰ On the identification of the fort of Murighiol with ancient Halmyris and on the different forms of its name, see Suceveanu and Zahariade 1987; 2003.

²¹ Suceveanu *et al.* 1987; 2003.

²² Suceveanu and Zahariade 1986; *L'Année épigraphique* 1988, 986–90; Zahariade and Alexandrescu 2011, 17 ('[i]t is highly obvious that the series of the votive altars had been reused to build the late 3rd century structure of the interior area of the N gate; they were walled in on each side of the internal entrance. Most of them were found facing down, evidence that they were set with the written face to the interior and then covered with plaster') and 29–38, nos. 6–15. See also Zahariade and Alexandrescu 2011, 28–29, no. 5 (= *L'Année épigraphique* 1988, 992 = 1989, 640 = 2003, 1550), an altar dedicated to Hercules by a "Bauvexillation": *Herculi / vexillatio / leg(ionis) I Itali(cae) / et leg(ionis) XI C(laudiae) p(iae) f(idelis)*, dated following the abbreviation *LEG XI CPF* during Trajan's reign. I have already expressed my doubts about this dating (Matei-Popescu 2010, 137) and there is no certainty that the altar was ever set at Halmyris, or it comes from other area of the north-eastern part of Lower Moesia. For the archaeological and architecture details of the northern gate, see Zahariade 2003; Mărgineanu Cârstoiu and Apostol 2015, 60–71.

²³ Suceveanu and Zahariade 1986; Bărbulescu 2001, 70; Avram 2007, 96–97 and 105–06, nos. 8–13.

²⁴ Suceveanu and Zahariade 1986, 118; Suceveanu 2003, 98–99; Zahariade and Alexandrescu 2011, 36–38. See also Bărbulescu 2001, 163; Băltăc 2011, 94–95.

l. 4: *M(arco)*, all the editors; l. 6: *T(itus)*, all editors – however, it seems that there is no place for *praenomina* in this inscription, since the *magister* gives his name in the peregrine manner; moreover in l. 4 there is no space between *agente* and *m*, like it is the case between *cura* and *agentem*

Suceveanu and Zahariade 1986, 112, no. 5; *L'Année épigraphique* 1988, 989; Zahariade and Alexandrescu 2011, 30–31, no. 7:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / cives Rom(ani) / consistent(es) / [vic]o classi(corum) / [c]uram ag(ente) / Sos<s>io / Sos<s>i m[ag(istro)]

Suceveanu and Zahariade 1986, 110, no.1; *L'Année épigraphique* 1988, 986; *L'Année épigraphique* 2003, 1550; Zahariade and Alexandrescu 2011, 31, no. 8:

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / c(ives) R(omani) c(onsistentes) / vic(o) class(icorum) cu/ram ag(ente) P(ublio) Pom/peio mag(istro) / Severo et / Herenniano / co(n)s(ulibus) – AD 171²⁵

Suceveanu and Zahariade 1986, 111, no. 3 + 122, no. 6; *L'Année épigraphique* 1988, 988 and 990; Zahariade and Alexandrescu 2011, 31–32, no. 9 (both fragments):

I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / c(ives) R(omani) c(onsistentes) / vic(o) [c]lass(icorum) c(uram) / ag(ente) M[ar]cio / Victor[i mag(istro)] / Sever[o et] / [- - co(n)s(ulibus)]

ll. 4–6: *ag(ente) M[ar]cio (?) [...mag(istro)] / Victor[ino et] / Sever[o co(n)s(ulibus)]*, dating therefore the inscription in AD 200 (*Ti. Claudius Severus Proculus* and *C. Aufidius Victorinus*)²⁶ – however, in the inscriptions *Severus* is always on the first place, I consider therefore *VICTOR* being part of the *cognomen* of the *magister*; *Severus* could have been a consul, who is impossible to be identified, given the high numbers of the consuls named *Severi* in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD

Suceveanu and Zahariade 1986, 111, no. 4 + 113, no. 7; *L'Année épigraphique* 1988, 991; *L'Année épigraphique* 2003, 1550; Zahariade and Alexandrescu 2011, 32–33, no. 10 (both fragments):

[I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) / [c(ives) R(omani)] c(onsistentes) / vi[c(o)] clas(sicorum) / [cura(m)] ag(ente) Fl(avio) / Vale[r]io ma[g(istro)] / C[o]mm[odo] / [e]t Laet(erano) co(n)s(ulibus)]

ll. 6–7: *C[o]mm[odo] / [e]t Lael(iano) co(n)s(ulibus)*, Zahariade, Alexandrescu 2011 taking into consideration the consuls of AD 209, *L. Aurelius Commodus Pompeianus* and *Q. Hediuss Lollianus Plautius Avitus*,²⁷ with a mistake *Laelianus* for *Lollianus* – however, the consuls are always given as *Pompeiano et Avito cos.* (see, for example, *ISM* IV 110, *Durostorum*); I propose instead the consuls of AD 154, *L. Aurelius Commodus* and *T. Sextius Lateranus*,²⁸ with a small mistake *Laeteranus* for *Lateranus*

²⁵ Degrassi 1952, 48.

²⁶ Degrassi 1952, 200.

²⁷ Degrassi 1952, 58.

²⁸ Degrassi 1952, 43.

The Moesian fleet, *classis Flavia Moesica*, had its main base at Noviodunum, starting with the reign of Trajan. There is sufficient evidence to back up this assumption and here is neither the space nor the place to recall them all.²⁹ Inscriptions and brick- or tile stamps are to be found also in other forts along the Lower Danube.³⁰ Surprisingly enough, no such material is to be found precisely at Halmyris. There is thus no direct proof that Halmyris ever was an important naval base (*statio classis*) on the Lower Danube during the early Roman period. Moreover, Halmyris appeared on Roman itineraries starting only with *Itinerarium Antonini*, whose final version was compiled during the Tetrarchic period,³¹ which is further indirect proof that during the early Roman period it was not an important naval base on the Danube.

Taking into account the name and the fact that the altars were reused in the late Roman fort, built during the reigns of Aurelian and Probus and the Tetrarchic period,³² one should take into consideration that they originated from another place.³³ Giving the name of the *vicus* and the geographical closeness to Halmyris, I assume that they probably were transported from Noviodunum, the main naval base of the province. The *vicus classicorum* could have been in my opinion the military *vicus* of the *classis Flavia Moesica*, developed in the direct proximity of the fort.³⁴

It is therefore highly likely that around the important naval base of Noviodunum two different settlements developed: a civilian *vicus*, called simply *vicus Nov(iodunum)*, and the military *vicus*, called *vicus classicorum*. This is similar with the case of the

²⁹ Matei-Popescu 2010, 246–50.

³⁰ Matei-Popescu 2010, 249–50.

³¹ *Itinerarium Antonini* 226, 4: *Salmorude*, between *Salsovia* and *Vallis Domitiana*. The place name seems to appear also on the *Scutum Durae-Europi* 14: ΟΛΥΜΠΥΑ = Ὀλυμπρία, which is also to be dated around AD 240 (however, the place name is missing from the standard publications on this shield: Cumont 1925; Rebuffat 1986, 86–87; and Arnaud 1989, 378). Romanian historiography has followed Mititelu's 1943 reading, who saw that Ὀλυμπρία was written with smaller letters between Τομέα and Ἰστρος ποταμός. Nevertheless, it is curious how the other quoted scholars, who had studied the original kept in Paris, were unable to see the details presumed to have been seen by Mititelu. I therefore suggest that one should ignore Mititelu's very problematic reading and trust the reading proposed by scholars who have seen and studied the original document (see the doubts already expressed by Hálmagi 2015). For the ancient sources attesting the toponym, see Zahariade and Alexandrescu 2011, 1–13, texts and commentaries.

³² Zahariade 1997 = *L'Année épigraphique* 1995, 1345 = *L'Année épigraphique* 1997, 1318; Zahariade and Alexandrescu 2011, 21–26, nos. 1–3

³³ I recall here the notorious case of the two altars coming from *regio Histriae*, which were reused in the late Roman fort of Cius (Gârliciu, Constanța County), built in AD 369 (*ISM V* 123–124), or that of a funerary inscription composed of three conjoint fragments, two found at Cius, reused in the late Roman fort, and the other at Troesmis (*ISM V* 117; Bărbulescu 2001, 98–99).

³⁴ For the archaeological topography of the Noviodunum area, see Ștefan 1973. See also Lockyear *et al.* 2005–06 and the Noviodunum project site: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/research/projects/noviodunum> (consulted, 30 June 2015).

two legionary fortresses from Durostorum and Troesmis,³⁵ but also with the case of some auxiliary forts (almost sure Montana, Abrittus and Capidava).³⁶

Municipium Noviodunum

As I already mentioned, the *municipium Noviodunum* is directly attested only in the Severan period. The analogy with Troesmis and Durostorum let us assume that the community of Noviodunum received a municipal grant between AD 169 and 180, or under the sole reign of Commodus. In my opinion, it was the civil settlement, the *vicus Noviodunum*, that received the grant. The military *vicus* of the fleet continued to be in place after the foundation of the *municipium* for as long as the fort of the fleet still functioned, although there is no direct proof.

For the province of Moesia Inferior, the example provided by the situation of Noviodunum, together with the partial information regarding other centres (Montana, Abrittus and Capidava), permit to argue that the existence of two communities, a military *vicus* and a civil community, in the nearby of military fortifications are not the necessarily specific to legionary fortresses only.³⁷

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Abbreviations

<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin).
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> (Berlin 1892–1916).
<i>ISM</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae</i> .
IV	E. Popescu, <i>Tropaeum–Durostorum–Axiopolis</i> (Bucharest/Paris 2015).
V	E. Doruțiu-Boilă, <i>Capidava–Troesmis–Noviodunum</i> (Bucharest 1980).

³⁵ Vittinghoff 1968.

³⁶ At Montana, *castrenses* and *cives Montanenses* are both recorded by the middle of the 3rd century (*CIL* III 12376, inscription dated to AD 256: [*burgum constitui iussit*] *un[de latrunculos o]bservare[nt pro]pter tutela[m ca]stre(n)sium et [ci]vium Montanensium*; Vulpe 1976, 294–96). At Abrittus, a *territorium Abritanorum* is attested (*L'Année épigraphique* 1985, 765), which is different from the military *vicus* attested as: *veterani et c(ives) R(omani) et consistentes Abrito ad ca[st(ellum)]* (*L'Année épigraphique* 1957, 97 – see also *CIL* V 942 = *ILS* 2670: *natus in Mensi(a) inf(eriore) castello Abritanor(um)*). Similar is the case of Capidava: in the nearby of Ulmetum an altar attesting a *quinquennalis territorii Capidavensis* was discovered (*CIL* III 12491 = *ILS* 7181 = *ISM* V 77), which, in my opinion, could not have anything to do with military *vicus* in the nearby of the Capidava fort, but with a civilian settlement which possessed also a *territorium*.

³⁷ For the specific case of Moesia inferior, see Mócsy 1992, 134: 'Es könnte daher angenommen werden, daß es in Moesia Inferior, in einer Provinz, die riesige Ackerländer hatte, überhaupt keine militärischen Territorien gab, sondern auf den großen Territorien, die anfänglich eine Spezialform der *civitas peregrina* gebildet hatten, jede Niederlassung von römischen Bürgern die gleiche korporative Form hatte, ungeachtet dessen, ob diese Niederlassung bei einem Lager oder bei einem rein zivilen Ort entstad, wobei die Größenunterschiede einfach darauf zurückgehen, daß die größeren Niederlassungen dieser Art naturgemäß bei den Legionslagern entstanden waren.'

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PULPUDEVA

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Abstract

The city of Philippopolis in Thrace was founded by Philip II of Macedon in 342 BC. Later, in the 6th century AD, Jordanes (*Romana* 4. 75 and 28. 16) mentions this city with the name of Pulpudeva. The existence of a *dava* in the Thracian area is surprising. The author searches for an explanation through the presence of a Geto-Dacian enclave in the area of Philippopolis, a toponym perceived in their language as Pulpudava, and in late antiquity (Jordanes) as Pulpudeva (= Pulpudiva, later adopted by the Slavs: Plovdiv).

Geto-Dacian toponyms contain, as a second main element, the suffix *-dava*.¹ These toponyms are encountered particularly in Dacia and Moesia Inferior; however, according to a more recent opinion, ‘it is possible, and even more likely, that they represent names which were brought or given by the Getic population, transferred by the Romans to the South of the Danube’.² In Thracia, most toponyms present as a second main element the suffix *-para*.³

In the few lines below, the city of Philippopolis captures our attention, a city founded by Philip II of Macedon in 342 BC.⁴ Later on, from the Scythian War (AD 238–271), we have the account of Jordanes (*Getica* 18) regarding the siege and conquest of this city by the Goths, led by Cniva (AD 253). The same author, in another work (*Romana* 28. 16), mentions *Pulpudeva, quae nunc Philippopolis*, and in another place states (wrongly) that the city has been founded by Philip the Arab (*Romana* 4. 75): *urbemque nominis sui in Thracia, quae dicebatur Pulpudeva, Philippopolim reconstituens nominavit*.⁵

¹ Russu 1967, 101; Detschew 1976, 121–22.

² A. Vulpe in *Istoria Românilor*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Bucharest 2010), 442; more recently Avram forthcoming.

³ Russu 1969, 114; Detschew 1976, 356–57. Duridanov 1995, 820 (separation *-dava*, *-para*) and 838 (‘Geographische Verteilung der thrakischen und dakischen Namen’).

⁴ See also Filip 1969, 130; G. Mihailov in *IGB* III, pp. 19–20 (introductory note about Philippopolis).

⁵ The same Jordanes writes elsewhere: *Marcus Luculus ... si quidem primus in Thracia contra Bessos pugnans ... Pulpudeva quae nunc Philippopoli, et Uscudama, quae Adrianopolis vocitantur, in Romanorum redegit dominio*.

Putting aside the error made by Jordanes, we learn that during his time the city was called Pulpudeva.⁶ In fact, the authentic, primary form of the name was Pulpudava: the form Pulpudeva⁷ and without a doubt Pulpudiva,⁸ represent, as observed by a series of scholars, the linguistic evolution over time, leading as a result upon the arrival of the Slavs, to, the creation of the toponym Plovdiv.⁹

In this situation, the existence of a *dava* in the Thracian area is surprising. Given the uniqueness of the existence of a *dava* in the Thracian world, our thoughts turn to the existence of a Geto-Dacian enclave during the founding of Philippopolis.

Elsewhere, I highlighted another possible Getic presence in the Thracian world.¹⁰ Thus, around 500 BC, a dynast with the name Geta (Γέτα, Γέτας; the name which appears on five silver coins, 27–29 g)¹¹ ruled over the Edones, a Thracian tribe, who lived on the right bank of the River Strymon (the area placed at the junction with Angites and down to its river mouth).¹² It is said that the Edones asked for a Getic dynast for religious reasons, as the Getae were well known for their piety.¹³ If this person was indeed of a Getic origin, we might search for another explanation: after the defeat by the Persians (Herodotus 4. 93), the Getic people were forced to follow the Great King to Scythia (Herodotus 4. 96); afterwards, in Thracia an occupation army¹⁴ was left behind, and in it there were also Getic people. Through the protection of the Great King, a Getic prince was able to reign over the Edones.

This could be an explanation of the presence of a Geto-Dacian enclave in the area of Philippopolis, perceived in their language as Pulpudava, and in late antiquity (according to Jordanes) as Pulpudeva/Pulpudiva (later adopted by the Slavs as Plovdiv).

⁶ Detschew 1976, 317. As clearly explained by G. Mihailov: 'Thracēs, qui constanter populatio densa in ipsa urbe eiusque in vicinia erant nomen Philippopolis in suam linguam sub forma Pulpudeva transtulerant' (*IGB* III, pp. 19–20).

⁷ See yet Zukideba, Zisnoudeba, Skedeba or Mourideba mentioned by Procopius (*De aedificiis* 4. 11. 20).

⁸ See Recidiva (*Novella* XI. 2) and Sucibida (Procopius *De aedificiis* 4. 6. 4); the correct form must have been Sycidiba-Sucidiva (see Petolescu 2007, 304).

⁹ See Velkova 1976; Kolendo 1992; Duridanov 1995, 834.

¹⁰ Petolescu 2010, 34 (= 2014, 37).

¹¹ Babelon 1907, 1049–50; see Perdrizet 1911; Guarducci 1969, 640. For the name, see Detschew 1976, 105; *OnomThrac*, p. 188.

¹² About the Edones, see Danov 1969; and *Der Kleine Pauly* II, 201 (Danov).

¹³ Perdrizet 1911, 109; see also other similar cases mentioned by this author.

¹⁴ Vasilev 2015.

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Abbreviations

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AN EXAMINATION OF LEFT–RIGHT DUALISM IN URARTIAN CULTIC PRACTICES: AN INDICATOR OF SYNCRETISM?

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Abstract

Despite a series of temple inscriptions, Urartian rituals are not well known, because these texts are generally limited to sacrificial lists with the names of the gods/goddesses, lacking clear information on the structure of the ritualistic elements. Even the different features of the divinities are obscure and overshadowed by Țaldi, the unchallengeable chief of the Urartian pantheon. However, some clues hidden in the texts and especially in archaeological data enable one to make some suggestions about the cultic practices of the Urartians. This paper tries to examine the different aspects of Țaldi and his relationship with feminine and masculine divine powers, and to postulate a dualistic structure for the head of the Urartian pantheon, as well as the fire-related cultic practices related to him.

Studying Urartu, especially its religion, has two contrasting sides: despite the abundance of archaeological material provided by excavations in Urartian fortresses, one can have too little idea about the religion, mythology and belief systems generated and applied by Urartians. There are excavated temples with offerings. There are inscriptions with plenty of information. But what is really known about the gods of Urartu, their relationship within each other, or the rituals devoted to those divinities? The lack of data is not peculiar to the secondary or much less illustrious divinities: little can be said even about Țaldi, the celebrated chief of the Urartian pantheon. This paper aims to discuss two known distinct features of the chief Urartian god, his ‘dreadful’ and ‘compassionate’ characters, hoping to make a contribution to the understanding of Urartian religion.¹

A ‘Fertile’ God of War?

What ‘precisely’ is known is the warlike feature of Țaldi, not only by a series of inscriptions describing the campaigning god ‘in front of the army’ with his *šuri*,

¹ This paper is a revised and edited version of ‘Two Faces of Țaldi: Questioning the Gender of the Urartian Great God’ in A. Piliposyan (ed.), *B.B. Piotrovsky and Archaeology. Collected Articles Dedicated to the Memory of the Outstanding Urartologist, Archaeologist and Orientalist Boris Piotrovsky* (Yerevan 2014), 178–94.

literally his weapon,² but also by numerous arms and armour dedicated to him, found in reliable contexts of a number of excavations conducted especially in Urartian temples.³ Tangible proof for the connection between Haldi and his *šuri* comes from Ayanis, where a unique ceremonial weapon was discovered with the inscription 'to Haldi his Lord, Rusa, son of Argišti, made and dedicated this *šuri* for his life'.⁴ Another artefact, the Upper Anzaf Shield,⁵ portrays the god with his *šuri* attacking the enemy, and the ruined opponents by the thrown-down weapon, giving an identical visual version of what inscriptions narrate. The direct relation between the god, his weapon and the ruling caste is not opaque, since there are strong clues for a noble class named after the weapons (*šurale*),⁶ and one of the titles of the Urartian monarch was 'the king of ^{KUR}*šuraue*', possibly meaning 'land of arms'.⁷

The preserved part of the Upper Anzaf Shield portrays a fantastic battle, where the foes of the Urartians are defeated not only with the help of Haldi's weapon but, apparently, also by lions attacking the enemy ranks.⁸ Despite the absence of any written data, lions have been thought of in relation to Haldi for a long time,⁹ not just on account of the depictions of divine characters standing on lions, but also through the unusual and exaggerated usage of this animal on ceremonial artefacts, such as the lion-headed shields.¹⁰

The chief god of the Urartian pantheon seems to be a fierce warrior armed from head to foot, commanding his divine and mortal troops on the battlefield, over his lion, thanks to his sacred *šuri*. But there is also sufficient evidence to consider him as a god of fertility. Philological data recount certain rituals that were carried out

² See, for example, Salvini 2008, A 3–4. Examples can be found in nearly every campaign record. For a discussion of the word *šuri* and *šuri* = weapon, see Çilingiroğlu 1997, 142; Çilingiroğlu and Salvini 1999.

³ For information, see Çilingiroğlu 2005, 34 (Ayanis); Burney 1966, 69 (Kayalıdere); Çilingiroğlu 1998, 232 (Çavuştepe); Piotrovskii 1967, 45–47; 1969, 159–60 (Karmir-Blur); Erzen 1967 (Toprakkale); Özgüç 1966 (Altıntepe); Belli 1998, 29 (Upper Anzaf).

⁴ Salvini 2001a, AyBr 12.

⁵ See Belli 1998; see also Seidl 2004, 84–87.

⁶ For discussions, see Diakonoff 1991; Salvini 2006, 203; also see Konakçı and Baştürk 2009, 182.

⁷ Salvini 2002, 128, n. 14; Diakonoff 1991, 19. For another suggestion and discussion, see Payne and Ceylan 2003, 197–99.

⁸ There are also very poorly preserved actual battle scenes, but it is hard to reconstruct the order and nature of these pieces. For the scenes on smaller pieces, see Belli 1998, 84–88.

⁹ Piotrovskii 1959, 223; 1966; Kendall 1977, 44; Hmayakyan 1990, 35; van Loon 1991, 20; Çilingiroğlu 1997, 161.

¹⁰ For the lion-headed shields of Muşafir, see Mayer 1983, 109; Çilingiroğlu 1984, 21–22. For the shield from Ayanis, see Çilingiroğlu 1997, 117–19; Derin and Çilingiroğlu 2001, 161–63. For the stored sacrificial weapons, see Batmaz 2015 for a recent evaluation.

during agricultural activities, and Haldi's part in these.¹¹ One can see his blessings upon canal constructions, orchards or plantations, and growing trees, and there is little reason to doubt that he was a sort of fertility god, in charge of agriculture and stockbreeding, penetrating all fields of making a livelihood.¹²

It is not only the inscriptions but archaeological material that demonstrate associations with fertility rituals. The temple area at Ayanis (Fig. 1) reveals two hearths attached to the *cella* on the northern and southern sides (Fig. 2),¹³ where numerous indications of cereal offerings have been discovered. The northern hearth seems to have a relationship with the cult of weapons, since hundreds of the ceremonial and real sacrificial weapons that were unearthed in the temple area, including the lion-headed shield, appear to have been clustered around it.¹⁴ An interesting discovery attested in this area is that of quivers filled with millet seeds, a mysterious ritual still unknown to us, though it is clear that the ritual had something to do with fertility.¹⁵ While the northern hearth embraced the theme of fertility accompanied by more or less royal and dynastic features, the southern one, where no evidence of weapon sacrifice could be detected, was much more modest. Instead, a series of middle-sized pithoi filled with millet, barley (and wheat) were unearthed just near it, and a significant amount of the same cereals carbonised was collected in the fireplace itself, referring to a ritual involving cereal sacrifices.¹⁶ We do not know the nature and details of the rituals, but it is obvious that there was a strong mystic understanding that consubstantiates three different phenomena, the weapon, the seed and the fire, on the northern and southern, in other words the right and left sides of the Gate of Haldi (Fig. 2).¹⁷

Archaeological and textual references to fertility cults in the temple areas dedicated to a warrior chief god attract immediate attentions, since this is not very common for Near Eastern pantheons. It might be the result of a tendency towards a sort of 'Urartian monotheism',¹⁸ which is also traceable for the god Aššur of Assyria, who was in the centre of a possible attempt to transfer the attributes and characteristics of the other gods to the head of the pantheon.¹⁹ Although there is

¹¹ Taffet 1999, 375–77; Baştürk 2009, 143–44.

¹² Taffet and Yakar 1998, 147; Salvini 1994, 206–07; 2006, 53; Çilingiroğlu 1997, 153; also see Salvini 2008, A 3–1.

¹³ Çilingiroğlu 2004, 258–59; 2007.

¹⁴ Çilingiroğlu 2001, 45–46; 2004, 260. For discussion on the fire-related rituals around this hearth, see Baştürk 2009. For a recent consideration about the fire cult in Urartu, see Badalyan 2014a.

¹⁵ Çilingiroğlu 2001, 39; 2004, 260.

¹⁶ Çilingiroğlu 2004, 258.

¹⁷ For the discussion of these three symbolic elements, see Çilingiroğlu 2004; 2007; Baştürk 2009.

¹⁸ For 'monotheistic' elements, see Hmayakyan 1990, 34; Grekyan 2005, 287; 2006, 157.

¹⁹ For Aššur–Haldi relations, see Grekyan 2013, 136. See also Grekyan 2015.

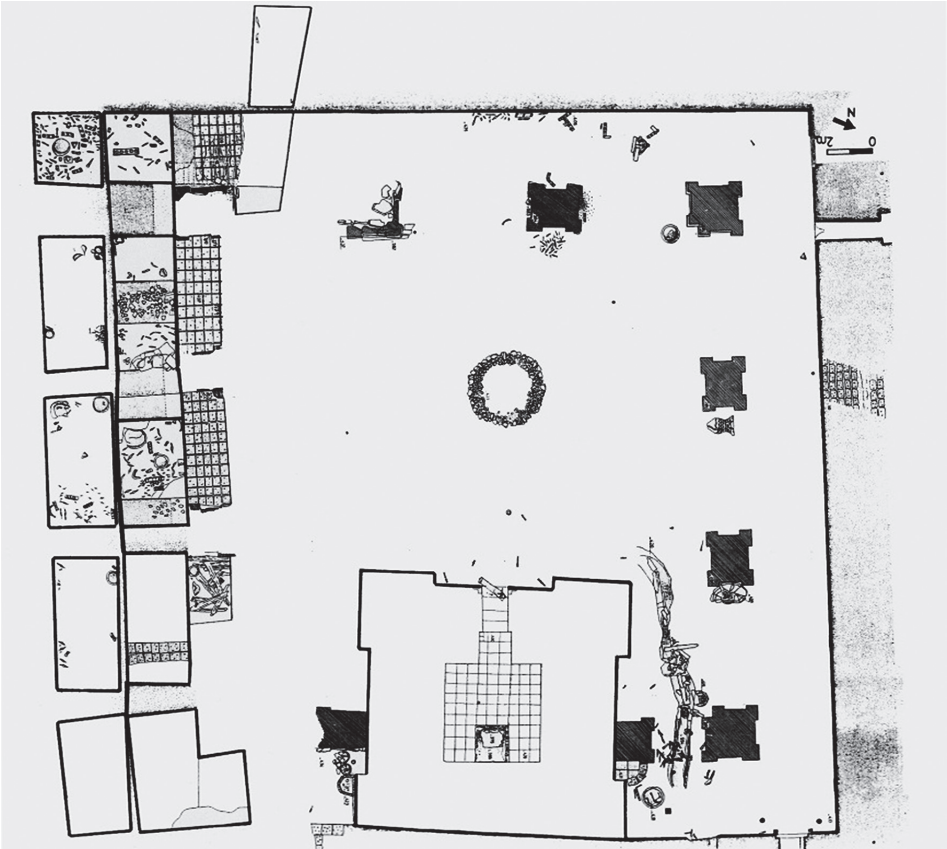


Fig. 1: Temple area at the Ayanis fortress (after Çilingiroğlu 2001, fig. 26).

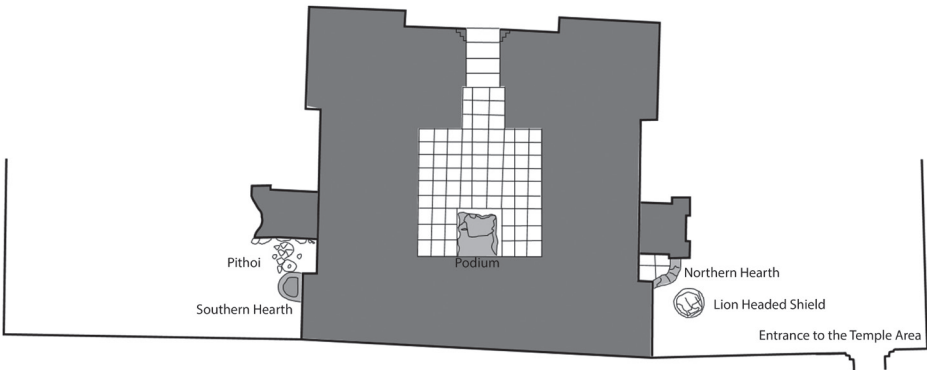


Fig. 2: Basic plan of the *cella* at the Ayanis temple.

no certain data for such an attempt, the monotheistic tendency is quite obvious for Ȩaldi, for there are no other goddesses or divine characters directly related to fertility rituals, in either archaeological or philological terms. This peculiarity of Ȩaldi has been drawing attention for a long time, and Hmayakyan was the first to interpret the god as an androgynous divinity, carrying both the *godly* and *goddessly* features.²⁰ Two further suggestions come from Seidl²¹ and Ȣilingiroęlu²² between 2001 and 2005.

Divinity on the Lion: God or Goddess?

Seidl's suggestion²³ was based on the iconographical features of a very popular theme of votive plaques (nearly all from Giyimli): the divinity standing on a lion, carrying crossed quivers on the shoulder, generally carrying a bow in one hand (Fig. 3).²⁴ Since the lion in Urartian descriptive culture had already been accepted in relation to Ȩaldi (see above), the divinity standing on the lion on the votive plaques was also thought to be Ȩaldi, sometimes assumed to be portrayed with his consort Uarubani,²⁵ since some scholars refrained from declaring any specific identities for the divine couple.²⁶ Despite this *a priori* acquaintance, Seidl compared the depictions of a well-known goddess, Iřtar of Arbela (Fig. 4), to those of the Giyimli plaques. The conclusion was astonishing and very persuasive from the point of descriptive arts, and Seidl suggested that the god standing on the lion of the Giyimli plaques was not Ȩaldi but, instead, Iřtar of Arbela, who is a reflection of the Hurrian Iřtar or řawuřka from the iconographical and philological viewpoint.²⁷ This may be the case, for Iřtar was probably known to Urartians, not with the same name, but most likely as Sardi.²⁸ However, one must note that it is not clear if Sardi, the possible Urartian counterpart of the Hurrian goddess of love and war, shared the same features as the other.²⁹ The Urartian god or goddess of 'love' has

²⁰ Hmayakyan 1982, 131–32; 1990, 35–36. (I am grateful to my Armenian colleagues M. Badalyan and Y. Grekyan, for providing me these sources and helping for the translation of certain phrases). Recently, Batmaz has postulated a similar thought basing on quite the same reasons (Batmaz 2011, 238).

²¹ Seidl 2005. The paper was first presented at the Anatolian Iron Ages Symposium, Van, in 2001.

²² Ȣilingiroęlu 2004, 259.

²³ Seidl 2005.

²⁴ For the depictions on votive plaques, see Erzen 1974a–b; Tařyřerek 1977; 1978; 1980; Caner 1998.

²⁵ Ȣilingiroęlu 1997, fig. 96.

²⁶ Rehm 1997, 195–97; Caner 1998, 30.

²⁷ Seidl 2005, 169.

²⁸ Piotrovskii 1959, 226; van Loon 1966, 8; Diakonoff 1981, 83.

²⁹ For the warship of goddess Iřtar, see Rodney 1952; also Black and Green 1992, 'Inana', 112.



Fig. 3: Divinity on lion
(after Çilingiroğlu 1997, drawing 37).



Fig. 4: Istar of Arbela
(after Seidl 2005, 169; fig. 5).

not yet been documented, and the warlike character of Ȩaldi cannot be compared with any other Urartian divinity, nor to Istar or Šawuška. It is also possible that Urartian ^D*Inuani*, literally ‘goddess’, was no one but Šawuška, known to the Assyrians by the similar name Inanna. However, this piece of knowledge does not help us to construct any iconography for the Urartian reflection of the goddess, unless we accept Seidl’s assumption.³⁰ In that case, we would have to reject the recommendations that match Istar of Arbela to Ȩaldi’s spouse, Uarubani.³¹

Simultaneously with Seidl, Çilingiroğlu was involved in the debate with another suggestion while discussing the associations between phenomena such as weapon, seed and fire attested in the temple area of Ayanis.³² Taking the above-mentioned archaeological and philological evidence on fertility and the god into consideration, Çilingiroğlu suggested that Ȩaldi would formerly have been a

³⁰ For discussion, see Grekian 2006, 164–65, 173.

³¹ Hmayakyan 1990, 110–13. See also Grekian 2006, 162–63 for the goddess.

³² See Çilingiroğlu 2004. This paper was after Seidl’s presentation but before its publication.

female divinity. According to this suggestion, Ȧaldi could have been the fertility goddess of the native inhabitants of the region before the establishment of the Urartian state, and then was possibly transformed into a ‘god’ with the fresh ideological structure.³³

The three hypotheses of Hmayakyan, Seidl and Ȧilingiroęlu mentioned above can be combined together at some level. The first fact encountered is the existence of a divine character, possibly a goddess, literally řawuřka, who is very well known to the Hurrian world. One of her main features is her warlike persona, accompanied by her lion and weapons, generally quivers, on her shoulders. The important peculiarity of this goddess is her hermaphroditic nature. Sometimes, written sources mention her with ‘beards’;³⁴ also at Yazılıkaya, one can recognise řawuřka parading together with the ‘gods’.³⁵ Keeping all these in mind, one can postulate that a Hurrian goddess from the periphery of the Hurrian cultural world could have been brought into the Urartian physical sphere. We do not hear about řawuřka from Urartian written sources, but since the votive plaques are definitely not a part of the royal art, this may well be the case.

Secondly, Ȧaldi himself could have been derived from an archetype of a goddess of fertility and war, an androgynous divinity, their own ‘řawuřka’ for the ruling caste, before being shaped by the hand of the state. It is not likely to consider all divine figures standing on lion to řawuřka³⁶ (see, for example, Fig. 5), nor is it possible yet to keep lions and weapons apart from Ȧaldi.³⁷ But to what degree was this androgyny ‘archaic’?

A Possible Dualism in the Cultic Practice?

Henceforth, I will discuss the subject with the help of evidence from the temple of Ȧaldi at Ayanis, while trying to build simple analogies from different religious connotations. As seen above, rituals with cereal offerings have a real role in the temple area, both sharing the same spatial context with the hearths. There are definitely two distinct types of this sacrifice, each accompanied by fire. The first ritual is practised around the northern hearth (on the right, according to the altar – which is to say, Ȧaldi), and it is in direct relation to the weapons, because the grain was

³³ Ȧilingiroęlu 2004, 259.

³⁴ For Iřtar’s hermaphrodite character, see Hoffner 1966 (for ‘bearded Iřtar’, see Hoffner 1966, 333, n. 54). See also Wegner 1980 for řawuřka.

³⁵ Akurgal 2000, fig. 65.

³⁶ Please note that Seidl never mentions such an equilibrium.

³⁷ Hellwag has recently made an important contribution, suggesting that the lion figures on some seals would be read as ‘the king’ (Hellwag 2012).

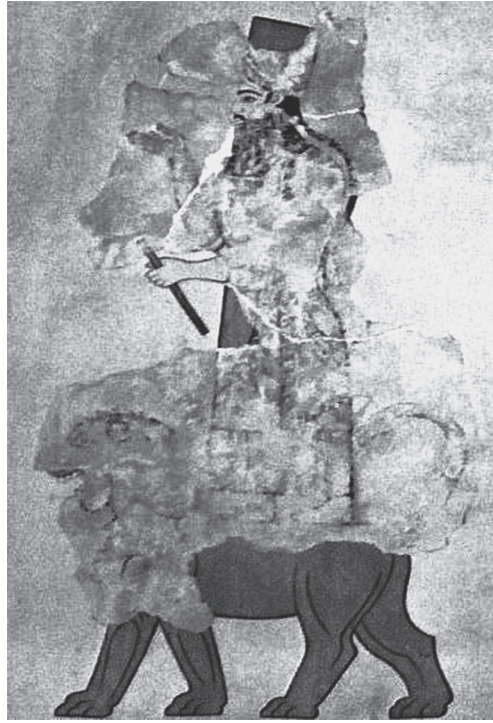


Fig. 5: Bearded divinity on lion (after Piotrovskii 1969, table 13).

put into quivers, and an accumulation of weapons around the hearth is obvious. The nature of the ritual is not clear, but it might be some sort of ‘cleansing’ or ‘purifying’ the profane weapons.³⁸ A lion-headed shield was hung over the hearth, with an inscription on it forbidding any attempt at extinguishing the fire.³⁹ The hearth was facing the entrance gateway to the temple area, meeting incomers at the very first sight (Fig. 2).⁴⁰ Using key words, the symbols from the ‘right’ part of the *cella* can be listed as: dynastic, soldierly, open, etc. (see below).

The cereal offering in the southern hearth (to the left) is much more unpretentious, with the cereal itself in the very centre of the ritual, making one think about household rituals. Trying to give comprehensive information for grain offerings in the ancient Near East exceeds the scope of this paper, but the existence of some Old

³⁸ See Baştürk 2009, 141–44 for this suggestion.

³⁹ Çilingiroğlu 2004, 259. For the inscription on the shield, see Salvini 2001a, AyBr 1.

⁴⁰ Recent excavations by the Ayanis team unearthed another and monumental gateway to the temple area, near the smaller one, just before the hearth. I am grateful to Mehmet Işıklı, Director of the Ayanis Excavation, for providing me this information.

Assyrian texts mentioning grain offerings to Nusku and Ištar must be noted:⁴¹ Nusku is known to be a god in relation to fire, torch and light, possibly a Mesopotamian fire-cult god connected to the house, who is sometimes described as the father of Gibil, god of fire.⁴² There is no spatial relation between the two hearths, and unlike the previous one, the hearth on the left was placed at a very remote and inconspicuous point in the temple area, in the corner of a recess (Figs. 1 and 2).

In this paper, the words ‘right’ and ‘left’ are used for the two sides of the *cella* deliberately, in order to recall the same dualism of Hittite rituals. While analysing Hurrian rites within Hittite religion, Ardzinba focused on the distinction of two sides, and categorised the elements of the rituals according to their spatial distribution. This led him to define the ritualistic symbols as unquestionably related to the right and left sides, beginning with the place of the king and the queen, ranging to the chariot drivers or stable boys. Ardzinba gives a long text about the ritualistic elements and their right or left places within the rituals, and anthropological comparisons of this understanding with the other cultures, accompanied by some tables.⁴³ Below is a summary of his considerations about the right and left elements of the Hittite rituals (Table 1).⁴⁴

Table 1: Hittite right–left dualism according to Ardzinba 2010.

Left	Right
Female	Male
Goddess	God
Hearths for Goddess (Ḫepat)	Hearths for God (Tešup)
Sun Goddess of Arinna (Ḫepat)	Storm God (Tešup)
Interior function	Exterior function
Sacred activities	Military activities
The Queen	The King
Gods of the Queen	Gods of the King
Gods of the Earth	Gods of the Heavens

⁴¹ See van der Toorn 2008, 33, n. 25 for related literature.

⁴² Black and Green 1992, ‘Nusku’, 166. Also see van der Toorn 2008, 33, n. 27.

⁴³ The original study is V.G. Ardzinba, *Rituali i Mifi Drevnei Anatolii* (Moscow 1982). Of course, this is not the only study referring to this relation, but it is the one where comprehensive information and literature about the subject can be find. For the Turkish translation of this volume used here, see Ardzinba 2010.

⁴⁴ Ardzinba 2010, 169–96. Note that the information in the volume is much more detailed, and only relevant points are introduced here. Because of the lack of data it is impossible to compare some of the information with the Urartian rituals, so they were not included here.

It is striking to see a distinction between the hearths according to their roles in the rituals, where male and female elements of the ritual were thoroughly separated. If one tries to schematise the spatial distribution of two hearths and related finds within the temple area at Ayanis, some sort of a similar scene can be observed (Table 2).

Table 2: Spatial distribution of hearths and related finds in the temple area at Ayanis.

Left Hearth	Right Hearth
Introverted	Extraverted
Interior function	Exterior function
Modest	Splendid
Domestic rituals	Military rituals
Fertility at the centre of the ritual	Fertility in secondary role

In light of the information above, here I will propose another table pertinent to the discussion, with nearly all terms including a question mark (Table 3).

Table 3: Hypothetical distinction of ritualistic functions of hearths in the temple area at Ayanis.

Left Hearth	Right Hearth
Goddess(?)	God – 𐎶𐎠𐎼𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠
Female(?)	Male(?)
The Queen(?)	The King(?)
God/Goddess of the Queen(?)	God of the King – 𐎶𐎠𐎼𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠
God/Goddess of the Earth(?)	God of the Heavens(?)

Unfortunately, Urartian written data do not yet provide sufficient – positive or negative – answers to the question marks above. Although the temple inscription of Ayanis does refer to important Urartian goddesses such as Uarubani, Baba, Adia, Sardi, Inuani, Aja, Tušpuni and ‘Lady Goddesses’, and the numbers of the animals to be sacrificed to them,⁴⁵ no special emphasis is given to any of the female divinities. However, it has to be noted that a small stress was laid on Uarubani apart from the other goddesses, and the goddess is mentioned with her spouse 𐎶𐎠𐎼𐎫𐎠𐎺𐎠 several times.⁴⁶ It is very clear from the inscription that the temple area was holding rituals for the goddesses as well as the gods, but no detail was given about the hearths or cereal offerings.

⁴⁵ Salvini 2001b, Ay-susi section II, 1–2.

⁴⁶ Salvini 2001b, Ay-susi section I, II.

It is also very hard to prove the existence of the rituals carried by the king and queen separately in the temple area, bearing in mind that Ayanis was neither a capital nor a cultic centre. Since the Urartian king(s) were supposed to visit the temple(s) and give sacrifices,⁴⁷ the attendance of the queen cannot be verified with the help of the inscriptions. However, recent finds confirm that at least one queen had been to Ayanis, thanks to a golden object with a plain inscription, ‘Property of Queen Qaqli’: MUNUS qa-qu-li MUNUS.LUGAL ta-na-a-ši.⁴⁸ Were the queen and her followers undertaking ‘other’ rituals than the inscriptions tell us, maybe on the ‘left’ side of the Gate of Haldi? Hard to answer.

Thus, in search of an interpretation of the archaeological finds about the ‘secret–sacred’ female, one must turn again to symbols.

Since they have not been interpreted as religious symbols but were considered ‘decorative elements’, the rosettes found at Ayanis may be the second group of archaeological finds to investigate after the hearths. The rosettes were made of gold (Fig. 6) and bronze (Fig. 7), and were found in just two areas: the majority from the temple area as a whole,⁴⁹ and some additional pieces from the ‘ceremonial corridor’, where the abovementioned property of ‘the Queen’ was unearthed.⁵⁰ Those from the corridor worth mentioning here, since they are the only rosette examples not from the temple area, include a star with eight points (Fig. 8) and bronze discs with the same star (Fig. 9). It is interesting to have two well-known symbols, rosettes and eight-pointed stars, in two separate yet sacred areas such as the temple and the ‘ceremonial corridor’ within the domestic quarter of an Urartian fortress. More strangely, a similar occurrence can be found only in the celebrated temple of Iṣtar in Aššur.⁵¹ Rosettes and stars, well-known symbols of the goddess Iṣtar,⁵² seem to be the main symbolic and decorative elements of this temple, and the relationship between the two symbols and the goddess can be traced back to the 3rd millennium BC.⁵³ It is of course possible that the existence of similar symbols from two different temples of two separate divinities may be no more than coincidence: any iconographic element can be used for ornamental purposes, just as any decorative implement may bear symbolic meanings. It is a great challenge to trace which one precedes the other, ‘however, when many elements of this iconographic assemblage

⁴⁷ Salvini 2001b, Ay-susi section III, 3–4.

⁴⁸ Çilingiroğlu 2012, 106–08.

⁴⁹ See Sağlamtimur *et al.* 2001, 222–23.

⁵⁰ For the area mentioned, see Çilingiroğlu 2012. About the ceremonial corridor and possible rituals in that area, see Batmaz 2012; 2013.

⁵¹ Andrae 1935, table 40.

⁵² For the symbols of Iṣtar, see Barrett 2007.

⁵³ Black and Green 1992, ‘Iṣtar’, 108–09; ‘Star’, 169–70. See also Barrett 2007, 25–46.

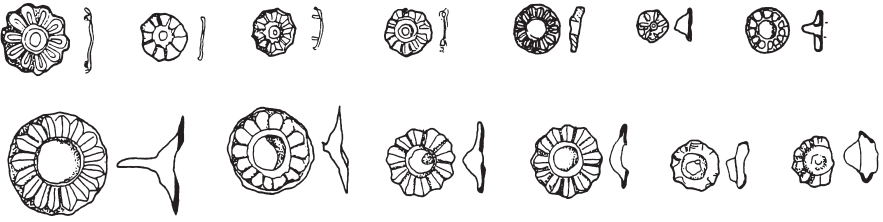


Fig. 6: Golden rosettes from the Ayanis temple area (after Sağlamtimur *et al.* 2001, pl. III, nos. 24–36).

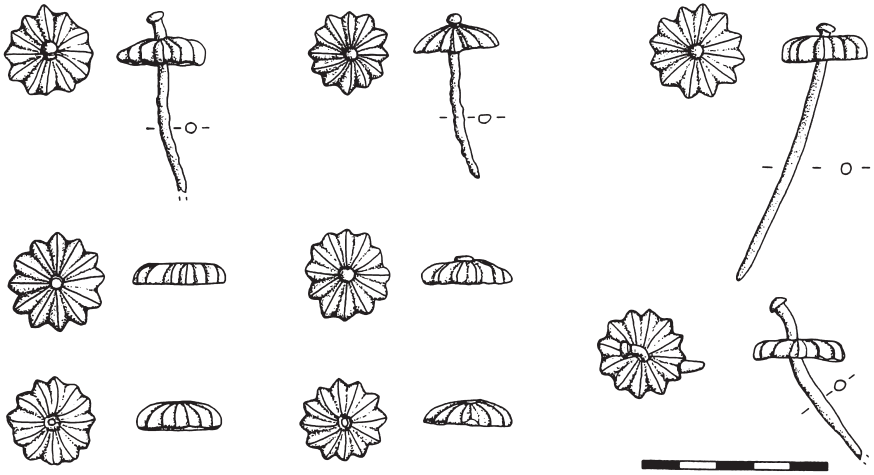


Fig. 7: Bronze rosettes from the Ayanis temple area (after Sağlamtimur *et al.* 2001, pl. IX, nos. 133–140).

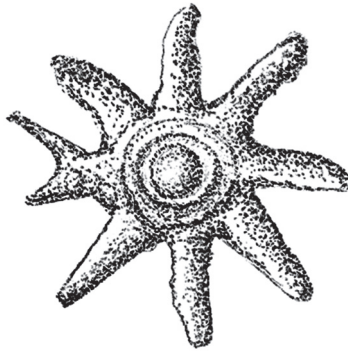


Fig. 8: Eight-pointed star from the 'ceremonial corridor' in the Ayanis domestic sector (after Batmaz 2013, fig. 24).



Fig. 9: Bronze disk with eight-pointed star from the ‘ceremonial corridor’ in the Ayanis domestic sector (after Batmaz 2013, fig. 31).

appear in combination, it is possible to speak of a probable intended reference to Inana/Ishtar’.⁵⁴

Another symbol related to female deities leads us to question the meaning of the cow and the calf, both mentioned in the text of the Eighth Campaign of Šarru-ukin as having been sacked near the temple of Țaldi⁵⁵ and depicted on the Muṣaṣir relief, below the lion-headed shields on the pillars (Fig. 10).⁵⁶ The symbol itself is a possible symbol of Iṣtar, or another goddess, Ninhursag,⁵⁷ and this makes one recall the spouse of Țaldi, Uarubani, or her Iranian counterpart, Bagbartu/Bagmaṣtu⁵⁸ (since we exclude the possibility that it is Țaldi himself?).

In such a study, any attempt to give a list of conclusions as ‘definitive outcomes’ will be in vain. Nevertheless, with the help of the data above, one can mount a list of ‘arguments’:

1. Țaldi, the great Urartian warrior god, also retains the persona of fertility divinities, who are mostly and naturally ‘goddesses’.
2. A ‘monotheistic’ tendency in Urartian religion is quite obvious, and it is not peculiar to the Urartian ‘state cult’ but can also be observed in the rival and contemporary Assyria.

⁵⁴ Barrett 2007, 69.

⁵⁵ Luckenbill 1927, 172.

⁵⁶ For the lion-headed shield from Ayanis, see Çilingiroğlu 1997, 117–19.

⁵⁷ Black and Green 1992, ‘cow and calf’, 53.

⁵⁸ For Bagbartu/Bagmaṣtu, see Luckenbill 1927, 59, 173, 176, 183, 213. For Iranian roots of the same divinity, see Petrosyan 2006, 231, n. 39. Uarubani may also be from the Iranian origins (see Grekyan 2006, 163 and nn. 104 and 105; Petrosyan 2006, 231, n. 39). For the discussion and a recent evaluation, see Badalyan 2014b.

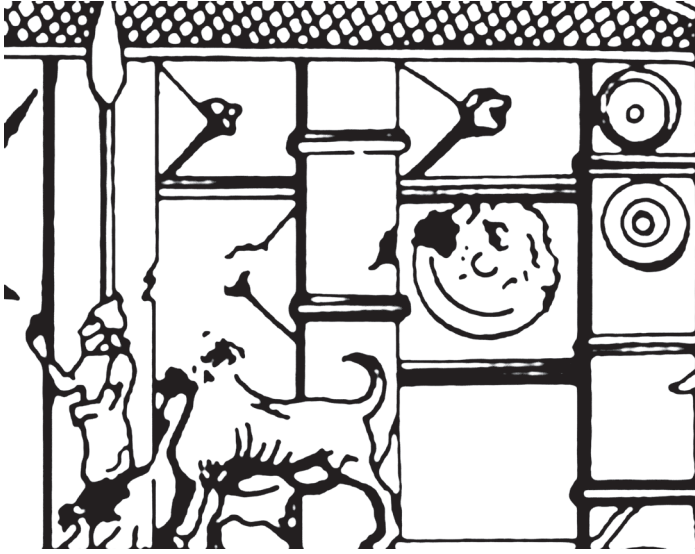


Fig. 10: Cow and calf statues on the Muşafir relief (detail after Çilingiroğlu 1997, drawing 36).

3. Ȩaldi himself is closely related to the lion, which is known to accompany goddesses, especially Iřtar.
4. Some depictions of Uartian divinities are interpreted as Ȩaldi, and there are some clues leading us to such an assumption, but the same figures may also and more likely be read as the goddess Iřtar.
5. The temple of Ȩaldi at Ayanis, one of the last built and undoubtedly the best preserved sanctuaries of the Uartian Great God, houses two attached fireplaces with definitely two distinct characteristics.
6. With the help of the data about the Hittite cults and left–right dualism, the distinction between the two hearths can be reconstructed on a functional basis, which seem to be reflecting different cultic images of masculine and feminine natures.
7. Both the temple area and the only possible cultic spot within the domestic area of Ayanis display similar symbols such as rosettes and stars, which might be construed as true evidence for the existence of a goddess, namely Iřtar, unless one knew the whole space was dedicated to Ȩaldi.

None of the assumptions above would answer the real question: what is going on here? Ȩaldi, the great warrior, could be sharing the same symbols with Iřtar or řawuřka, or we may be misreading the symbols, and ascribing the attributes of the warrior goddess to the chief god of the Uartian pantheon. Ȩaldi *himself* could have been a ‘goddess’

of the native clans of the highlands before the establishment of the state, or he/she could be an androgynous divinity who carried *godly* and *goddessly* features.

One more hypothesis can also be made from the evidence above. Țaldi may be a ‘syncretised’ divinity, merging two different natures: Iřtar/řawuřka, a warrior goddess, not only known to the Proto-Hurro-Urartian cultural zone since the 3rd millennium BC, but also an important figure revered in the pantheons and myths of the North Mesopotamian ‘civilised’ world; and Țaldi, a warrior god, possibly an autochthonous and less renowned divine character, revered in the mountains where the ancestors of the future Urartian elite were living. It is neither easy to specify a date for this process, nor simple to explain how an insignificant divine character could smelt a much stronger persona while forging *his* own. This leads us again to the elite, their choices and syncretic thoughts, the way they saw and understood war, gender, fertility, indeed how they live. What has happened seems to be their selection, rather than a natural one.

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THE RIVERS CALLED PHASIS*

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Abstract

The monolithic syntheses of ancient sources and modern identifications to which the historical geography of the 18th and 19th centuries accustomed us must be abandoned; only a detailed analysis of the different literary traditions, the identification of their aims and thus the type of mythical, poetic and historiographical space presented, as well as the reconstruction of their natural and cultural context can allow us to understand how ancient people mentally constructed their environment and how their geographical knowledge had an impact on history. The River Phasis is an interesting case study: by distinguishing the mythical space of the Golden Fleece, the poetical river that opened or carved the way for the summer solstice to Greek heroes, and the historiographical axis or frontier of imperialistic clashes, one can observe the dynamics of the identifications of several watercourses with this famous river. Homonymies, mythological and historiographical narratives, and landscapes nourished these identifications for which only a few literary and epigraphic echoes remain. In this sense, the Rioni, which was never explicitly associated with the Phasis in antiquity, triumphed over the South Caucasian rivers (Aras, Kelkit and Çoruh) and even the North Caucasian Kuban, because of its exceptional geo-historical context.

Introduction: How to Find the Phasis? (Fig. 1)

Philostratus the Younger *Images* 8: *The Players*.

Ἀγούσα τοὺς πεντήκοντα ἡ Ἀργὼ ἐνώρμισται
τῷ Φάσιδι Βόσπορόν τε καὶ Ξυμπληγάδας
διεξελοῦσα. ὁρᾷ δὲ καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν αὐτὸν ἐν
βαθεῖ δόνακι κείμενον, ἐν βλοσυρῷ τῷ εἶδει,
κόμη τε γὰρ ἀμφιλαφὴς αὐτῷ καὶ ἀνεστηκυῖα
γενειάς τε ὑποφρίττουσα καὶ γλαυκιῶντες
ὀφθαλμοί, τό τε ἄθρόον τοῦ ρεύματος οὐκ ἀπὸ
κάλπιδος ἐκχεόμενον, ἥπερ οὖν εἶωθεν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ
παντὸς ἐκπλημμύρον ἐννοεῖν δίδωσιν ἡμῖν,
ὅπως ἐπιχεῖται τῷ Πόντῳ.

The Argo carrying its fifty heroes has anchored in the Phasis after passing through the Bosphorus and the Clashing Rocks. You see the river himself lying on this deep bed of rushes; his countenance is grim, for his hair is thick and stands upright, his beard bristles, and his eyes glare; and the abundant water of the stream, since it does not flow from a pitcher as is usually the case, but comes in flood from his whole figure, gives us to understand how large a stream is poured into the Pontos.

* I acknowledge here my debt to Prof. Alexandru Avram, who brought me to the study of ancient geography. I am also grateful to Prof. Alexandr Podossinov for his suggestions and to Prof. Gocha Tsetskhladze for his help, patience and work on this paper. All Greek and Latin texts and translations are from the Loeb editions unless otherwise noted.

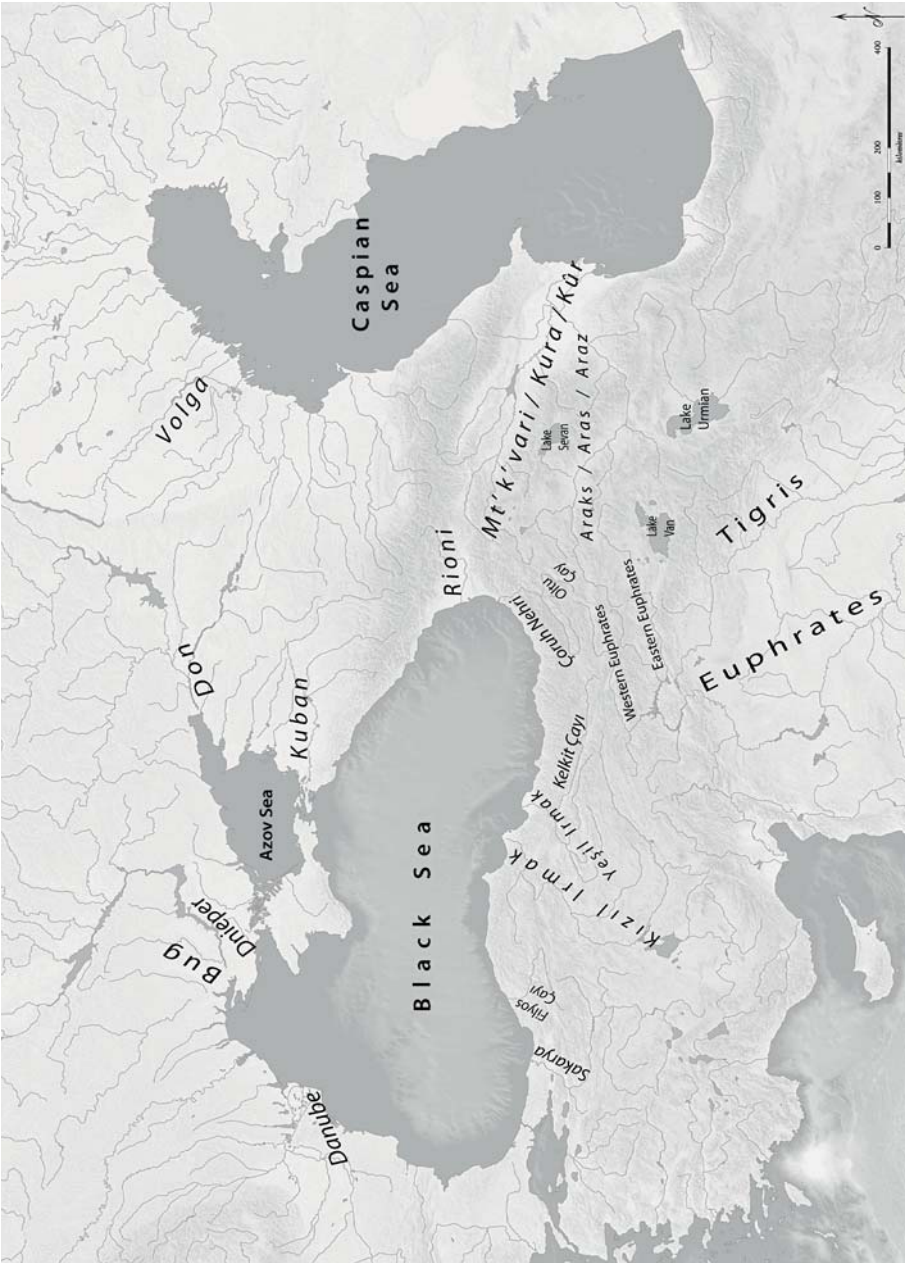


Fig. 1: Modern hydronyms associated with 'Phasis'.

In one of his three *ekphraseis* dealing with the representations of Jason and Medeia's erotic adventures, Philostratus describes the River Phasis as it would have been recognised by all those familiar with the exploits of the Argonauts (already told, in his opinion, by Homer), accompanied by some generalities about the mythical geography of the entrance into the Black Sea as well as some *realia* about the mouth and flow of the Rioni. The rhetorician synthesises three ways of perceiving the Phasis in terms of its relationship to real and lived spaces: a mythic space, the river of the Golden Fleece; a poetical space, for those who imagined the mythical Phasis and celebrated it as another Nile, a 'king of the rivers' (Callimachus *Aetia* fr. 7 Pfeiffer), whose running and marshy waters were symbolised as both meadow and river nymphs (Apollonius of Rhodes 3. 1218–1220); finally, an historiographical space, for those who perceived a real river known as the Phasis or who were familiar with testimonies about it and thus understood this painting's divergence from the stereotypical representations of river-gods: the quantity of reeds and the absence of a pouring vase were means of showing the river's exceptional volume and slimininess.¹

The public who had perhaps viewed the painting and who had heard and read Philostratus were not supposed to identify the river in the real world, but rather to be aware of the literary traditions conveyed by the description. The literary character of the classical references to spaces may sometimes be a source of misunderstanding for modern historians who are tempted to associate traditions deriving from different historical contexts with one real place, just as this would have been seen and described in modern times by travellers and scientists. In the case of the Phasis, this approach led to the invention of a modern mythology associated with the river in Colchis, which does not correspond to any of the ancient perceptions of the river.

The aim of this paper is to review critically the ancient identifications of Phasis and prove that they were not simply inspired by literary fantasies to compensate for a lack of geographical knowledge. Indeed, they are also determined by the multiplicity of rivers rightly or wrongly called Phasis by the Greeks. Accordingly, I dismiss

¹ I propose the distinctions between mythical, poetical and historiographical spaces as well as their relationships with the real and lived space in Dan 2013a. Philostratus describes the only image of the Phasis as a lying river-god (Lordkipanidze 1994; 2000). The river-god was also identified in bovine representations on didrachms from the 5th century BC (*cf.* Doundoua 1982; Tsetskhladze 1993; Vickers, Kakhidze and Varshalomidze 2010), although Hind 2005 definitively rejected this assumption (*cf.* also Hind 1996 and 2002a for the possible implications on the chronology of the city of Phasis, modern Poti). The first local Colchian coins are silver tetradrachms and didrachms dating to the end of the 6th–beginning of the 5th century BC. Their iconography is very similar to those minted under the authority of the Achaemenid kings and their satraps. This, together with other evidence, demonstrates that Colchis was one of the satrapies of the Achaemenid empire (see Tsetskhladze 2013, 298–303).

here the ancient sources dealing with the Phasis as the mythical river of the Golden Fleece, the poetical representations of the Argonauts without any connection to the Black Sea realities, as well as the historiographical references that make no mention of its location:² although all of these representations were, to a certain extent, determined by indirect testimonies about *realia*, they were never known in their totality to an ancient reader. The absence of a location marker should prevent their direct use in the reconstruction of the history of one real river. Thus, in a study dealing with a river really called Phasis in antiquity, one should not take as witness Hesiod, who vaguely refers to a river in the north-east through which the Argonauts would have reached the Ocean,³ nor the *Isthmian Odes* of Pindar (2. 41–42) and the *Andromaca* of Euripides (650–651), where the Phasis is only the mark of the northern, wintry extremity of the world, opposed to the southern, summery Nile. It is true the Phasis-Rioni was generally considered as the most eastern point when sailing on the Black Sea;⁴ also, the connection between the Colchians and Egyptians was supported, at least from Herodotus' time onwards (2. 103–106), by the story of the Egyptian migrations to the north⁵ and by the conviction that the two lands were eventually not very distant from one another, accessed either through the narrow land passage across the Near East or through the Ocean. In Roman times, the Phasis was even considered to contain crocodiles, like the Nile and the Indus.⁶ Other rivers, however, were situated on the same meridian as the Nile (like the Tanais-Don) or could have been considered to separate Asia from Europe (in the case of the Hypanis-Kuban), just like the Nile separated Asia from Libya. Also, it is certain that in the 5th century, many Greeks were familiar with the hydronym 'Phasis', not only through the Argonautic myths, but also because of pheasant birds (Φασιαννοί/Φασιαννικοί):⁷ these references, however, cannot be

² Full inventories of ancient sources are found in Diehl 1938; Danoff 1962; Lordkipanidze 1985; 1996; 2000 (with Hind 2002b); 2001; Braund 1994. Cf. Tsetschladze 1994e.

³ *Theogony* 340 (for a similar literary value in a river catalogue, cf. Ovid *Metamorphoses* 2. 235–259 [v. 249]) and the *Catalogue of Women* fr. 241 Merkelbach-West = 252 a–b Most *apud Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod.* 4. 259, p. 273 Wendel. It is not clear if this mythical episode was accepted by Hecataeus of Miletus, as the quotations of his work are contradictory: 1 F18a (*apud Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod.* 4. 259b) and 1 F 18b (*apud Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod.* 4. 284); cf. 1 F302a–b–c. Cf. Eck 2003 for an analogous critical approach of the relationship between mythical and historical spaces.

⁴ For example, Plato *Phaedo* 109; Xenophon *Anabasis* 5. 7. 6–7; Apollonius of Rhodes 2. 1260–1261 (ἔσχατα πείρατα Πόντου; cf. 2. 1277–1278; 3. 57–58, as the term of the Argonautic journey, the first human crossing of the sea); Polybius 4. 56. 5; Strabo 11. 2. 15–16, see below; Dionysius Periegetes 762–763; cf. also the new interpretation of the so-called Shield of Doura-Europos, in Boshnakov 2015.

⁵ Ivantchik 1999a–b; more generally, Ivantchik 2005.

⁶ Pausanias 4. 34. 2; Ps.-Plutarch *On Rivers* 5. 3, referred to below; Braund 1994, 25.

⁷ See, for example, Aristophanes *Acharnians* 725–726; *Clouds* 108–109; *Birds* 68; Aristotle *History of the Animals* 557a, 559a, 633b; Athenaeus 5. 32, 9. 36–38 Kaibel.

taken into account when reconstructing the history of a particular river, because the name tells nothing about the identification of the Phasis, the river through which these birds had arrived in Greece from the Caspian.

The existence of several rivers named Phasis raises the issue of the relationship between identical toponyms. This is a current phenomenon, determined by geographical and historical analogies or even confusion between spaces. The Greeks were well aware of this dilemma; they invented narratives, imaginary rivers and mountains, or karst landscapes in order to explain the use of the same name for two different spaces; they also used homonyms in literary and especially esoteric texts, like the oracles.⁸ However, this can still be a source of misunderstanding, especially when ancient and modern readers have access only to snippets from a large and heterogeneous literary tradition.

In order to explain similar confusions, this paper will attempt to identify the different rivers that could have been called Phasis by the Greeks as well as the different literary traditions that could have been mixed, whether consciously or unconsciously, by authors describing one particular river through elements originally referring to others. The mythical Phasis could have been identified with several rivers of the north-east (the direction of the summer solstice) on the basis of their barbarian names that the Greeks perceived to be similar, either because of their dimensions (which could have indicated a water channel linking the interior sea to the Ocean) or because of their perception as frontiers between the different ethnic groups or political powers of the Near East.⁹

The paper has three sections: the first is a short overview of the clear ancient references to the Phasis-Rioni. The second deals with the identifications of a Phasis river further to the south, lying between the Taurus and the Caucasus, in Armenia, Iberia and Colchis. Xenophon and Procopius, the authors of these references, designate homonymous rivers as 'Phasis', convinced that they were dealing with a part of the mythical Phasis, which poured itself into the Black Sea by the Phasis-Rioni. The third and final section is an analysis of the apparently incoherent data concerning the frontier between Europe and Asia, which can nevertheless be explained through the identification of a Phasis river at another end of the Pontus, near the Cimmerian Bosphorus, on the course of the Kuban. Yet this would not be the only northern Phasis: at the end of antiquity, the anonymous *Periplus* of the Black Sea mentions a River 'Basis' lying at the foot of the Caucasus.

⁸ Cf., for example, Dan 2015.

⁹ An example not discussed in this paper is the River Phasis on Taprobane Island (modern Sri Lanka), mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geography* 7. 4. 7–8) and Stephanus of Byzantium, but which remains difficult to identify: see Talbert 2000 ('Map 5. India', by M.U. Erdosy) for its identification with Pliny the Elder's Palaesimundus (*NH* 6. 86). There is no other explanation for this name, except the possible phonetic resemblance of a local name with the hydronym well known to the Greeks.

Phasis-Rioni in Colchis

Three types of references point to the identification of the mythical Phasis with the modern Rioni in poetical and historiographical contexts: the association with Colchis and the Colchians at the eastern end of the Black Sea; the distances by sea and land; and the description of the natural conditions in the Rioni Delta.

Phasis had probably been identified with the main river of the Colchians since Archaic times. Nonetheless, the earliest clear reference preserved to our days is Pindar's Argonautic itinerary (*Pythian Odes* 4). Related mythical places – such as the island Aia of Aietes, the Oriental parallel of the Occidental Aiaia inhabited by Circe – were probably identified with inland Colchis, on the river or on the sea shores (around Dioskourias, modern Sukhumi), by colonists and travellers seeking to justify their presence in the Pontus through legendary genealogies and *lieux de mémoire*.¹⁰ At the beginning of the 4th century BC, even the most ignorant of Xenophon's soldiers would have recognised the East where the Phasis flowed.¹¹

For us, Herodotus is the first author who treats the Phasis-Rioni as an historiographical space, providing a reliable geographical frame for his *Histories*: his Phasis is the limit of the isthmus at the heart of the Achaemenid empire, which separates the Red and Black Seas, Lower and Upper Asia (4. 37–38, 40, 45). This historical frame is reinforced by numerical estimations of the northern shore of Asia Minor (nine days and eight nights of navigation from the Thracian Bosphorus to the Phasis: 4. 86),¹² as well as the relative distance between the Phasis and the Maeotis, located on the northern edge of the known world (30 days for a quick traveller, impossible by land but credible by water when compared with the ca 500 km measured today on an imaginary straight line between Kerch and Rioni) (Herodotus 1. 104; cf. Ps.-Plutarch *On Rivers* 5. 2 and below). More reliable evidence about Colchis was brought to the attention of the Greeks and Romans by the historians of Mithradates VI Eupator's campaigns and by Strabo,

¹⁰ For example, Pherecydes 3 F 100 *apud Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod.* 3. 1093, 1074; cf. Philostephanos *apud Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod.* 4. 277–278b; Nikanor of Alexandria (grammarian of the 2nd century AD) *apud* Stephanus of Byzantium s.v. Αἶα. The elements of the mythical landscape are listed in Apollonius of Rhodes 2. 397–406; cf. Appian *Mithridatica* 478–479 for the claim by local populations. For the genealogical link between the Colchians and Phasis, see Mnaseas 154 F 31 *apud Schol. Vet. ad Theocritum* 13. 75. The sources concerning the connection with the Dioscuri are discussed in Braund 1994, 30–33. More generally, on the archaeological site of Sukhumi, see the bibliography in Kacharava and Kvirkveliya 1991, 86–89; Gabelia 2003. Cf. Tsetsikhladze 1998a, 15–26; 2013.

¹¹ See Dan 2014.

¹² Cf. Strabo 2. 1. 39 (for Kyaneiai Phasis) and, partially, for the distance from Trapezous to Phasis 12. 3. 17; Procopius *Wars* 8. 5. 33 for 52 days' walk (*ex correctione*) along the southern shore of the Pontus up to the Phasis.

their critical compiler. Despite the importance of the Eastern campaigns in Roman political life of the 1st century BC and 1st century AD and the continuous frequenting of Colchis, common opinions were nevertheless difficult to correct: for example, Strabo criticised an anonymous iambic verse, used as a proverb pointing to the mouth of the Phasis-Rioni as the most eastern gulf of the internal sea. Familiar with the area, if not by his travels, then at least by what he could discover from his relatives involved in the Mithradatic administration, he fixed the eastern end of the Pontus 600 stadia to the north at Dioskourias (11. 2. 15–16). To justify the common opinion about the remoteness of the Phasis, he makes a compromise and concedes a ‘soft’ definition of Phasis as ‘Colchis’: just like their legendary relatives, the Egyptians, who were said to extend as far as the people could drink the waters of Nile (Herodotus 2. 18), Colchis would extend between the Colchian and the Moschian mountains as far as the people shared an analogous way of life (*cf.* Dionysius Periegetes 688–694). Yet Strabo’s correction of the parallel of Dioskourias remained isolated.

A more precise description of the life conditions in the Rioni Delta was presented in a 5th century BC text of Hippocrates:

Hippocrates *On Airs, Waters and Places* 15.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν Φάσει, ἡ χώρα ἐκείνη ἐλώδης ἐστὶ καὶ θερμὴ καὶ ὑδατεὶνὴ καὶ δασεῖα· ὕμβροι τε αὐτόθι γίνονται πᾶσαν ὥρην πολλοὶ τε καὶ ἰσχυροί· ἢ τε δίκαιτα τοῖσιν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐν τοῖσιν ἔλυσιν ἐστίν· τὰ τε οἰκήματα ξύλινα καὶ καλάμινα ἐν τοῖσιν ὕδασι μεμηχανημένα· ὀλίγη τε χρέονται βαδίσει κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸ ἐμπόριον, ἀλλὰ μονοξύλοισι διαπλέουσιν ἄνω καὶ κάτω· διώρυγες γὰρ πολλαὶ εἰσιν. Τὰ δὲ ὕδατα θερμὰ καὶ στάσιμα πίνουσιν, ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ἡλίου σηπόμενα, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀμβρῶν ἐπαυξανόμενα. Αὐτός τε ὁ Φάσις στασιμώτατος πάντων τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ ῥέων ἡπιώτατος· οἱ τε καρποὶ γιγνόμενοι αὐτόθι πάντες ἀναλδέες εἰσὶ, καὶ τεθηλυσμένοι, καὶ ἀτελεές, ὑπὸ πολυπληθείας τοῦ ὕδατος· διὸ καὶ οὐ πεπαίνονται· ἡγὼρ τε πουλὺς κατέχει τὴν χώραν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων. Διὰ ταύτας δὲ τὰς προφάσις τὰ εἶδεα ἀπηλλαγμένα τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσιν οἱ Φασιηνοί· τὰ τε γὰρ μεγέθεα μεγάλοι, τὰ πάχεα δ’ ὑπερπαχές· ἄρθρον τε κατὰ δὴλον οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ φλέψ· τὴν τε χροίην ὥρην ἔχουσιν, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἰκτέρου ἐχόμενοι· φθέγγονται τε βαρυτάτον ἀνθρώπων, τῷ ἡέρι χρεόμενοι οὐ λαμπρῷ, ἀλλὰ χυνώδει τε

Now let me turn to the dwellers on the Phasis. Their land is marshy, hot, wet, and wooded; copious violent rains fall there during every season. The inhabitants live in the marshes, and their dwellings are of wood and reeds, built in the water. They make little use of walking in the city and the harbour, but sail up and down in dug-outs made from a single log, for canals are numerous. The waters which they drink are hot and stagnant, putrefied by the sun and swollen by the rains. The Phasis itself is the most stagnant and most sluggish of all rivers. The fruits that grow in this country are all stunted, flabby and imperfect, owing to the excess of water, and for this reason they do not ripen. Much fog from the waters envelops the land. For these causes, therefore, the physique of the Phasians is different from that of other folk. They are tall in stature, and of a gross habit of body, while neither joint nor vein is visible. Their complexion is yellowish, as though they suffered from jaundice. Of all men they have the deepest voice, because the air they breathe is not clear, but moist and turbid. They are by nature disinclined for physical fatigue. There are

καὶ διερχόμενοι πρὸς τε τὸ ταλαιπωρεῖν τὸ σῶμα ἀργότεροι πεφύκασιν· αἳ τε ὥραι οὐ πολὺ μεταλλάσσουσιν, οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πνίγιος, οὔτε πρὸς τὸ ψύχος· τὰ τε πνεύματα τὰ πολλὰ νότια, πλὴν αὐρῆς μιῆς ἐπιχωρίας· αὕτη δὲ πνέει ἐνίοτε βίαιος, καὶ χαλεπή, καὶ θερμή, καὶ Κέγχρονα ὀνομάζουσι τοῦτο τὸ πνεῦμα. Ὁ δὲ βορέης οὐ σφόδρα ἀφικνέεται· ὁκόταν δὲ πνέῃ, ἀσθενὴς καὶ βληχρὸς.

but slight changes of the seasons, either in respect of heat or of cold. The winds are mostly moist, except one breeze peculiar to the country, called “Kenchron”, which sometimes blows strong, violent and hot. The north wind rarely blows, and when it does it is weak and gentle.

Faithful echoes of this text appear only in modern times, in travel reports such as that of Jean Chardin (17th century):

pp. 154–55: L’air est assez tempéré pour le chaud et pour le froid. Il n’est point sujet aux orages, aux éclairs et au tonnerre. Il produit rarement la grêle; mais il est fort incommode et fort mauvais à cause de son extrême humidité; il y pleut presque continuellement. En été, l’humidité de la terre, échauffée par l’ardeur du soleil, infecte l’air, cause souvent la peste et toujours des maladies. Cet air est insupportable aux étrangers; il les accable, d’abord, d’une maigreur hideuse, et les rend, en un an de temps, jaunes, secs et débiles. Les naturels du pays en sont moins maltraités durant leur vie; mais il y en a peu qui la poussent à soixante ans. J’attribue à cette température d’air l’hydropisie, qu’on peut dire la maladie épidémique des Mingréliens, laquelle ils combattent non seulement par l’exercice continu qu’ils font à cheval, étant sans cesse par voies et par champs, sans s’arrêter plus de trois ou quatre jours en un lieu; mais aussi en mangeant beaucoup de sel et en se tenant toujours autour du feu. J’y attribue aussi la vermine dont le pays est fort affligé, tant les hommes que les bêtes. Les cochons, surtout, sont, pour la plupart, couverts de poux....

p. 158: ... Le terroir de la Colchide est mauvais et produit peu de sortes de grains et de légumes. Les fruits sont presque sauvages; ils n’ont point de goût; ils engendrent des maladies. Il en croît en Colchide de presque toutes les espèces que nous avons en France....

p. 160: Comme ces peuples sont paresseux et lâches au-delà de l’imagination, ils s’excitent et s’entretiennent à l’ouvrage en chantant et en hurlant si fort qu’ils s’entr’étourdissent.

(*Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, en Perse et autres lieux de l’Orient* [Paris 1811], vol. 1).

This Hippocratic image is confirmed by the realistic descriptions of 19th century. One may quote the precise description of Frédéric Dubois de Montpéroux:

p. 355: La mer lutte sans cesse contre l’embouchure des rivières, et forme en reculant petit à petit de longues barres sèches qui laissent derrière elles des bas-fonds moitié mer, moitié marais, sources de l’extrême insalubrité de ces climats. Pendant les chaleurs de l’été, ces bas-fonds marécageux s’échauffent et se corrompent à un point incroyable. Le vent de mer en emporte les exhalaisons dans l’intérieur du pays, et l’Européen ne résiste guère à cette infection mortelle. Quand le vent souffle de l’intérieur du pays, c’est alors que Poti et Redoute-Kalé souffrent.

(*Le Voyage autour du Caucase*, Paris, 1843, vol. 1)

Even Alexandre Dumas *père* went down to the river during the winter of 1858–59 and described the mouth of the Rioni like a landscape worthy of one of his novels:

Chapitre LVII, les Scopsis: ... Le Phase, à l'endroit où nous nous embarquions, était large à peu près comme la Seine au pont d'Austerlitz, mais sans aucune profondeur: de là vient la construction longue, étroite et plate des bateaux sur lesquels s'opère sa navigation. En outre, nous reconnûmes la vérité de ce que nous avaient dit les scopsis, en se refusant de marcher la nuit: de cent pas en cent pas, son cours est obstrué par quelques troncs d'arbres déracinés. Notre barque était montée de trois de ces condamnés; un se tenait au gouvernail, les deux autres aux avirons. De temps en temps, d'un bout à l'autre du bâtiment, ils échangeaient de leur voix grêle une parole languissante et retombaient dans un silence morne; pas une seule fois pendant toute la navigation un seul d'entre eux ne modula un son qui ressemblât à un chant. Dante a oublié ces bateliers-là dans son Enfer...

Chapitre LVIII, Route de Maranne à Cheïnskaïa: ... Sur un autre fleuve, nous aurions bu de l'eau, ce qui est toujours un topique pour l'estomac; mais l'eau du Phase est d'un jaune à dégoûter à tout jamais de l'eau de rivière. ... Le prince, que nous interrogeâmes, nous dit que, l'été, ces bois étaient magnifiques; seulement, ils sont pleins de larges flaques d'eau que les rayons du soleil ne peuvent tarir, n'arrivant pas jusqu'à elles. À chaque pas et de chaque buisson, on fait fuir des serpents noirs et verts, fort dangereux, à ce que l'on assure, et des troupeaux de daims, de sangliers et de chevreuils, que personne n'ose aller chasser, attendu que, pour les chasser, il faut braver à la fois la morsure de la fièvre et celle des serpents....

Chapitre LIX, Les bouches du Phase: ... Enfin, vers trois heures, à travers une immense ouverture du Phase, – depuis le matin le fleuve s'élargissait visiblement, – nous commençâmes d'apercevoir, non pas la plaine, mais un immense marais bordé de roseaux; si l'on ne voyait pas encore la mer, on en sentait au moins le voisinage. Nous tournâmes brusquement à gauche dans une espèce de canal qui contourne une île et qui met en communication les deux bras du Phase. Rien de plus charmant que ce canal, même en hiver, bordé qu'il est par des arbres d'une forme merveilleuse dont les branches se joignent en berceau au-dessus des barques qui passent...

Chapitre LX, Poti, ville et port de mer par oukase de l'empereur Alexandre II: ... Je ne sais pas ce qu'était le champ de Mars du temps de Jason; mais, aujourd'hui, c'est un marais de boue tremblante, où l'on risquerait de disparaître tout entier, si l'on restait seulement une demi-heure à la même place...

(*Voyage au Caucase* [Paris 1859])

Once again, although precise, Hippocrates' statements about life at the mouth of the Phasis-Rioni remained isolated in antiquity. Authors who had a more or less direct acquaintance with the region described the wetlands but emphasised its positive aspects, fitting the prestige of the mythical river lying at the end of the Archaic world.¹³ The description of the quality of the fresh water, in particular, marks a

¹³ For example Strabo 1. 3. 7: *περὶ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Φάσιδος ἢ Κολχικῆ παραλία διάμμος καὶ ταπεινὴ καὶ μαλακὴ οὖσα* / at the mouths of the Phasis, the Colchian seaboard, which is sandy, low-lying and

sharp contrast between the father of medicine, probably aware of the experiences of the earliest Milesian colonists in Colchis, and Roman military historians, directly involved into the administration of the empire. Both Arrian (*legatus Augusti pro praetore*, who sailed on the Phasis during his official inspection of the Roman troops in AD 131–132), and Procopius of Caesarea, assessor of the chief of the Roman armies, Belisarius, on the Persian front (*ca* AD 527–531 and 541), knew about the repulsive aspect of the stream charged with sediments, but they agreed on the excellence of this water that flows far into the sea, without mixing with the salty waves, because of its unusual density or speed:

Arrian *Periplus of the Euxine* 8 (transl. William Falconer 1805)
= Ps.-Arrian *Periplus of the Euxine Sea* 9v8–19 Diller = 47 Podossinov

... εἰς τὸν Φᾶσιν ..., ποταμῶν ὧν ἐγὼ ἔγνων
κουφότατον ὕδωρ παρεχόμενον καὶ τὴν χροιάν
μάλιστα ἐξηλλαγμένον. τὴν μὲν γὰρ κουφότητα
τῷ τε σταθμῷ τεκμαίροιο ἄντις, καὶ πρὸς
τούτου, ὅτι ἐπιπλεῖ τῇ θαλάσσῃ, οὐχὶ δὲ
συμμίγνυται, [...] καὶ ἦν κατὰ μὲν τοῦ
ἐπιπλέοντος βᾶψαντα γλυκὺ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀνιμήσασθαι,
εἰ δὲ εἰς βάθος τις καθῆκεν τὴν κάλπιν, ἄλμυρόν.
[...] ἡ δὲ χροία τῷ Φάσιδι οἷα ἀπὸ μολίβδου ἢ
καττιτέρου βεβαμμένου τοῦ ὕδατος· καταστάν δὲ
καθαρώτατον γίγνεται. οὐ τοίνυν νενόμισται
εἰσκομίσαι ὕδωρ εἰς τὸν Φᾶσιν τοὺς εἰσπλέοντας
εἰς αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴν εἰσβάλλωσιν ἥδη εἰς τὸν
ῥοῦν, παραγγέλλεται πᾶν ἐκχεῖν τὸ ἐνὸν ὕδωρ ἐν
ταῖς ναυσίν· εἰ δὲ μή, λόγος κατέχει ὅτι οἱ τούτου
ἁμελήσαντες οὐκ εὐπλοοῦσιν. τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ τοῦ
Φάσιδος οὐ σήπεται, ἀλλὰ μένει ἀκραιβνὲς καὶ
ὑπὲρ δέκατον ἔτος, πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι εἰς τὸ
γλυκύτερον μεταβάλλει.

the Phasis.... whose water is lighter in the balance, and more changeable in its colour, than any with which I am acquainted. Any person may satisfy himself of the superior lightness of this water by weighing it, or by observing that it floats on the surface of the sea without mingling with it. [...] The water of the Phasis, if you take it from the surface, is fresh; but if any one lets down a jar deep into the stream, he finds the water brackish. [...] The colour of the water of the Phasis resembles that of water impregnated with lead or tin; but on standing and depositing a sediment, it becomes perfectly pure. It is even provided by the law, that those who fail into the Phasis should not import any foreign water into the country; but as soon as they enter the stream, it is signified to them, that they should pour out what water is left in the ship; which if they neglect to do, the common opinion is that their future voyages will not be prosperous. The water of the Phasis does not corrupt by keeping, but continues free from any taint of this kind for more than ten years. The only change that takes place is, that it becomes sweeter than it was originally.

soft. Archaeological and geological investigation demonstrates that in ancient times the territory around Poti and other sites was wetland, marsh, etc. Thus, Greeks and locals had to adapt their way of life to the physical conditions (Tsetskhladze 1997a).

Procopius *Wars* 2. 30. 25–26.

ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς οὗτος βάθους μὲν εἴπερ τις ἄλλος
 ἱκανώτατα ἔχει, εὖρους δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκει.
 τῆς μέντοι ῥύμης αὐτοῦ τοσοῦτον περίεστιν ὥστε
 δὴ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκβαλὼν ἐπὶ μακρότατον
 κατὰ μόνας χωρεῖ, οὐδαμῇ ταύτῃ ἐπιμιγνύμενος.
 ὕδωρ ἀμέλει πότιμον τοῖς ἐκείνῃ ναυτιλλομένοις
 ὑδρεύεσθαι πάρεστιν ἐν μέσῳ πελάγει.

For in depth this river is not inferior to the deepest rivers, and it spreads out to a great width. Moreover it has such a strong current that when it empties into the sea, it goes on as a separate stream for a very great distance without mingling at all with the sea-water. Indeed, those who navigate in those parts are able to draw up drinking water in the midst of the sea.

How should we explain these differences between the most precise descriptions of the mouth of the Rioni and their limited, if not nil impact on the general knowledge about the river? Indeed, ancient authors lacked the methodological constraints of modern scientists: aware of the importance of autopsy and up-to-date information, most of the time they depended exclusively on the works available to their entourage. The results of direct explorations were not accepted if they did not fit the mental map, the narrative frame and the purposes of an author. In antiquity, there was no geographical exploration only for scientific purposes, no scientific revolution and no linear progress of knowledge. The fortune of geographical information was determined mainly by the history of the literary tradition and transmission and by the mechanisms of common sense, which selected empirical observations and developed logical conjectures, in agreement with a vague, flexible, but shared mental image of the Colchian Phasis. The result is a heterogeneous collection of poetical and historiographical representations, scattered throughout texts of different genres, epochs and cultural contexts, which was never accessible as a whole to an ancient mind, but which remains, in its main lines, faithful to the common opinion about the mythical space.

The Southern Phasis: The Aras, Kelkit, Çoruh and Other Cappadocian-Armenian-Colchian Rivers (Fig. 2)

For the modern reader, one of the main difficulties is to understand the ancient mental construct of river courses: how did the Greeks and Romans identify the main courses, their tributaries, distributaries and sources, and how did they invent the connections with other streams that flowed in distant spaces, but that were linked by human movements and landscape divisions? There is no evidence for an ancient attempt to explore the entire hydrographic basin of the Rioni; therefore, the syntheses of data collected from different local populations or participants in military expeditions were hazy and often contradictory. Moreover, they were spread

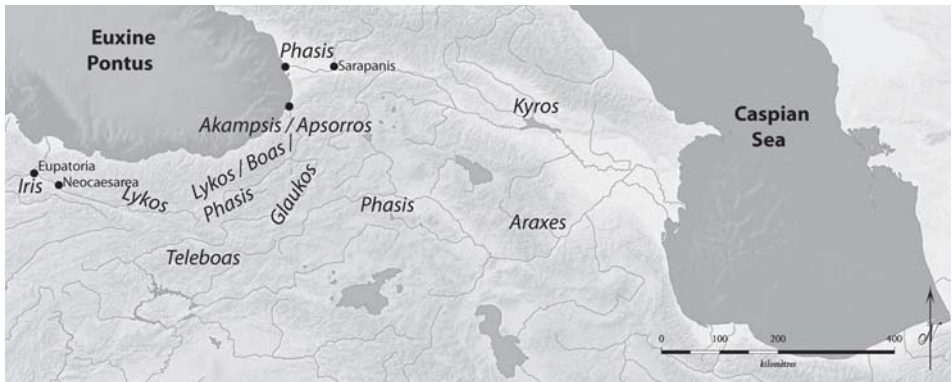


Fig. 2: 'Phasis' in the southern Caucasus.

throughout works by different authors who tried to establish some coherence between the elements at their disposal and who, as a result, constructed their own Phasis based on the empirical data available regarding the characteristics of the river as well as homonymies, analogies with other rivers, the consistency within the narratological frame and the aims of their stories.

The name of the Rioni itself, probably derived from a Caucasian name which also gave the Greek 'Ρίς and 'Ρέων and the Latin Surium, is attested for the middle course of the river in the second half of the 4th century BC by Ps.-Scylax (§80), in the 1st century AD by Pliny the elder (*NH* 2. 226, 6. 13), and in the first half of the 6th century AD by Procopius, who follows the geographical frames of Arrian from the 2nd century AD (*Wars* 8. 13. 3, 8. 14. 47). The identification 'Ρέων-Rioni seems certain, due to the mentions of Kotiaion/Kotais/Koitaion and Archaeopolis on its banks: in fact, if Kotiaion/Kotais (modern Kutaisi) is situated on the Rioni, Archaeopolis (modern Nokalakevi) is on the modern Tekhuri, a tributary of the Rioni, known in antiquity also by the names of Glaukos/Kyaneos, and which, together with the Hippos and the Phasis, would have isolated the Aia 'island' (i.e., the land encircled by waters) from the rest of Colchis.¹⁴ Neither Procopius, however, nor the authors mentioning the Glaukos/Kyaneos establish an explicit connection between these rivers and the Phasis.

¹⁴ Strabo 11. 2. 17, 11. 3. 4; Pliny *NH* 6. 13; Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Αἶζα; cf. Ptolemy *Geography* 5. 10. 2 (Map 3 of Asia; for the cartographic inaccuracy, see Tupikova and Geus 2015); Agathias 3. 19–21: see Kiessling 1914d; von Tischler 1977, 126; Braund 1994, *passim*. The relationship of the Glaukos/Kyaneos with the Katharos and the Dokonos (Agathias 2. 21. 10, 3. 7. 7) needs further clarification: see Herrmann 1936, followed by Talbert 2000 ('Map 87. Pontus-Phasis', by D. Braund and T. Sinclair, 'Map 88. Caucasia', by D. Braund); *contra* Kiessling 1913; Tomaschek 1905.

By contrast, at least three distinct rivers situated south of the Rioni were directly identified as the upper courses of the Phasis: the Phasis-Araxes (modern Aras) on the basis of its name; and the Lykos (modern Kelkit Çayı) and the Boas (modern Çoruh Nehri) because of their geographical conditions and historical functions.

The identification of rivers at the northern extremity of Media, on the slopes of the Caucasus, is mostly contradictory in Greek texts before the campaign of Pompey. Therefore, Araxes corresponds not only to the modern Araks/Aras/Araz (the river that divides Turkey, Armenia, Nakhichevan, Iran and Azerbaijan, and that flows into the modern Koura/ancient Kyros and through it into the Caspian Sea),¹⁵ but also to the Mt'k'vari/Kura/Kûr (called Kyros since Hellenistic times),¹⁶ Amu Darya (Oxus),¹⁷ Syr Darya (Jaxartes),¹⁸ and even to a lower part of the Don (Tanais) or the Volga (Oaros-Rha), which would have been imagined as connected to the Don-Tanais.¹⁹

Accordingly, for Xenophon (*Anabasis* 1. 4. 19), the Ἀράξης is a North Syrian tributary of the Euphrates, corresponding to the modern (K)Habur.²⁰ The Araks/Aras/Araz, running through the country of the Phasians, is called Phasis and marked the near end of the terrible trip of the Ten Thousand. Wider than one plethros (approximately 32 m) and followed by Xenophon's men over a length of about 35 parasangs (165 km), this river separated the snowy mountains of Armenia from the high plain of the Chalybes, the Taochoi and the Phasians (4. 6. 5, cf. 7. 8. 25). The name of Φασσιανή/Βασσιανή ('Basean' in the Armenian texts attributed to Ananias of Širak)²¹ is still preserved today in the toponym Pasinler (in the Turkish district of Erzurum).²² Xenophon, the other authors of *Anabaseis* who could have served as sources to Diodorus Siculus (14. 29), as well as all of their readers of whom we have but mere echoes (such as Constantinus Porphyrogenetus: *On the Administration of the Empire* 45) never doubted that this part of the Aras/Araks was the real Phasis (of the Argonauts and the Greek colonists on the eastern shore of the Pontus), even though the Phasians lived apart from the Pontic Colchians, inland beyond the Macrons (Xenophon: *Anabasis* 4. 8. 9, 4. 8. 22, 5. 2. 1, 5. 3. 2, 5. 7. 2, 7. 8. 25; Diodorus Siculus 14. 29. 6, 14. 30. 3).

¹⁵ Cf. Kiessling 1914b; Tomaschek 1895b; Kuklina 1983; Müller 1997, 99.

¹⁶ Weissbach 1924.

¹⁷ Herrmann 1942.

¹⁸ Herrmann 1914.

¹⁹ Herrmann 1932; 1937; Kiessling 1914c. Cf. Podossinov forthcoming.

²⁰ Tomaschek 1895c; Bernard 1997.

²¹ See Hewsen 1992, geographical index 'Basean' and 'Vanand'.

²² See Hewsen 1983, 131–43; 2001, map 17 and commentary *ad loc.* Cf. Honigman 1935, 21; Sagona 1999; 2004; Lendle 1995, 250–53.

This extension of the Colchians along the southern shore of the Black Sea through the territories of Trapezous and Kerasous (the colonies of the Sinopeans),²³ made Apollonius of Rhodes imagine, more than a century later, another link between the Araxes (probably identified with the modern Aras) and the Phasis-Rioni:

Apollonius of Rhodes *Argonautica* 4. 131–135.

ἔκλυον οἱ καὶ πολλὸν ἑκάς Τιτηνίδος Αἴης /
Κολχίδα γῆν ἐνέμοντο παρὰ προχοῇσι Λύκοιο, /
ὅς τ' ἀποκιδνάμενος ποταμοῦ κελάδοντος
'Αράξεω / Φάσιδι συμφέρεται ἱερὸν ῥόον, οἱ δὲ
συνάμφω / Καυκασίην ἄλαδ' εἰς ἓν ἐλαυνόμενοι
προρέουσιν

Those heard it who dwelt in the Colchian land
very far from Titanian Aea, / near the outfall of
Lykos, / the river which parts from loud-roaring
Araxes / and blends his sacred stream with Phasis,
and they twain / flow on together in one and
pour their waters into the Caucasian Sea.

The Lykos is usually identified with the Kelkit Çayı, lying on the edges of the ancient Colchis and Armenia, mainly on the basis of its etymology and approximate geographical situation. This corresponds to the description of Strabo (Strabo 12. 3. 15, 30; Plutarch *Lucullus* 15; Pliny *NH* 6. 8–10): the Kelkit Çayı runs from east to west through the plain of Phanaroia and the territory of Kabeira/Diospolis/Sebaste/Neocaesarea (modern Niksar) and flows into the Yeşilirmak (ancient Iris) at the level of the ancient Eupatoria/Magnopolis.²⁴ It is in reality formed by two main tributaries, the Koşmasat Çayı, coming from the mountains at the frontier between the modern provinces of Gümüşhane and Bayburt, and the Çömlcek Deresi, running north from the frontier between the modern provinces of Gümüşhane and Erzincan. How could this river be represented by Apollonios as a distributary of the Araxes and a tributary of the Phasis? Apollonios probably never referred to the Kelkit Çayı but rather to another course flowing into a river called Phasis. Judging by Ptolemy (*Geography* 5. 6. 7) who presents the Lykos as the tributary of the Apsorros along with the Glaukos (modern Oltu Çay), this watercourse should correspond to the Çoruh Nerhi.

In the 6th century AD, Procopius of Caesarea (*Wars* 8. 2. 1) calls the upper course of the Çoruh Nerhi 'Boas' and its lower course 'Akampsis': the first name is local and attested as 'Voh' in the Armenian texts attributed to Ananias of Širak.²⁵ Procopius related the second Greek name to the inflexibility of the river, which flowed into the Euxine Pontus with such strength that ships were forced to avoid the coast – an observation that recalls Procopius' description of the Phasis (*Wars*

²³ For the identification of Xenophon's Kerasous, see Dan 2009, 654–58.

²⁴ Ruge 1916; 1927; von Tischler 1977, 67, 92–93; Olshausen and Biller 1984, 27–54; Bryer and Winfield 1985, 107–10, 118.

²⁵ See Hewsens 1992, geographical index 'Voh'.

2. 30. 25–26, quoted above). In fact, the southernmost of the two arms through which the Çoruh Nerhi flowed into the sea was called Apsorros/Apsaros/Absyrτος, like the nearby port and fortress associated with the mythical place of Medea's fratricide (modern Gonio).²⁶ The hydronym Boas, however, is also said by Procopius to correspond to part of the upper course of the Phasis-Rioni: it must have flowed from the south to the north and, changing its direction in order to pour into the deepest eastern gulf of the Euxine Pontus, it would have become navigable and changed its name from Boas to Phasis (*Wars* 2. 29. 14, 16; cf. 1. 15. 21, 2. 30. 36–37, 8. 2. 2–9). Or, if, for Procopius, the Phasis-Rioni became navigable at the level of the fortress of Sarapanis (as was the case for Ps.-Scylax and Strabo – see below), and if he supposed any link between the Boas-Phasis and the Boas-Akampsis (which, in this case, would be the same river and not only an homonym), then this connection should correspond to an imaginary water channel, in fact one of the passes of the Southern Caucasus. The Zekari Pass is situated amidst the Kershaveti and the Khanistskali/Chanisqzqali rivers, tributaries of the Phasis-Rioni flowing to the north-west, the Kvabliani river tributary (through the Potskhovistskali river) of the Kyros-Mtkvari flowing to the east, and the Acharis-Tskali river, tributary of the Boas/Akampsis-Çoruh, flowing to the south-west. Accordingly, for Procopius, it would not have been impossible to imagine a Boas river, as a segment of the Phasis, which would have linked not only the Çoruh and the Rioni, but also the Kyros-Mtkvari (and, implicitly, its tributary Araxes/Araxes). Moreover, other 'Caucasian/Caspian Gates' offered shortcuts for the passages of the southern Caucasus, between rivers that could have been associated with the Phasis (flowing into the Pontus) and those associated with the Kyros and the Araxes (flowing into the Caspian Sea). The Surami Pass, for example, dominated by the Sarapanis fortress, marks the place where the Suramula and Kvabiskhevi, tributaries of the Kyros-Mtkvari, are close to the Barimela, the Sakraula, the Shavi-Tskali and Ch'kherimela rivers, which belong to the hydrographic basin of the Phasis-Rioni. Strabo (11. 3. 4–5) mentions this path as the first access to Iberia from Colchis. Yet there were other possible passages between the upper basins of the Phasis-Rioni and Kyros-Mtkvari, like the one located further to the north-east at the Jvari Pass.²⁷

Accordingly, through Procopius' references to the Boas, we can explain how Apollonios of Rhodes could refer to a Lykos river – the same as Ptolemy's Lykos – as a channel between the Phasis and the Araxes: his sources, just like those of Procopius, could have mentioned a path following the valleys of the Lykos-Çoruh, Phasis-Rioni and Araxes-Mtkvari. However, a more southern connection between

²⁶ Tomaschek 1894b; 1895a; Kacharava and Kvirkveliya 1991, 30–32; Tsetskhladze 1999, 87–98.

²⁷ See Lordkipanidze 2002; Talbert 2000 ('Map 88. Caucasasia', by D. Braund).

the Lykos-Kelkit and the Araxes-Aras was also possible. South from the Koşmasat Çayı (tributary of the Kelkit Çayı mentioned above), in the region of the modern village of Gökçedere, lies the source of the Pulus Deresi that flows to the east through Bayburt and forms the Çoruh Nehri after the confluence with the Sakızlı Deresi. This river flows from west to east until the region of Pasinler, where its tributary, the Oltu Çayı (Ptolemy's Glaukos), comes close to Xenophon's Phasis (the modern Aras – as recorded above) as well as to the Upper Euphrates.²⁸ Accordingly, this Lykos-Çoruh could have been presented as a link between Xenophon's Phasis and Araxes (as defined above).

This identification of Apollonius' Lykos – the Çoruh Nehri – with Strabo's Lykos – the Kelkit Çayı – was certainly made by the scholiast who added here the parallel identification of the Thermodon (modern Terme Çayı), flowing east of the Iris (modern Yeşilirmak) into the Black Sea, with the Araxes, the 'Scythian' river flowing into the Caspian, as described in the lost work devoted by Metrodoros of Scepsis to the king Tigran of Armenia (184 F 1).²⁹ In this case, no significant path unified the Pontic valley of the Terme Çayı with a Caspian river: however, this east-west construction of the Thermodon seems to go back to Eratosthenes. It is therefore possible that this identification was based on the confusion with the corridor of the southern Caucasian passes assigned by Apollonios to his Lykos; Strabo himself affirms that Eratosthenes took the Lykos to be the Thermodon.³⁰ He must have had a strong mythological reason for doing so: this Thermodon-Araxes would have been the axis of the land of the Amazons, occupying not only the plain of Themiskyra in the south of the Black Sea but also the valley of the Araxes-Syr-Darya, north of which lived the Massagetai of Tomiris in historical times (Herodotus 1. 212–214). Together, these identifications based on homonymies or other mythical and historical associations reinforced the tradition of the 'Phasis rivers' as a crossing path between the Taurus and the Caucasus, the Pontus and the Caspian.³¹

²⁸ In the region of Sadak (ancient Satala), several kilometers south from the Çömlecik Deresi, flows the Dereyurdu Deresi, a tributary of the Kara Su, which is the so-called Western Euphrates. This proximity reminds us that Pliny the Elder mentioned the Lycus not only as the Kelkit Çayı (*NH* 6. 8–10), but also as a tributary of the Euphrates-Arsanias (modern Murat Su, which merges into the Kara Su, *cf.* 5. 84, and may be identified, at least partly, with the ancient Teleboas). One could think that this is the reason why Lycus is mentioned by Pliny the Elder as one of the Asiatic rivers whose courses are partially underground (*NH* 2. 225): this final Lycus, however, must be totally different from the homonymous tributary of the Maiandros; *cf.* Ruge 1927.

²⁹ Eratosthenes (*cf.* III B 84 Berger = book 3 fr. 119 *apud* Strabo 11. 14. 7) could have offered a ground for this thesis.

³⁰ For the ancient sources on the Thermodon, see Dan 2015. The most precise descriptions of the Roman and Byzantine paths are given by Bryer and Winfield 1985, 17–65.

³¹ The problem of the mountains where the Phasis originates must be treated apart: unlike from the 19th century onwards, mountain ranges in antiquity were defined not only on geographical but

The Northern Phasis: Kuban, Sochi and the Hybris (Fig. 3)

To cross from the Pontus to the Caspian Sea (and therefore from Greece/Scythia/Europe to the realm of the Medes/Asia: Herodotus 1. 104), it was possible to take two major routes, one on each side of the Caucasus. The southern path (judging by the orientation of the Caucasus on our modern maps), also the shortest, followed the Colchian Phasis, crossed the Caucasus mountains (also called Kaspios by Eratosthenes, III A 34, III B 65 Berger = book 3 fr. 52 Roller *apud* Strabo 2. 1. 39) through one of the many 'Caspian Gates', and continued through the land of the Sapeires along the Kyros river (modern Mr'k'vari/Kura/Kûr) to the Caspian Sea. Although probably ignored in detail by people from the Mediterranean, this network of passages is mentioned throughout antiquity: Xenophon hoped to have found it when meeting the Phasians (*Anabasis* 4. 6. 5, 5. 6. 37, see above); Alexander the Great would have included it in a direct highway spanning from India to the Black Sea, and Pompey would later have walked in his steps.³² Different estimations are known for some segments of its length: the Phasis-Rioni was navigable upstream for 180 stadia (Ps.-Scylax §81). The route from the point where the navigation on the Phasis ceased – at Sarapanis (modern Shorapani) – to the Kyros river took four days in the time of Strabo (11. 2. 17, *cf.* 11. 3. 4) and no more than five days according to the source of Pliny the Elder (*NH* 6. 52); Strabo (11. 1. 5), who seems to have followed a common opinion, maybe going back to Eratosthenes, obtained the sum of 3,000 stadia from one sea to the other, just as between the Pontus and the eastern Mediterranean through the Cappadocian isthmus (III A 2 Berger = book 3 fr. 47 Roller *apud* Strabo 2. 1. 3). Poseidonius, who preferred the equation with the isthmus between Pelusium and the Red Sea and with that between the Maeotis and the Caspian, reduced this distance by half, manifestly without taking into consideration the experience of his own student, Pompey.

The second northern route, crossing the isthmus between the Maeotis (at the mouth of the Pontus) and the Caspian, was said by Herodotus (6. 84) to have been much longer: the route was taken by the Scythians who left the Caucasus to their

also on historical, ethnographical and political grounds. Under these conditions, the various mountains associated with the source of the Phasis (the Caucasus for Aristotle *Meteorologica* 1. 13 350a; the mysterious Amarantian mountains, whose name should be associated with a local name, for Ctesias fr. 94 Müller *apud Schol. ad Apol. Rhod.* 2. 399–401a and Apollonius of Rhodes 3. 1219–1220; the Armenian mountains for Eratosthenes III B 75 Berger = book 3 fr. 120 Roller *apud Schol. ad Apol. Rhod.* 2. 399–401a, Strabo 11. 2. 17, 11. 14. 7, Procopius *Wars* 1. 15. 21; the Moschian mountains for Solinus 15. 19 after Pliny *NH* 6. 13) do not help in the identification of the real river course; instead, they participate, in the same manner as rivers do, in the different mental constructions of the region.

³² Strabo 11. 3. 4–5; Appian *Mithridatica* 103; Solinus 19. 5. *Cf.* Strabo 2. 1. 39 for Eratosthenes and Hipparchos who used these references for determining their meridians; Polybius 5. 55. 7; Dionysius of Alexandria 689.



Fig. 3: 'Phasis' in the northern Caucasus.

right when descending to Asia by following their Phasis.³³ This 'Scythian', northern Phasis fits several other references to a Phasis that could not be identified with the Rioni. Thus, the name Arcturus, the Latin equivalent of the Greek north-eastern wind Boreas (Ps.-Plutarch *On Rivers* 5. 1), hardly corresponds to the subtropical climate of the mouth of the Rioni on the Black Sea.³⁴ Actually, for Herodotus (3. 97), Boreas was associated with the space beyond the Caucasus, the European North that did not belong to the Asiatic Persians (*cf.* 1. 104, 4. 12; and Mela 1. 109; Pliny *NH* 6. 15, 6. 28–29).³⁵ If the mythical Phasis were to be identified with a real north-eastern river, the division between Europe and Asia would better fit all of the evidence concerning the North Caucasian regions: the high ranges (Caucasus and Taurus) remain in Asia, while the northern steppes belong to Europe. The Cimmerian Bosphorus remains the end of the Pontus, opposed to the Thracian Bosphorus situated on the same meridian as the Nile. This opposition between the two

³³ *Cf.* Ivantchik 1999b.

³⁴ The tradition of a cold Phasis goes back to Pindar *Isthmian Ode* 2 and can be explained by its opposition to the Nile: *cf.* in the Latin tradition, Valerius Flaccus 1. 43–44, Lucan 2. 585; Statius *Silvae* 2. 4. 27; *Thebais* 12. 181–182; Seneca *Natural Questions* 4a. 2. 20.

³⁵ For the political construction of Asia in Hecataeus of Miletus, see Tozzi 1963.

Bosporus straits appears clearly in the 4th century AD in Ammianus Marcellinus' interpretation of the Euxine Pontus' association with the form of a Scythian bow (22. 8. 10–43): unlike Dionysius of Alexandria (156–162), who extended the cord of the bow along the Asiatic coast of the Black Sea between Byzantium and Phasis (following the tradition of the Phasis as the easternmost point of the interior sea, criticised by Strabo 11. 2. 15–16 above), Ammianus leant towards Crimea and the Cimmerian Bosporus and identified the two round parts of the Scythian bow with the two European gulfs at the mouths of the Borysthenes and the Istros.³⁶ Moreover, on the scale of the inhabited world, the Cimmerian Bosporus forms a perfect pair with the Pillars of Heracles (modern Gibraltar),³⁷ just like Atlas bearing the celestial vault faces his brother, Prometheus, on the Laconian cup of Arkesilas (Vatican Museum 16 592, found in Cerveteri and dating to the middle of the 6th century BC). The Tanais was the perfect continuation of the line separating Europe and Asia, from Gibraltar through the Black Sea straits and the Maeotis (considered as a pond on the flow of the river, upstream from its mouth that corresponded to the Cimmerian Bosporus).³⁸ This symmetry is not broken when situating the frontier between the two parts of the world along the Phasis, that is, if this Phasis is a north-eastern river, like the Kuban that was known in antiquity, only from Aristotle onwards, under the names of Hypanis, Antikeites, 'the one that is across/in front of/on the opposite side of' the Bosporus (in Strabo 11. 2. 5), and Saranges (in the *Orphic Argonautica* 1050–1054).

Three types of evidence point to this identification: the new reading of several Archaic and Classical texts concerning the limit of Europe and Asia and the relationship between the Maeotis and the Phasis; the reinterpretation of an inscription on a silver cup discovered in the Kuban region in a context five centuries later than its fabrication; the geo-archaeological reconstruction of the landscape at the mouth of the Kuban river, lying between the Sea of Azov, the Black Sea and the Caucasus.

Among the texts that indirectly suggest the identification of the Phasis with a major North Caucasian river like the Kuban, one counts, besides Herodotus (above), Hecataeus of Miletus and Aeschylus. The *Periodos*, written by Hecataeus of Miletus at the end of the 6th century BC in the form of two books, Europe and Asia, to suggest a bipartite world,³⁹ is now lost, and its modern editors – including Felix Jacoby – had the greatest difficulties to justify Hecataeus' division between Europe and Asia, which correspond neither to the Tanais nor to the Phasis-Rioni (following

³⁶ Dan 2013b.

³⁷ Cf. Panchenko 2005 with Dan *et al.* 2016; cf. also Musbakhova 2015.

³⁸ For example, in Arrian *Periplus of the Black Sea* 19; Ps.-Arrian *Periplus of the Black Sea* 43–50 Müller = 10r26–12r20 Diller = 71–79 Podossinov). Cf. Podossinov 2015.

³⁹ *Contra* Zimmerman 1997; Arana 1996. See also Dan 2009, 332–44.

the alternative attested by Herodotus 4. 45, *cf.* Procopius *Wars* 8. 6. 1–15; *On Buildings* 6. 1. 7). In fact, both Bosphorus straits appear half European and half Asiatic: on the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the Sindike, the Gulf of Apatouron, Phanagoria, Patrasys, perhaps the mysterious Krossa (if identified with Ptolemy's Gerousa, in *Geography* 5. 9. 4), and the Scythian/Sarmatian-Maeotian peoples of Iamai and Ixibatai (1 F 211–216) were all located in Asia. Yet the Caucasian foothills were divided between Europe and Asia: the Dandarioi and the Tipanissai (1 F 191–192) were in Europe, while the Koloï lived on the Asiatic skirts of the Caucasus (1 F 209) towards the Koraxoi (1 F 210) and the Colchians.⁴⁰ The Dandarioi were associated with other Sindian people in inscriptions of the Bosporan kingdom, from the 4th century BC onwards;⁴¹ they must have lived on the banks of the Hypanis river, because Strabo (11. 2. 11) wrote that Pharnaces, the son of Mithradates VI, had inundated their lands by manipulating the waters of the river. This river is probably also mentioned by Tacitus (*Annals* 12. 15, 16), under the name of Panda (<*Υπανιδα), separating the Dandari from the Siraci, in the context of the Roman intervention against Mithradates VIII of Bosphorus in AD 49. The second people from the edges of Europe in Hecataeus' *Periodos*, the Tipanissai, are not known from other sources. Their ethnic name, however, recalls the same Hypanis river, which is attested as the limit between Europe and Asia by C. Cornelius Gallus (a Latin poet of Augustan times and first prefect of Egypt after the defeat of Cleopatra, quoted by a 3rd-century AD Latin author Vibius Sequester).⁴² Taking into consideration the fragments of Hecataeus, the river could have played this same role well before.⁴³

⁴⁰ *Cf.*, for example, Ps.-Scylax (§ 78–79 = Ps.-Arrian 10r7–9 Diller, quoting Ps.-Scymnus 925–937 Diller = fr. 20 Marcotte, and Arrian *Periplus of the Black Sea* 11); Pomponius Mela 1. 111; Pliny *NH* 6. 15; Hippolytus of Rome *Chronikon* § 80 Helm = Epiphanius *Ancoratus* 113. 5 Holl, etc.

⁴¹ Inscriptions concerning Satyros I: *CIRB* 6, 6a, 1037, 1038; see 1014 for his son and successor, Pairisades.

⁴² 77: *Hypanis, Scythiae, qui ut ait Gallus / 'uno tellures diuidit amne duas'. / Asiam enim ab Europa separat.* This second Hypanis, different from the European Hypanis-Bug, must have also been mentioned by Gallus' younger contemporary and elegiac competitor, Propertius, as a river of the north-east (1. 12. 4: *quantum Hypanis Veneto dissidet Eridano; pace* Álvarez-Pedrosa Núñez 2005). This river was famous enough to be the subject of a statement made by Pliny the Elder (*NH* 4. 83) against those who believed in the existence of an Asiatic Hypanis (*cf.* 4. 84, 4. 88, 11. 120, 31. 56; Solinus §14; Martianus Capella 6. 663). Cicero (*Tusculanes* 1. 94) makes the error of ascribing Aristotle's statements about the Hypanis-Kuban to the European Hypanis (*History of the Animals* 552b). Ammianus Marcellinus (22. 8. 26) could also reflect a mixture of information when pretending that Panticapaeum, lying on the European shore of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, was surrounded (*perstringit*) by the Hypanis. For an overview of sources, see Kiessling 1914a; Schramm 1973, 166–76; Aalto and Pekkanen 1975, 255–58, *s.v.* For its mention in Cornelius Gallus, see Korenjak 2002; *contra* Boucher 1966, 83–84; Fedeli 1980, 291; Barchiesi 1981, 165; Cairns 2011.

⁴³ The hypothesis was already presented by von Scheliha 1931, 34–35; Elnitskii 1961, 13–14; Vinogradov 1974; Musbakhova 2014.

The evidence is garbled because the ancient name of Hypanis corresponded not only to the modern Bug (as attested first by Herodotus) but also to the Kuban river (from Aristotle *History of the Animals* 522b, onwards). Alexander Polyhistor (a Milesian scholar who had an important impact on the Roman authors writing Greek stories in Rome in the 1st century BC) mentioned a Hypanis river that flowed in both the Pontus and the Maeotis (273 F 17). Latin poets, like modern philologists, supposed that Polyhistor imagined the flow of the Bug crossing the European steppe north of Crimea/Taurike, somehow dividing Europe, which remained to the south-west, from Asia to the north-east: an absurd image that would prove the lack of reliable information and geographical common sense in late-Hellenistic compilations. However, the reference of Polyhistor makes sense if it is related to the Kuban river, flowing to the south of the Maeotis and through the newly discovered 'Kuban Bosphorus' to the Pontus (see below). From east to west, this river cuts the North Caucasian isthmus, which was itself identified as a crossing-point from Europe to Asia, probably by Eratosthenes.⁴⁴ In fact, the isthmus of the Kuban, between the Caspian Sea and the Pontus, could have been regarded as the northern limit of Asia, just like the isthmus of Pelusium between the Red Sea/Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean was the southern limit.

Therefore, one can assume that Hecataeus separated Europe from Asia through the north Caucasian isthmus and, probably, through the river crossing it. This river could have been called or somehow associated with the Phasis, considered as the most ancient frontier and associated with the Pontic-Caspian isthmus, either south or north of the Caucasus.⁴⁵ Of course, this is only a logical deduction on the basis of indirect proofs. We have no direct literary evidence for a connection between the Phasis and the Hypanis in Greek antiquity (if this was indeed the name of the Kuban before the end of the Classical period), unlike the evidence for the Tanais, about which Hecataeus of Teos/Abdera (more probably than Hecataeus of Miletus) said that it would have taken its source from the Araxes (probably identified with the Volga, flowing into the Caspian Sea).⁴⁶ A fragment of Aeschylus' tragedy *Prometheus*

⁴⁴ Eratosthenes' *Geography* is lost today, but we know that this text was used in the Aristotelian text *De mundo* (393b) from the 1st century BC as well as in the *Periegesis* of Dionysius of Alexandria (20–22) from the 2nd century AD: both texts attest to this frontier between Europe and Asia. In fact, this must have been exactly the frontier between the two main parts of the known world for Hecataeus of Miletus.

⁴⁵ For example, by Agathemerus (*Sketch of Geography* §3): 'Ἀσίας δὲ καὶ Εὐρώπης οἱ μὲν ἀρχαῖοι Φᾶσιν ποταμὸν καὶ τὸν ἕως Κασπίας ἰσθμὸν, οἱ δὲ ὕστερον (νεώτεροι) Μαίῳτιν λίμνην καὶ Τάναιν ποταμὸν.

⁴⁶ 1 F 195 and 264 F 13 in Ps.-Arrian §49 Müller = Diller 11v30 = fr. 78 Podossinov, from Ps.-Scymnus 868–870 Müller = fr. 15b Marcotte; if here Ps.-Scymnus, who must be identified with Apollodoros of Athens, was still following Ephoros, as in its previous quotation for the description of the Scythian tribes (70 F 158), and if the inventor of the Tanais-Araxes connection was Hecataeus, this can

Unbound, as reconstructed by H.J. Mette, however, could have associated the two rivers Phasis and Tanais as a common frontier between Europe and Asia: πῆι μὲν διδυμον χθονὸς Εὐρώπης μέγαν ἤδ' Ἀσίας τέρμονα Φᾶσιν <Τάναιν τε (?) ...> (fr. 322 Mette).⁴⁷ But this artificial construction should be rejected on two philological grounds: firstly, it is based on an uncritical synthesis of two contradictory testimonies. The first tradition, represented by Arrian (*Periplus of the Black Sea* §19) and his reader, Procopius (*History of the Wars* 8. 6. 15), states that the Phasis was for Aeschylus the limit between Europe and Asia. The second tradition, in the anonymous *scholia* to the *Periegesis* of Dionysius of Alexandria (verse 10), assumes what looks like a contradictory opinion: Αἰσχύλος δὲ ἐν Προμηθεῖ λυομένῳ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Σκύθαις ὑπὸ τούτου διορίζεσθαί φησι τὰς ἡπείρους ('Aeschylus in the *Prometheus Unbound* and Sophocles in *The Scythians* [fr. 548 Pearson] say that the parts of the word are divided by this one [i.e., the Tanais]'). Karl Müller corrected the scholiast, supposing a 'saut du meme au même' in the manuscript tradition: the original explanation, perhaps also dependent on the quotation in Arrian (who established a divergence from the current opinion according to which the Tanais was the limit, while Aeschylus pretended that it was the Phasis), would have claimed that not the Tanais, but the Phasis, was considered by Aeschylus and Sophocles as a frontier: ὑπὸ τούτου] *olim scriptum fuerit* οὐχ ὑπὸ τούτου, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τούτου Φάσιδος; *nam Aeschylum in Prometheo Phasim Asiae et Europae terminum posuisse ex Arriani Periplo constat*.⁴⁸ Although coherent with Arrian and Procopius, this conjecture goes against the manuscript tradition and must be considered as nothing more than a hypothesis. The second argument for rejecting Mette's reconstruction of Aeschylus' fragment is the prosody: the quotation of Arrian contains four anapaestic dimeters, usually contained in a *parodos* (which corresponds to Procopius' statement that they were originally situated at the beginning of the tragedy): τοὺς σοὺς ἄθλους τούσδε, Προμηθεῦ, / — — — — uu — (SS DS) / δεςμου τε πάθος τόδ' ἐποψόμενοι / — — uu— uu— uu— (SA AA) // πῆι μὲν διδυμον χθονὸς Εὐρώπης / — — uu— uu— — — (SA AS) // μέγαν ἤδ' Ἀσίας τέρμονα Φᾶσιν / uu— uu— —uu — — (AA DS). The reconstruction of Mette implies that the verses were anapaestic pentameters, but of a lesser quality, because the name of Prometheus, split between two lines by verbal synapheia, prohibits the usual pause; also, with this conjecture, there are fewer metrical symmetries and stichometric parallelisms to establish with the *Prometheus Bound*.⁴⁹

only be the archaic logographer of Miletus. It is more probable, however, to suppose that this link, also attested in Aristotle *Meteorologica* 1. 13 350a, was invented in the context of Alexander's campaigns.

⁴⁷ Mette 1959, fr. 322a–b–c; 1963, 21–22. Cf. Bianchetti 1988, 213.

⁴⁸ *Geographi Graeci Minores* II, p. 431 *ad Scholia eis Dionysion* 10.

⁴⁹ West 1979. I am grateful to Anne-Iris Muñoz and Anne-Catherine Baudoin for all of the information provided on this point.

Rejecting the reconstruction that associates the Phasis and the Tanais as limits between the two parts of the world in one verse (as in the *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* of Stefan Radt, fr. 191) does not mean, however, that the testimony of the scholiast of Dionysius Periegetes on the splitting role of the Tanais should be also rejected.⁵⁰ In the preserved tragedy *Prometheus Bound*, Aeschylus situates the Cimmerian Bosphorus between Europe and Asia (732–735); accordingly, the assumption that he would have assigned this function to the Tanais in the *Prometheus Unbound* is coherent with the geographical representation of the *Prometheus Bound*, because the Greeks perceived the Cimmerian Bosphorus as the continuation of the Tanais at the other extremity of the Maeotis. Herodotus describes this frontier line by the succession Τάναϊν ποταμὸν τὸν Μαιήτην καὶ Πορθμήϊα τὰ Κιμμέρια λέγουσι (4. 45).⁵¹ Moreover, at different moments, the river's course has been inflected to come either from the Caucasus (and being, accordingly, close to the Phasis),⁵² or from the Rhiphaeans (eventually near the Istros/Danube). If one assumes that Aeschylus' Phasis was also somehow related to the Cimmerian Bosphorus, as Tanais was, there is no contradiction between these testimonies.

This connection could be suggested by the comparison of Aeschylus' two Pontic *periploi* known today: in *Prometheus Unbound*, the itinerary of the Titans starts in Aethiopia and the Red Sea (fr. 323 Mette in Strabo 1. 2. 27) and goes through the land of the Heniochoi (fr. 331a–b in Pausanias the Athenian and Hesychios s.v.) from the Caucasus (fr. 321 Mette in Cicero *Tusculanes* 2. 23–26) to the Phasis (in fr. 322 Mette discussed above); in *Prometheus Bound*, Io is said to follow the shores of Europe from the Nomad Scythians. But the poet mirrors the Asiatic shores on the European ones and lists the Chalybes, the Hybristes river, the Caucasus mountains and the country of the Amazons, up to the Cimmerian Bosphorus (707–735). On the contrary, Asia is left to the mythical monsters (790–815). The identification of the Hybristes is not obvious: the scholiasts saw here the Araxes on the basis of the etymology of the epithet – as referring to the violence of the flows – and of the hydronym itself.⁵³ If this is the case, the Araxes could correspond to the northern

⁵⁰ The reference of the scholiast to Sophocles' *Scythians* cannot be evaluated because there is no other mention of the Tanais in the preserved texts of Sophocles. The Argonauts, mentioned in this tragedy, would not have travelled on the Tanais, but rather on the same path as when they came to Colchis (*Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod.* 4. 284).

⁵¹ For the ancient references to the Tanais, see Herrmann 1932; Schramm 1973, 176–90; Aalto and Pekkanen 1975, s.v. Tanais, 202–10.

⁵² For example, Theophrastus of Mytilene 188 F 3 *apud* Strabo 11. 2. 2 (*cf.* Strabo 2. 4. 5–6); Dionysius Periegetes 663; Avienus *Description of the World* 851–855; Ammianus Marcellinus 22. 8. 7.

⁵³ *Cf. Schol. ad Prom. Vi.* 717–719: ἤξεις δ' ὕβριστήν: Ὑβριστὴν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἀραξίν φησι. Ἀραξίς δὲ λέγεται παρὰ τὸ ἀράσσειν καὶ ἡχεῖν τὰ κύματα αὐτοῦ· τῷ γὰρ ὀνόματι τούτου καὶ ἡ πρᾶξις ἐστὶ συνᾶδουσα. τοῦτο γὰρ δηλοῖ τὸ 'οὐ ψευδώνυμον'· ἥτοι 'οὐ μάτην λέγεται Ἀραξίς'. ὃν μὴ περάσσης (δύσκολος γὰρ καὶ οὐκ εὐβάτῳς ἐστὶ περᾶσθαι) πρὶν ἂν μόλης καὶ παραγενήσῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν

course of the Volga in the steppes of the Sauromatian Amazons. The re-inversed periplographic order of text, however, suggests that for Aeschylus, this Hybristes river could have been the Phasis in Colchis or a part of its course. The violence of the current corresponds to the descriptions of the South Caucasian rivers, difficult to traverse, with waters that do not mix with the sea.⁵⁴ At the same time, however, the intimate association with the Caucasus near the Cimmerian Bosphorus could indicate the Kuban,⁵⁵ or even the Tanais, especially if this was thought to originate in the Caucasus (like or through the Araxes-Volga).⁵⁶

Nonetheless, the epithet 'Hybristes' does not only refer to the physical characteristics of the flow, but it also recalls the legends related to the river: these may concern Prometheus' opposition to Zeus' *δίκη* through *ὑβρις*, Medea's fratricide of Absyrtos,⁵⁷ or the etiology of the Phasis-Arcturus as a river that was named after Phasis, son of the Sun and the nymph Okyrrhoe, who killed his mother before killing himself. This last explanation was associated by Ps.-Plutarch with legendary trials by ordeal: adulterous people would have been thrown in the Phasis in the Mouth of the Impious (*Στόμιον τῶν ἀσεβῶν*), and their bodies would have resurfaced, 30 days later, in the Maeotis. The direct connection between the Phasis-Hybristes and the Maeotis (reminiscent of the 30 days of land travel already mentioned by Herodotus 1. 104, see above) could correspond to archaic knowledge about the karstic waters and caves under the Caucasus and the north-east corner of the Black Sea (at the mouth of the Corax river, modern Bzyb), which have been explored since the 20th century and discovered to be as the deepest known karstic structures in the world. They were already known to Aristotle, who interpreted them as a flowing of the Caspian into the Pontus.⁵⁸ Yet, in the *Orphic Argonautica* (1036–1082), this appears as a surface stream, which brought the Argonauts from Colchis to the northern Ocean through the Upper Phasis, its confluence with the Saranges, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, the Maeotis and a channel which is reminiscent of the Tanais-Don and the Rha-Volga altogether.⁵⁹

τὸν Καύκασον, ἥτοι πρὸς τὸ ἔτερον μέρος τοῦ Καυκάσου· ὁ γὰρ Προμηθεὺς ἐν τινὶ μέρει καὶ ἀκρωρεῖα τοῦ Καυκάσου ἐσταυρώθη· ὁ δὲ Καύκασος ὄρος ἀπέραντον"; Eustathius of Thessalonica *Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes* 739: Τοῦ δὲ Μασσαγετικοῦ τούτου Ἀράξου μέμνηται καὶ Αἰσχύλος, καὶ ἀρέσκειται καὶ ἐκείνος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀράσσειν καλεῖσθαι αὐτόν.

⁵⁴ See above. For the meanings of *ὑβρις*, see Moreau 1997.

⁵⁵ Kiessling 1914c; cf. Bolton 1962, 50–53, 63 n. 25, cautiously, for a mythical, north-eastern river.

⁵⁶ Cf. F. Jacoby, *FGH* I, p. 353.

⁵⁷ Pherecydes 3 F 32a–c *apud Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod.* 4. 223, 4. 228, *Schol. ad Eur. Med.* v. 167. From the 5th century onwards, other places outside Colchis are designated for the murder (see Wernicke 1895).

⁵⁸ Aristotle *Meteorologica* 1. 13 351a with Bolchert 1908, 7–10; cf. Pliny *NH* 2. 224; Clendenon 2009; Klimchouk and Kasjan 2003–04.

⁵⁹ Vian 1987, 31–32; cf. Musbakhova 2015.

Therefore, it seems possible to infer that behind these traditions lies the idea of a Phasis-Hybristes that could communicate with the Pontus, the Maeotis and eventually the Caspian. If Aeschylus referred to this Phasis, he could have simultaneously considered that the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and thus the Tanais, together marked the border between Europe and Asia. This northern Phasis could have been invented, just like the southern channel Phasis/Akampsis/Thermodon-Araxes/Kyros, on the basis of these mythical associations, a general knowledge about surface and underground flows, and even homonyms: in fact, the use of local names close to the name of 'Phasis' was not limited to the southern Caucasus. The anonymous author of the late antique *Periplus of the Black Sea* (10r2–3 Diller = fr. 57 Podossinov) indicates a second name, Basis, for the Achaïous river (probably to be identified with the modern Sochi).⁶⁰

Direct evidence for this Phasis-Kuban connection came to light at the end of the 19th century, when an inscribed silver phiale (dated around 420 BC) was discovered in barrow 1 of Zubov (dated to the 1st century BC) in the Kuban region (the phiale is now held in the State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Inv. No. 2234/18).⁶¹ The inscription on the vase reads: Ἀπόλλωνος Ἡγέμονός εἰμι τὸμ Φάσι.⁶² This object raises more questions than can be answered: for example, there is no agreement about the place where this phiale was made and inscribed (whether it was made and inscribed in Lydia/Troas/Aeolis, in the Caucasus region, or made in north-western Asia Minor and inscribed in the Caucasus). The geographical and chronological context of the find remains difficult to explain. For those who accept the authenticity of the object,⁶³ the most widely accepted hypothesis nowadays is that this phiale was initially an offering in a temple of Apollo in the city of Phasis (being one of the earliest, if not the earliest mention of the city to be situated in the region of modern Poti), and that it was brought to the Kuban region in the context of the Mithradatic wars. Another interesting solution, proposed by David Braund, was that of a possible distance offering to the god in Rioni.⁶⁴ These two hypotheses, however, are problematic, since already in Classical times, this type of object was imported to the East as well as to the northern regions of the Black Sea.⁶⁵ The hypothesis of the object being moved in the context of the conquests of Mithradates VI or during the pirate attacks that made the reputation of this region

⁶⁰ Tomaschek 1894a.

⁶¹ With extensive bibliographies and photographs, see Tsatskheladze 1994a; 1998a, 9–10, figs. 6–8; 2002; Lordkipanidze 1997; 2000, 62–81; Treister 2007, 96–97, Fig. 19; Sens 2009, 136–37.

⁶² Jeffery 1961, 368–69, 373, no. 72; Lazzarini 1976, 253; cf. *SEG* 34 777, 49 1971, 50 1383, 60 1642.

⁶³ Pace Ehrhardt 1984, 155–58.

⁶⁴ Braund 1994, 96–98; cf. Braund 2009; 2010.

⁶⁵ See, for example, Kakhidze 2004; Boltryk and Treister 2012.

(Strabo 11. 2. 12)⁶⁶ is not supported by precise historical proofs. Moreover, the inscription is curious, not only because the iambic trimeter is far from perfect and the epiclesis ‘Hegemon’ for Apollo a hapax (only Προκαθηγεμῶν being known for the Didymaeon Apollon in Miletus in Roman times),⁶⁷ but also because of the association of an epiclesis with a toponym – ‘Phasis’ – in order to identify a god. The writing in Ionic dialect is currently understood as ‘I belong to Apollo, the Leader in Phasis’ (i.e., in the city of Phasis). Nevertheless, the meaning could also be: ‘I belong to Apollo, the Leader on Phasis’ (i.e., on the banks of the River Phasis/up the Phasis). This interpretation, already suggested by the first editor of the discovery,⁶⁸ now fits the geographical context of the discovery, the lower Kuban, where the cult of Apollo appears to have been particularly important in the 5th century BC in the light of recent discoveries in Vestnik and Labrys-Semibratnee, which still await detailed publications.⁶⁹ This would suggest that the Kuban could have somehow been related to the name of Phasis in Archaic and Classical times, either in an historical sense – as Herodotus’ Phasis of the Scythians – or in a mythical sense, as the largest north-eastern river of the world that the Ionian colonists explored in the traces of the Argonauts.

The geo-archaeological research conducted during the past year in the Taman Peninsula, south of the Kuban Delta, eventually proved that the Kuban-Hypanis-Antikeites flowed into the Pontus and the Maeotis through the ‘Kuban Bosporus’, part of the multiple Cimmerian Bosporus:⁷⁰ this was Hipponax of Ephesus’ ‘Sindian vagina’ (fr. 2)⁷¹ at the extremity of the ‘mother of Pontus’ (Herodotus 4. 86; Pliny *NH* 4. 20). The deltaic mouths of this hypothetical Phasis or the branch of Phasis are rarely mentioned in literary sources before Strabo. The most important exception is Aristotle, whose statement justifies why the Kuban could have been forgotten, despite the importance of the Greek presence on the Bosporus and the reputation of ‘Phasis’:

⁶⁶ See Charachidzé 1998; Tsetskhladze 1990; 2002; 2008; Avram 2007.

⁶⁷ *Milet* I 3, 134; Sokolowski 1955, 53. Cf. Lordkipanidze 1997.

⁶⁸ Kieseritzky 1901; cf. Musbakhova 2013.

⁶⁹ For the temple in Vestnik, see Chevelev, Kashaev and Sudarev 2011. More generally, see Garbyzov, Zavojkin, Strokin and Sudarev 2011. For the reconstruction of the ancient landscape in Labrys-Semibratnee, see, for example, Goroncharovsky 2005; 2010; Vnukov *et al.* 2008; Smekalova 2010. For a political hint in the first half of the 4th century BC, see Tokhtas’ev 2006.

⁷⁰ See Zhuravlev and Schlotzhauer 2011a–b; Schlotzhauer and Zhuravlev 2014; Zhuravlev and Schlotzhauer 2014; Zhuravlev *et al.* 2015; Tsetskhladze 2015, 29–34; Dan and Gehrke forthcoming.

⁷¹ Cf. Surikov 2013.

Meteorologica 1. 14 353a.

ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν λίμνην ἐπιδέδωκε τῇ προσχώσει τῶν ποταμῶν τοσοῦτον, ὥστε πολλῷ ἐλάττω μεγέθει πλοῖα νῦν εἰσπλεῖν πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν ἢ ἔτος ἐξηκοστόν. ὥστε ἐκ τούτου ῥᾷδιον ἀναλογίσασθαι ὅτι καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, ὥσπερ αἱ πολλαὶ τῶν λιμνῶν, καὶ αὕτη ἔργον ἐστὶ τῶν ποταμῶν, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον πᾶσαν ἀνάγκη γενέσθαι ξηράν. ἔτι δὲ ὁ Βόσπορος αἰ μὲν ῥεῖ διὰ τὸ προσχωῦσθαι, καὶ ἔστιν ἔτι ταῦτα καὶ τοῖς ὁμασιν ἰδεῖν ὅν τινα συμβαίνει τρόπον. ὅτε γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ῥόνα ποιήσειεν ὁ ῥοῦς, τὸ ὅπισθεν λίμνη ἐγγίγνεται μικρὰ τὸ πρῶτον, εἴτ' ἐξηράνθη ἄν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἄλλη ἢ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἡῶν, καὶ λίμνη ἀπὸ ταύτης· καὶ τοῦτο αἰ οὕτως συνέβαινεν ὁμοίως. τούτου δὲ γιγνομένου πολλάκις ἀνάγκη χρόνου προϊόντος ὥσπερ ποταμὸν γενέσθαι, τέλος δὲ καὶ τοῦτον ξηρόν.

Furthermore, there has been such a great increase of river silt on the shores of Lake Maeotis that the ships that ply there now for trade are far smaller in size than they used to be sixty years ago. And from this fact it is easy to deduce that, like most other lakes, this too was originally produced by rivers and that eventually it must all become dry. Besides, there is always a current through the Bosphorus as a result of the silting, and one can even see with one's own eyes how the process works. For whenever the current made a sandbank off the shore of Asia, there formed behind it at first a small lake, which subsequently dried up: then a further sandbank formed in front of this one and another lake, and so the process went on. When this has happened often enough the channel must in course of time be narrowed till it is like a river, and even this in the end must dry up.

In this moving landscape, Greek populations from western Asia Minor (Ionians, Eolians and maybe Carians) and the northern Aegean probably established themselves from the end of the 7th century BC.⁷² From the second half of the 6th century BC, they controlled access to the Maeotis, and thus to the commercial channels of the Eurasian steppe and the Caucasus, through a system of fortifications established along the key points of the straits. However, the Kuban's aggradation and the joint action of the Pontus and the Maeotis forced them to change their networks of communication and relocate their sites, depending on the environmental changes. Nonetheless, one can still suppose that in the favourable conditions of the Archaic and Classical times, when the double Bosphorus gave them access to extraordinary resources, they could have imagined themselves to be sailing along the river of the Golden Fleece to the north-eastern end of the *oikumene*.

Conclusion: Phasis – The End of Worlds

How has the Rioni become and remained, for most of us, the Phasis of antiquity? The previous pages have shown that this was far from being a simple process of designating one river. Several watercourses were identified in antiquity with the mythical, poetical and even historical Phasis. By its reputation, the Rioni surpassed

⁷² The evidence has been discussed in several papers by Udo Schlotzhauer and partially published in Zhuravlev and Schlotzhauer 2011a–b; Schlotzhauer 2016; cf. Tsetskhladze 1992; 1994b–d; 1997b; 2006; 2007; 2012; 2015; Tsetskhladze and Treister 1995.

all others for natural, mythological and political reasons. The Rioni basin has invaluable natural advantages in comparison with the Kelkit, the Çoruh or even the Kuban: it opens the most important Transcaucasian routes, east to west and south to north, and despite the important metamorphosis at its mouth, it did not share the destiny of a complete silting up, as did the Kuban Bosphorus. The myth of the Argonauts, precursors of the Greeks at this end of the world, was strongly anchored in the mythological topography of Colchis, through a multitude of well-known *lieux de mémoire*, from the Achaeans in the north to Armenia and Cappadocia in the south. One must not forget, however, the subsistent political explanation. The Phasis-Rioni was a credible limit of the powers of the south, the Persians to the east, the Roman to the west (Strabo 6. 4. 2; Zosimus 2. 33. 1) and the Armenians in the middle (Plutarch: *Comparison between Cimmon and Lucullus* 3; *Lucullus* 33), all people whose power could never extend over the Caucasus. Just as in the case of Xenophon and his Ten Thousand, who could be deluded in their expectation of reaching the Pontic Phasis, the historians writing about these empires had an interest in manipulating the space by exploiting homonymies and inventing etiologies. The geography of 'common sense' allowed this flexibility.

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Abbreviation

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ON ‘PRE-COLONIAL’ LINKS, ONCE AGAIN

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Abstract

Recent publication has put forward (new) pottery evidence from Berezan (Borysthenes), supposedly dated to the second third of the 7th century BC, to buttress unsustainable arguments about Greek ‘pre-colonial’ contacts with locals in the Black Sea despite all that has been written to rebut such interpretations. Once again, pottery equals people (or so it seems), and a single example indicates more contact than it is reasonable to suppose. Here, briefly, I revisit this theme and discuss this evidence and its interpretation.

‘One swallow does not a summer make.’

Yet again, we are coming back to so-called pre-colonial links, a theory very common mainly in the last century.¹ A.V. Buiskikh has recently produced two articles with similar titles on the same subject (one in Ukrainian,² the other in Russian³): they publish a fragment of a Subgeometric skyphos from Berezan (Borysthenes), in the northern Black Sea (Figs. 1–2). It was found by V.V. Lapin in 1963 when he excavated on Berezan as Director of the Berezan team of the Olbia Expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. Nobody was aware of the existence of this sherd, deposited with other material in the depot of the Institute of Archaeology, until it caught the attention of Buiskikh and was brought to wider attention by her articles.

This piece raises more questions than it answers:

1. There is still much debate about the establishment date of Berezan. Do we believe the archaeological material or the date given by Eusebius (see below)? In this context, it is very difficult to believe that such an experienced excavator as Lapin did not pay attention to the present important fragment, or that others who worked

¹ Cf. Bouzek 2013, with bibliography (not known to Buiskikh, like many other recently published works cited in this article). The Black Sea is not the only region where so-called pre-colonial contacts are discussed (see, for instance, Denti 2013, which addresses the question from a completely different perspective and angle – but what he presents does not allow us to describe the situation as proto-colonial in the way that the term is usually understood). Some have convincingly suggested that the notion of pre-colonial links should be discarded. See Ridgway 2000; 2004; etc.

² Buiskikh 2015a.

³ Buiskikh 2015b. In this contribution I shall cite exclusively this Russian version of her paper.

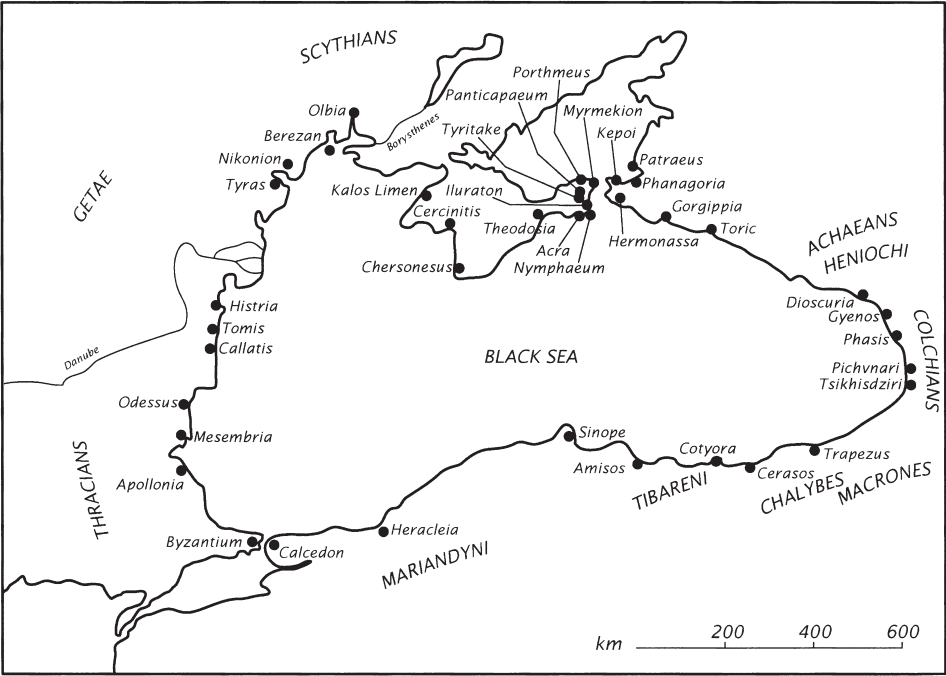


Fig. 1: Major Black Sea colonies and local peoples.

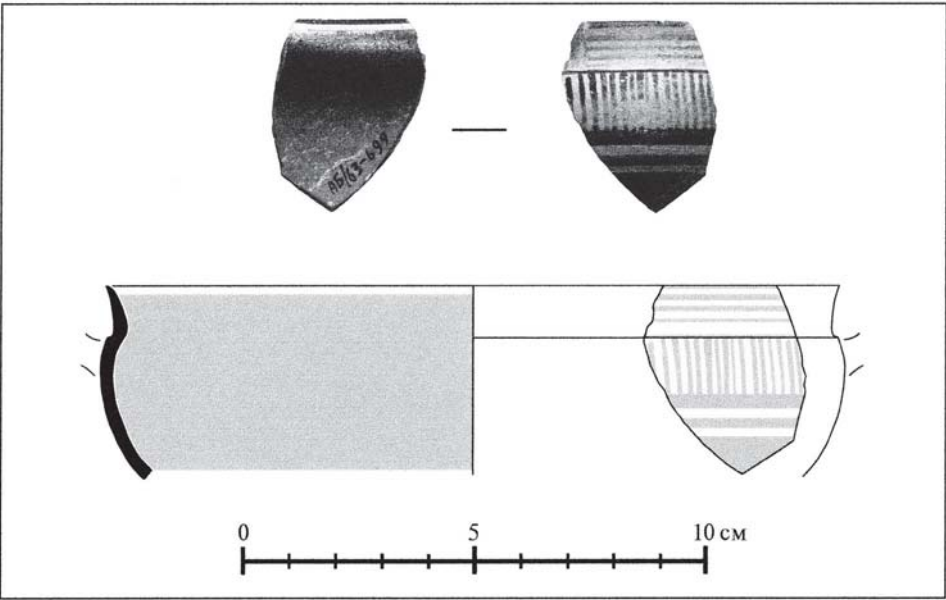


Fig. 2: Skyphos of Subgeometric style from Borysthenes (after Buiskikh 2015b, 251, fig. 1).

with him and/or on his Berezan collection, housed at the Institute of Archaeology, never noticed it in the intervening 50 years.

2. The dating of the sherd is not as straightforward as Buiskikh presents it. According to her, the piece was found during the cleaning of a wall of the Building with an Apse that belongs to the second building phase of Borysthenes,⁴ which dates to after the middle of the 6th century BC.⁵ It was not found *in situ*. Buiskikh dates the sherd to the second third of the 7th century BC and states that it was manufactured probably in Miletus. For this dating Buiskikh uses works by M. Kerschner and U. Schlotzhauer, two scholars who made a painstaking study of East Greek pottery, especially Milesian, and formulated a new chronology based on these detailed examinations.⁶ They themselves have underlined in their writings that their scheme was a provisional one. Its most characteristic feature of their chronology is that previously accepted dates were shifted back by commonly 20–30 years, sometimes more. Some observers have already commented on this aspect of it.⁷ Furthermore, numbers of scholars have ignored the authors' warning of the provisional nature of their findings⁸ and have used the new chronology as a firm framework for dating and re-dating pottery finds. Moreover, when such scholars seek to draw historical conclusions, they pay attention to the upper date in a given date range at the expense of the lower.

This is the case with the dating of the Berezan skyphos. It is not the only early piece found around the Black Sea. Buiskikh uses as comparative material a fragment of a vessel from Nemirovskoe,⁹ previously dated to about the middle of the 7th century BC but raised by Kerschner to the second–beginning of the third quarter of the 7th century BC (Fig. 3.1). M.Y. Vakhtina dates this to 'possibly the third quarter of the 7th century BC'. Another piece of North Ionian production, a bird bowl, was found at the Trakhtemirovskoe city site (Figs. 4–5).¹⁰ While Buiskikh accepts Kerschner's dating of this to the first third of the 7th century BC, the literature offers dates other than Kerschner's: second half of the 7th century BC; and middle–second half of the 7th century BC.¹¹ Thus, not to go into further detail,

⁴ For the latest on Berezan, see Chistov and Krutilov 2014; Chistov 2015.

⁵ Buiskikh 2015b, 239.

⁶ See Kerschner 2006; Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005; Schlotzhauer 2001; etc.

⁷ Tsetskhladze 2012 (not known to Buiskikh), which presents a considerably enlarged and reworked version of Tsetskhladze 2007b.

⁸ Kerschner and Schlotzhauer 2005, 52.

⁹ Buiskikh 2015b, 244. On East Greek pottery from Nemirovskoe, see Vakhtina 2000; 2002; 2004a–b; 2007a–b; 2009; Vakhtina and Kashuba 2014.

¹⁰ Buiskikh 2015b, 244–46.

¹¹ I am not giving here the bibliography for the different dating of this material. It can be found in Tsetskhladze 2012, Table 1, 354–56.



Fig. 3: Pottery from the Nemirovskoe settlement (after Tsetskhladze 2012, 319, fig. 3).



Fig. 4: Two fragments of a bid bowl from Trakhtemirovskoe – see Fig. 5 (after Tsetskhladze 2012, 323, fig. 9).

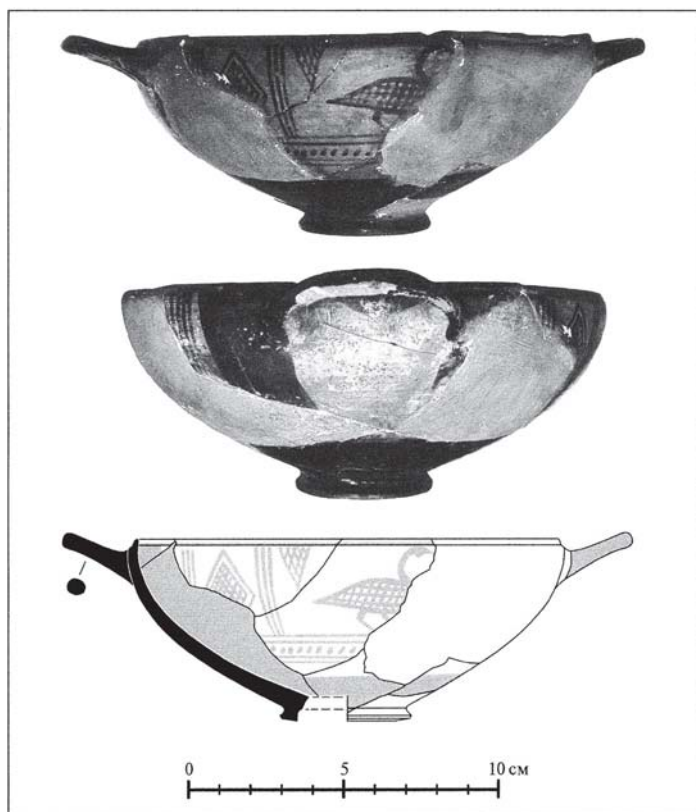


Fig. 5: Bird bowl from Trakhtemirovskoe (after Buiskikh 2015b, 252, fig. 2).

the dating of the Berezan skyphos seems to be too early, and it should be dated at least twenty years later.¹²

3. Much has been written about pre-colonial contacts around the Black Sea.¹³ Matters seemed settled in the aftermath of the debate between the late John Graham¹⁴ and John Boardman¹⁵ when early pottery from Histria and Berezan proved not to have been from these sites at all. Buisikh is sceptical about how a piece from Histria kept in the Cambridge University Museum of Classical Archaeology could be mixed up with other material and other boxes, although she is aware that this was a teaching collection and those of us involved in teaching know how easy it is for students to mix up samples. Robert Cooke, who was teaching in Cambridge and made use of the collection, confirmed this to Boardman.

I share with many of my colleagues doubts about the myth of the Argonauts: we regard it as a literary source, not an historical one.¹⁶ But from time to time works continue to appear that believe in such pre-colonial contacts. Vakhtina and M.T. Kashuba based their article on bronze fibulae dated to the second half of the 10th/end of the 10th–9th century BC from the north-western Black Sea and the Caucasus on them: they proposed that these objects had come from the Aegean world. First of all, they are very few in number¹⁷ – and one does not need Aegean prototypes for objects so simple that they could have appeared independently. The Caucasian examples even have parallels in Urartu and other neighbouring areas.

The terms pre- and proto-colonial links imply the existence of a *local population* with whom contact could be established. Absent such a population and no such links could be forged by Greeks or anyone else. The vast majority of scholars, without reflecting, imagine that the territories around Berezan and Olbia were heavily populated by local peoples. As modern studies demonstrate, the reality was different.¹⁸ These lands were unpopulated and the Greeks were the first to settle them:

Olbia was one of the earliest colonies on the northern Black Sea coast. It is still not known exactly why Miletus, which had extensive experience of founding colonies, located this new colony at this point of the practically uninhabited Pontic shoreline. The results of our research of new sets of finds of handmade pottery, as well as reprocessing old collections using modern methods of data-base treatment, allow us to take a fresh look at the problem of the origin and further development of Olbia. Olbia's

¹² Cf. Lemos 2002.

¹³ See, for instance, Bouzek 2013; Tsetskhladze 1994a, 113–15; 1998a, 10–15.

¹⁴ Graham 1980.

¹⁵ Boardman 1991.

¹⁶ See, for instance, Tsetskhladze 1994b.

¹⁷ Vakhtina and Kashuba 2013.

¹⁸ See, for instance, Melyukova 1989; 2001; 2006.

handmade pottery (from the sectors 'Temenos', 'UZA', 'NGS'; Berezan and *chora* settlements) of the Archaic period was divided into several groups. These were similar to the ceramic complexes of the Dniester-Danube basins and the forest-steppe of the northern Black Sea area. Museum collections and a mass material from field schedules (more than half a million pieces and unbroken vessels) were analysed. A special 'bathymetric' method of analysing the mass material was developed. Handmade pottery appeared in Olbia at the turn of the 6th/5th centuries BC. A Thracian group was classified; functional types of pottery and its distribution within the Archaic *chora* of Olbia were identified; pathways of infiltration of carriers of Thracian culture into the Olbian district were examined. The results obtained may suggest that, in the initial phase of colonisation, the principal attraction of the Berezan-Olbia hinterland was the existence of extensive, free and rich natural resources, and *uninhabited* territory with favourable conditions for agriculture behind the Dnieper-Bug estuary. The choice of location was strategically very successful. Within a few decades Olbia's hinterland had expanded considerably and it became possible to develop trade with the vast barbarian world (mainly) between the lower reaches of the Danube, Dniester, Southern Bug and Dnieper rivers and the forest-steppe under future nomadic control.¹⁹

Thus, there cannot have been any pre-/proto-colonial links in this part of the Black Sea. Even the fact that the earliest East Greek pottery from the northern Black Sea is found in the deep hinterland, sometimes *ca.* 500 km inland, as gifts from the Greeks²⁰ to local chief-men, surely prompts the reflection that if there had been a local population around Berezan and Olbia, why would the Greeks have journeyed so far into the interior to establish relations and a *modus vivendi* with locals? The number of examples of such pottery is increasing step by step, thanks to discoveries in a tomb not far from the village Kiobruchi in Moldova, in a tomb in the vicinity of Krasnyi hamlet in the Kuban region, and at Belsk city-site.²¹ This situation is echoed in the eastern and southern Black Sea, but not so far in the western (Figs. 6–13; Tables 1–4).

¹⁹ Gavrylyuk and Tymchenko 2015. See also Gavriljuk 2010.

²⁰ On gift-giving in the colonial world and the items used in this relationship, see Tsetskhladze 2010.

²¹ See Tsetskhladze 2015, 21–23.

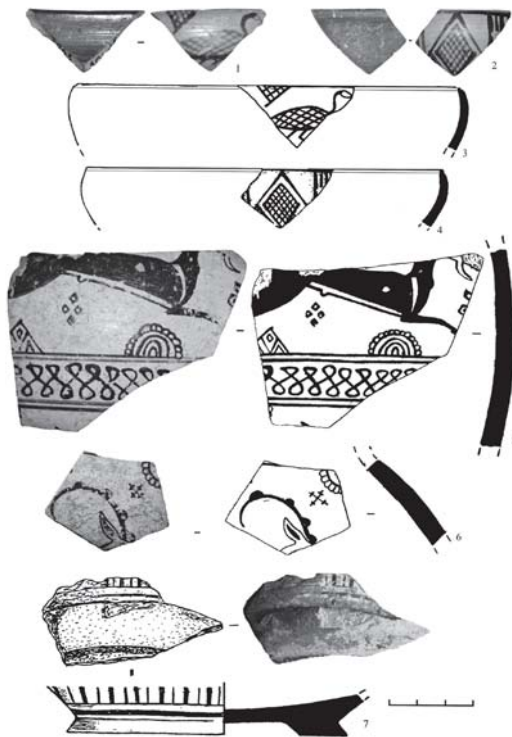


Fig. 6: Early East Greek pottery from Belsk, found after 2000 (after Tsetskhladze 2012, 324, fig. 10).



Fig. 7: Map showing location of the tumulus at the village of Krasnyi (after N. Shevchenko 2013, 101, fig. 1).



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10

Fig. 8: *Kurgan* at the village of Krasnyi, large oinochoe (after N. Shevchenko 2013, 113, fig. 9).
 Fig. 9: *Kurgan* at the village of Krasnyi, large oinochoe, detail (after N. Shevchenko 2013, 114, fig. 10).
 Fig. 10: *Kurgan* at the village of Krasnyi, smaller oinochoe (after N. Shevchenko 2013, 111, fig. 8).



Fig. 11: East Greek pottery from the village of Kiobruchi, Moldova (courtesy V. Banaru).



Fig. 12: East Greek pottery from the village of Kiobruchi, Moldova (courtesy V. Banaru).

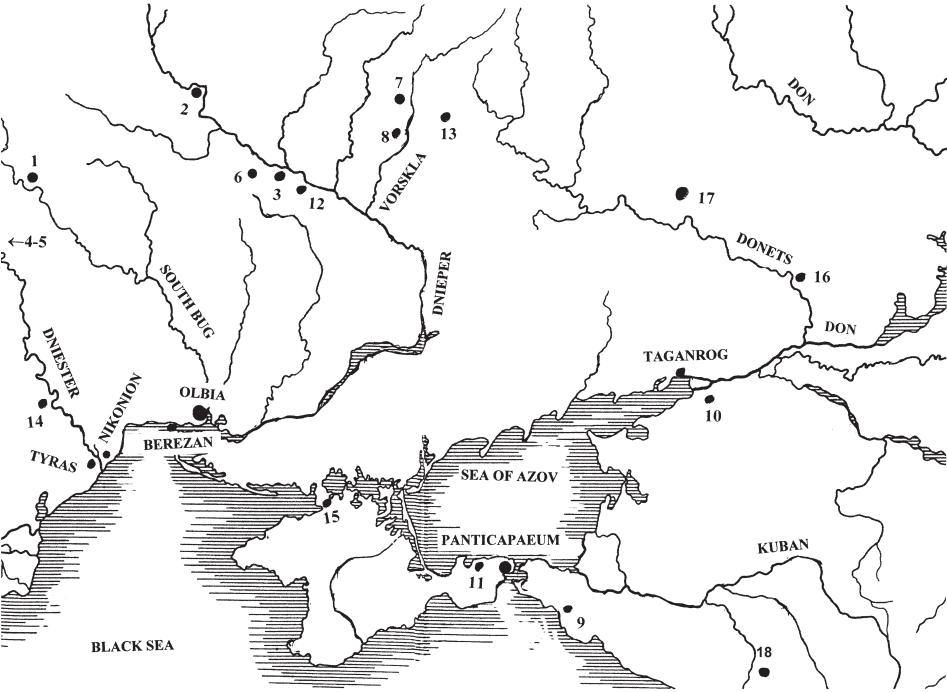


Fig. 13: Map of the northern Black Sea littoral and the Kuban region showing settlements and tombs which have yielded East Greek pottery of the last third of the 7th century BC.

Not to scale (after Tsetskhladze 2015, 24, fig. 28).

1. Nemirov/Nemirovskoe; 2. Trakhtemirov/Trakhtemirovskoe; 3. Zhabotin/Zhabotinskoe; 4. Ivane-Puste; 5. Zalesya; 6. Motroninskoe; 7. Belsk/Belskoe; 8. Pozharnaya Balka; 9. Alekseevka/Alekseevskoe; 10. Burial ground Krasnogorovka III. Kurgan 14, grave 5; 11. Kurgan Temir-Gora; 12. Burial Boltyszhka; 13. Kurgan 1 near the village of Kolomak; 14. Destroyed tomb, Kiobruchi village; 15. Filatovka; 16. Bolshaya; 17. Krivorozhie; 18. Krasnyi.

Table 1: Earliest East Greek tableware from the settlements of the local population of the northern Black Sea littoral (adapted from Tsetskhladze 2012, 354–56; 2013, 71).

No.	Site	Region	Greek Pottery	Date
1.	Nemirov/ Nemirovskoe	Upper South Bug	<p>About 70 pieces of Archaic East Greek pottery, mainly painted. Or 100 including amphora fragments and probably 6th-century material</p> <p>1. Three fragments of a cup, possibly of bird-bowl type</p> <p>2. Fragment previously identified as of an oinochoe, now believed to be of an amphora</p> <p>3. Fragment of Milesian(?) cup</p> <p>4. Vast majority belong to oinochoai (round-mouthed and trefoil) of MWG I–II produced in southern Ionia</p> <p>Pottery of 6th century is not so numerous</p>	<p>1. Possibly third quarter of 7th century BC</p> <p>2. 650–630 BC</p> <p>3. Second half of 7th century BC/ middle–second half of 7th century BC (South Ionian)</p> <p>4. 630–600 BC/650–630 BC/630–610 BC/610–580 BC</p>
2.	Trakhtemirov/ Trakhtemirovskoe	Middle Dnieper	<p>1. Fragment of North Ionian bird bowl</p> <p>2. Fragment of Samian WG krater/South Ionian oinochoe</p>	<p>1. First third of 7th century BC/second half of 7th century BC/ middle–second half of 7th century BC</p> <p>2. Last quarter of 7th century BC</p>
3.	Zhabotin/ Zhabotinskoe	Middle Dnieper	Fragment of East Greek vessel/fragment of an oinochoe frieze	Last quarter of 7th century BC/late 7th–early 6th century BC

No.	Site	Region	Greek Pottery	Date
4(?).	Ivane-Puste	Middle Dnieper	Fragments of Chian painted pottery (number not given)	Second half of 7th century BC/end of 7th–first half of 6th century BC/second half of 7th–first half of 6th century BC
5(?).	Zalesya	Middle Dnieper	Fragments of Chian painted pottery (number not given); fragments of spherical bowls, bowls and Ionian cups	Second half of 7th–first half of 6th century BC
6.	Motroninskoe	Middle Dnieper	One fragment of Milesian oinochoe	640–600 BC
7.	Belsk/Belskoe	Vorskla basin	<p>BEFORE 2000</p> <p>1. Fragment of a bird bowl, North Ionian</p> <p>2. Fragment of MWG I–II vessel/South Ionian vessel (oinochoe?)</p> <p>AFTER 2000</p> <p>About 15 pieces dating from the last quarter of 7th–first half of 6th century BC including</p> <p>1. Two fragments of bird bowls</p> <p>2. Several fragments of MWG I oinochoai</p> <p>3. Fragment of MWG II oinochoe</p>	<p>1. Middle/last quarter of 7th century BC</p> <p>2. Last quarter of 7th century BC/ 630–610 BC/ 610–580 BC)</p> <p>650–615 BC</p> <p>640–630 BC</p> <p>615–600 BC</p>
8(?).	Pozharnaya Balka	Vorskla basin	Fragment of ‘Rhodian-Ionian vessel’	‘Early Rhodian-Ionian group’
9.	Alekseevka/ Alekseevskoe	Not far from Greek Gorgippia (modern Anapa)	Fragment of bird bowl	630/620–590 BC

Table 2: Local *kurgans* of the northern Black Sea littoral and the Kuban area with the earliest East Greek pottery of the 7th Century BC (adapted from Tsetskhladze 2015, 23).

No.	Site	Region	Greek Pottery	Date
1.	Burial ground Krasnogorovka III. Kurgan 14, grave 5	Lower Don	Transport amphorae: 1. One Samian 2. One Clazomenian	Third quarter–end of 7th century BC 650–620 BC
2.	Kurgan Temir-Gora	Crimea	Milesian painted oinochoe	640–630 BC/ 650–630 BC
3.	Burial Boltyshka	Tyasmin basin	Neck of East Greek oinochoe	650–630 BC/end of 7th–first third of 6th century BC/late 7th century BC/ <i>ca.</i> 630–610 BC
4.	Kurgan 1 near the village of Kolomak	Vorskla basin	Two Chian (or Clazomenian?) transport amphorae	Third quarter of 7th century BC
5.	Destroyed tomb, Kiobruchi village	Dniester (Moldova)	17 fragments of three vessels produced in Miletus	Last quarter of 7th century BC
6.	Filatovka	Crimea	North Ionian oinochoe	635–625 BC
7.	Bolshaya	River Tsutskan	Neck of East Greek vase in the form of a panther's head	Last quarter of 7th century BC
8.	Krivorozhie	River Kalitva	Neck of East Greek vase in the form of a ram's head	Late 7th century BC
9.	Krasnyi	Kuban	Two East Greek oinochoai	Last quarter of 7th century BC

Table 3: Greek pottery predating the establishment of Greek colonies in Colchis
(adapted from Tsetskhladze 2013, 72).

No.	Site	Region	Greek Pottery	Date
1.	Batumis Tsikhe	South-west Colchis	1. Fragments of banded oinochoe 2. A few fragments of Chian banded amphora	End of 7th–first half of 6th century BC End of 7th–first half of 6th century BC
2(?).	Pichvnari	South-west Colchis	Fragment of Ionian kylix	Allegedly first half of 6th century BC
3.	Simagre (not far from Poti/Phasis)	West Colchis	1. Small number of fragments of rosette bowls 2. Fragment of amphora neck decorated with wide red bands 3. Foot of Chian amphora	Beginning–first half of 6th century BC First half of 6th century BC First half of 6th century BC
4.	Vani	Central Colchis	Fragment of Chian chalice-style bowl	First half of 6th century. BC
5.	Chognari (12 km from Kutaisi)	Central Colchis	Fragment of rosette bowl	First half of 6th century BC
6.	Krasnyi Mayak (next to Sukhumi/Dioscurias)	North-west Colchis	'Fragments of a Greek vessel' found in the 1930s, since lost	'End of 7th century BC'
7. (Fig. 14)	Eshera (inland site, 10 km north of centre of Sukhumi/Dioscurias)	North-west Colchis	1. Three fragments of closed vessel, North Ionian LWG 2. Several fragments of rosette bowls 3. A few fragments of Ionian cups	Beginning/first third of 6th century BC 600–540 BC Second/third quarters of 6th century BC

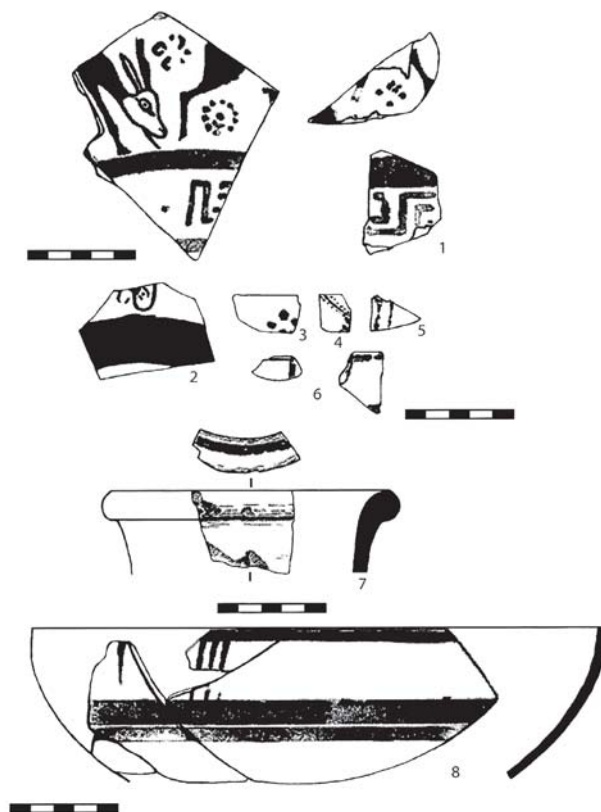


Fig. 14: Early East Greek pottery from the local Eshera settlement not far from Dioscurias, Colchis (after Tsetskhladze 2012, 348, fig. 18).

Table 4: Early Greek pottery from the Halys bend (adapted from Tsetskhladze 2013, 74).

No.	Site	Greek Pottery	Date
1.	Akalan (18 km inland of Amisus)	Fragments of two Milesian jugs, MWG II	End of 7th century BC
2.	Village of Dalsaray near Mecitözü	Complete North Ionian bird bowl	Third quarter of 7th century BC
3.	Alişar	Fragment of Milesian vase	Early 6th century BC
4.	Boğazköy	Small number of Milesian and Corinthian pottery	Mid-7th century BC
5.	Kaman-Kalehöyük	1. Some pottery fragments of Protogeometric period 2. Fragment of Attic krater	1200–800 BC 6th century BC

The situation appears to have been similar in the Cimmerian Bosphorus: according to recent works there was practically no local population in either the Taman or the eastern part of the Kerch Peninsula, making Greek colonists the first settlers of these lands.²²

Buiskikh believes that the Milesians who brought the skyphos to Berezan were ‘pioneers’, and that their settlements were ‘temporary’, which is why, of course there are no archaeological remains of them for the second third of the 7th century BC.²³ I have already questioned what is meant by a ‘temporary settlement’.²⁴ Does it mean that the Greeks were coming and going? If so, how practical was this when the distances are quite large? Why would they be sailing back and forth? Were they looking for foodstuffs or natural resources (including metals)? But they had no need to do so: be they Ionians or other Greeks, they were quite well furnished with natural resources and fertile agricultural territory, having all that they needed available to them in Ionia and Anatolia.²⁵ Moreover, how would they have secured these commodities when there were no locals with whom to trade and exchange?

Buiskikh states that the idea of pre-colonial links and the chronology of them have already been accepted. She cites D.A. Machinskii,²⁶ whose article and arguments are very difficult to understand and several of whose statements are impenetrable.²⁷

To sum up, it is impossible to be convinced by either Buiskikh’s or Machinskii’s articles or arguments.

²² Tsetskhladze 2007a; 2015, 29–34.

²³ Buiskikh 2015b, 248.

²⁴ Tsetskhladze 2012, 344–46. And we have no ‘temporary’ settlements in any other area of Greek colonisation. What we have are Greek settlements and mixed settlements (see Tsetskhladze 2006a, xxxviii–xlii).

²⁵ For mainland Greece, see Descœudres 2008; for Ionia/Anatolia, see Tsetskhladze and Treister 1995.

²⁶ Buiskikh 2015b, 246.

²⁷ To give just one example: ‘... an Ionian oinochoe with a graffito, published by S.P. Tokhtasev, shouts for the arrival of the Greeks in Berezan at such an early date. Before publication and after, he was telling me confidently that the graffito written from right to left is dated on palaeographical grounds to the 8th century BC, but during publication he was supporting the artificial foundation of Borysthene formulated by S.L. Solovyov. He [Tokhtasev] dated the fragment and inscription “ca. 625–600 BC” (this should be “610–600 BC”) [the catalogue contains no indication of the contradictory dating]. Despite this, written below in smaller print is “based on palaeography, the inscription is most probably the most ancient discovered to date on Berezan or in any Milesian colony or in Miletus itself”. Thus, two contradictory dates are juxtaposed – the 8th century BC (possibly its end – ca. 725–700 BC) and 625–600 [BC]’ (Machinskii 2011, 417).

4. Three pieces of pottery (from Berezan, Nemirovskoe and Trakhtemirovskoe) supposedly dating from the third quarter of the 7th century BC are used to justify what Eusebius writes about the establishment of Histria and Borysthenes (mid-650s–mid-640s BC).²⁸ There is nothing new in citing Eusebius, but there is a large question about his reliability,²⁹ one which some scholars do not want to ask because his dates are so convenient for them.

It is very difficult to establish precise foundation dates for many colonies.³⁰ Often, there is no ancient written evidence or, if there is, it proves incompatible with the archaeological evidence. I have already mentioned the date of establishment of Berezan based on Eusebius, but if we turn to the latest studies of East Greek pottery, the earliest found on Berezan dates back no further than the 630s BC, which is a strong indication of the date of foundation of Borysthenes.³¹ Histria shared the same foundation date.

Another problem is Olbia: 15 foundation dates have been suggested, added to most recently by Buiskikh with 620/10–590 BC³² (Table 5):

Table 5: Different Dates for the Establishment of Olbia as suggested by scholars (adapted from Rusyaeva 1998, 161).

1.	655/4 or 645/4 BC
2.	Second third of 7th century BC
3.	Second half of 7th century BC

²⁸ Buiskikh 2015b, 248.

²⁹ '... the tendency to move away from giving foundation dates of colonies in the form of chronology relative to another Greek or Near Eastern event, or a king (Hdt. 4.144 on Kalchedon (no. 743)/Byzantion (no. 674); Ps.-Skymnos 730ff, on a string of Pontic colonies), and towards the practice of using Olympiads and their four-yearly cycle. Eventually, in the Christian writers of the later Roman Empire, the era of Abraham was added as well. The dates in Eusebius and Jerome have an aura of exactness about them that is misleading (*Chron.* 95b), being based on a chain of previous pagan tradition that was very late in finding its tabular form. For colonies within the Pontos three dates have gained common acceptance: Istros in 657, Olbia in 647, Sinope in 631. But these should be regarded as dates arrived at by being put belatedly into tabular form, and not as a canon, sanctified by the Christian Fathers. A fourth date, found in the Armenian version of Eusebios, relating to Trapezous (757, *ann. Abr.* 1260) is to be discounted as a mistake, referring to the city of Kyzikos (no. 747) in the Propontis... Setting aside the exaggerated numbers of Milesian colonies and the (misleading) seeming exactitude of the few colonial dates provided by the chronographers, we may now turn to the distribution, character and development of the *poleis* in the Pontic region' (Avram *et al.* 2004, 924–25, with bibliography).

³⁰ For the Mediterranean context, see Tsatskheladze 2006a, xxxi–xlii. For the Black Sea context, see Tsatskheladze 2012, 335–38.

³¹ Posamentir 2006; 2010. See also Posamentir and Solovyov 2006; 2007.

³² Buiskikh 2013, 223. See also Buiskikh 2007.

4.	620/10–590 BC
5.	Turn of 7th/6th century BC or beginning of 6th century BC
6.	Beginning of 6th century BC
7.	590s–580s BC
8.	Beginning or first quarter of 6th century BC
9.	Beginning or first half of 6th century BC
10.	First quarter of 6th century BC
11.	Second quarter of 6th century BC
12.	First half of 6th century BC
13.	Second quarter–middle of 6th century BC
14.	Middle of 6th century BC
15.	Second half of 6th century BC

We encounter problems of dating for other Black Sea colonies. To take the example of Phasis in Colchis (Table 6):

Table 6: Different Dates for the Establishment of Phasis as suggested by scholars (adapted from Lordkipanidze 2000, 61).

1.	End of 7th/beginning of 6th century BC
2.	First half of 6th century BC
3.	Second half of 6th century BC
4.	Middle of 6th century BC
5.	End of 6th century BC
6.	6th century BC
7.	Middle/end of 5th century BC
8.	Not earlier than end of 5th/beginning of 4th century BC

Our estimates of foundation dates keep changing as new archaeological evidence comes to light. Table 7 gives the dates for the major Greek colonies of the Black Sea and indicates the presence or otherwise of a local population (as far as we know them currently).

Table 7: Main Archaic Greek Colonies and Settlements in the Black Sea.

Settlement	Mother City/ Cities	Literary Dates for Foundation	Earliest Archaeological Material	Earlier Local Population
Amisus	Miletus and Phocaea	Late 7th century	<i>ca.</i> 600-575	Yes
Apollonia Pontica	Miletus	<i>ca.</i> 610 (Ps.-Scymnus)	Late 7th century	Yes
Berezan	Miletus	647	<i>ca.</i> 630	Yes
Callatis	Heraclea Pontica	Late 6th century. Refoundation by Heraclea Pontica in late 5th century. Initial coloniser is not known	4th century	
Chersonesos Taurica	Heraclea Pontica	421 ³³	525–500	Yes
Dioscurias	Miletus	<i>ca.</i> 550	Early/first third 6th century Greek pottery (local inland settlement) ³⁴	Yes
Heraclea Pontica	Megara and Boeotians	554 (Ps.-Scymnus) (Strabo)		Yes
Hermonassa	Miletus and Mytilene		575-550	
Histria	Miletus	657 (Eusebius)	630	Yes
Kepoi	Miletus	Mid-6th century	580–560	
Mesambria	Megara, Byzantium, Chalcedon	493	<i>ca.</i> 500	Yes
Myrmekion	Miletus or Panticapaeum		575–550	No

³³ The establishment of an earlier Chersonesos in the second half of the 6th century, before Dorian Chersonesos was founded by Heraclea Pontica, is now less certain than it once seemed. The lid of a black-figure lekane initially identified as Boeotian and dated to the third quarter of the 6th century BC, the starting point for moving back the foundation date of Chersonesos, in reality dates to the middle/beginning of the third quarter of the 5th century and is not from Boeotia but from Attica or an Asia Minor workshop (A. Shevchenko 2014). Boardman (1998, 203–04) had earlier expressed doubts about both its supposed Boeotian origin and date. Other materials (amphorae, other pottery, etc.) are also no earlier than the 5th century BC, and the earliest ostraca also date to the second half of that century (A. Shevchenko 2014 [with bibliography]).

³⁴ See Fig. 14 in the present article.

Settlement	Mother City/ Cities	Literary Dates for Foundation	Earliest Archaeological Material	Earlier Local Population
Nymphaeum	Miletus		580–570	Yes
Odessus	Miletus	585–539	ca. 560	
Olbia	Miletus	647	575–550	?
Panticapaeum	Miletus		590–570	Yes
Phanagoria	Teos	ca. 545	ca. 540	?
Phasis	Miletus		ca. 550–530	Yes
Sinope	Miletus	1. pre-757 (Ps.-Scymnus) 2. 631/0 (Eusebius)	Last third 7th century	?
Theodosia	Miletus	550–500	580–570	Yes
Tieion/Tios ³⁵	Miletus		Four pieces of East Greek pottery dating from the end of the 7th– early 6th century BC	
Trapezus	Sinope	757/6 (Eusebius)		Yes
Tyras	Miletus	Mid-6th century	Second half 6th century	Yes

This note aims to draw scholarly attention back once again to so-called pre-colonial links, the dating of pottery, the earliest stages of Greek colonisation, local peoples, etc.

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³⁵ See now Atasoy and Yıldırım 2015.

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REVIEWS

WEST AND EAST: A REVIEW ARTICLE (15)

Handbooks, Companions, Reference Books, Sources, Guides

Danish, German and Anglo-Saxon scholars have been brought together in *The Oxford Handbook of the State in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*,¹ a long title for one of the shorter volumes in this burgeoning series, but descriptive of the focus: 18 chapters and contributors, with hefty pieces by each editor, bridging the disciplinary gap between the ancient Near East and ancient Mediterranean, the main aim of *AWE* as well, with sections on Near Eastern states, Aegean states and outliers, Central Mediterranean states and outliers, and the successor states. Thus, Walter Scheidel's 'Studying the State' provides an overview of definitions, origins and categories, before exploring such categories as empires and city-states and, finally, the dynamics of state formation. 'Egypt', 'Ancient Near Eastern City-States', 'Mesopotamian Empires', 'Anatolian States', 'Jewish States' and 'Iranian Empires' follow in the competent hands of Joseph Manning, Steven Garfinkle, Trevor Bryce, Gojko Barjamovic, Seth Schwartz and Josef Wiesehöfer; then 'Bronze Age Greece', 'Greek City-States', 'Greek Multicity States', 'The Greek Koinon' and 'Hellenistic Empires' by John Bennet, Mogens Hermann Hansen ("l'état c'est moi"; the Athenians could, with even greater justice, have said "The polis is *us*", p. 268), Ian Morris, Emily Mackil and John Ma; before 'Carthage' (Walter Ameling) and the Roman empire, subdivided 'Republic' (Henrik Mouritsen) and 'Monarchy' (Pieter Bang); and finally the Byzantine, Germanic and Islamic successors (John Haldon, Ian Wood, Chase Robinson). Entirely welcome and well executed, the book admirably achieves its main aims. Twenty-four maps, eight tables and charts.

With the next Oxford Handbook, *Warfare in the Classical World*,² we return more to type – 32 chapters, some split, plus an Epilogue; among 38 contributors, mainly from North America and the British Isles, two from Australasia, one each from Finland and Poland (Transylvania University is the one in Lexington, Kentucky), are familiar names (the editors, Brian Campbell and Lawrence Tritle; Angelos Chaniotis, Donald Engels, Simon James, John Rich, Nicholas Sekunda, Peter Wells, etc.). The four sections are '...The Classical World at War' (Greece, Rome, 'Writers on War', 'The Archaeology of War' and warfare and the environment), *viz.* ancient sources, broad surveys, contextualisation, etc.; 'The Face of Battle in the Classical World' ('The Classical Greek Experience', Alexander's infantry, 'The Hellenistic World at War: Stagnation or Development?', 'The Rise of Rome', 'Imperial Rome at War', and war and society separately in Greece and in the Roman empire); 'Impacts and Techniques...' (thematic discussions, such as the sick and wounded, military discipline, mercenaries, logistics, maritime, 'Arms and Armor' for Greeks and Romans, 'Greeks Under

¹ P.F. Bang and W. Scheidel (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the State in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, xii+555 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-518831-8.

² B. Campbell and L.A. Tritle (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Warfare in the Classical World*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, xxxviii+783 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-530465-7.

Siege...’, general-ship, military intelligence, war and the horse, rituals of war, and ‘Fighting the Other’ – Greeks and Achaemenids, Germanic and Danubian frontier peoples, Sasanian Iran), nearly half the volume; and ‘Case Studies...’ (of the Athenian expedition to Sicily, the Peloponnesian War, Demetrius and Hellenistic warfare, the Second Punic War and Roman warfare with Sasanian Persia, etc.). The Epilogue explores the (modern) legacy of classical warfare. A rich and varied confection, made friendly to the Anglo-Saxon general reader by the use of Anglicised forms, a list of emperors (full name and familiar form) and a chronology – and a similar focus in many of the chapter bibliographies (which carries the downside of excluding some important works in other languages).

*The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*³ delivers no surprises but delivers them very well, assembling a team of acknowledged specialists from around the globe to provide an overview of the major coinages of the antiquity over a span of a millennium and a half: an Introduction by William Metcalf, an opening chapter on ‘... The Role of Scientific Analysis in Ancient Numismatics’ (Matthew Ponting), then 32 chapters, essentially a mixture of chronological narrative and the geographical, but touching upon the application of numismatic evidence to various disciplines (ancient history, archaeology, art history, economic history), within three sections – ‘Archaic and Classical Greek Coinage’, ‘The Hellenistic World’ and ‘The Roman World’ – from ‘The Monetary Background of Early Coinage’ (John Kroll), ‘Asia Minor to the Ionian Revolt’ (Koray Konuk) and ‘The Coinage of the Persian Empire’ (Michael Alram), to ‘Tetrarchy and the House of Constantine’ (Richard Abdy), ‘The Coinage of the Later Roman Empire, 364–498’ (Sam Moorhead) and ‘The Transformation of the West’ (Alan Stahl), via ‘Aegina, the Cyclades and Crete’ (Ken Sheedy), ‘Royal Hellenistic Coinages: From Alexander to Mithradates’ (François de Callatay), ‘The Hellenistic World: The Cities of Mainland Greece’ (Richard Ashton), ‘Greek Coinages of Palestine’ (Oren Tal) and ‘The Coinage of the Roman Provinces through Hadrian’ (Michel Amandry). Appendices on marks of value and early Christian symbols, a glossary and four indexes round off the volume. Very thoroughly illustrated, as befits the subject matter. No single-volume work has attempted to cover this territory before. This work admirably fills another niche: that between the general and the highly specialised, bringing forth the work of its authors to a broad academic, student and (even broader) non-specialist readership and showing to all of them that coinage can inform us about social and political as well as the purely economic aspects of antiquity.

*A Companion to Greek Art*⁴ comes in a companionable two-volume form: an Introduction, ‘The Greeks and their Art’, by the editors Tyler Jo Smith and Dimitrus Plantzos, then 37 well-illustrated chapters (a dozen colour plates and half a dozen maps and over 120 black-and-white figures), assembled into comprehensible sections on ‘Forms, Times, and Places’ (chronology and topography; decorated pottery: vase-painting; decorated pottery: regions and workshops – an extensive tour of the non-Attic from Corinth to Clazomenae; free-standing and relief sculpture; architecture; architectural sculpture; wall- and panel-painting;

³ W. Metcalf (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, xviii+688 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-530574-6.

⁴ T.J. Smith and D. Plantzos (eds.), *A Companion to Greek Art*, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World, Wiley-Blackwell, Malden, MA/Oxford/Chichester 2012, 2 vols., xlviii+836 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-4051-8604-9.

mosaics; luxury arts; terracottas; coinage – a plea for more integration of coins into Greek art history; workshops and technology; ancient writers on art), ‘Contacts and Colonies’ (Egypt and North Africa; Cyprus and Near East; Asia Minor; the Black Sea – a little discursive; Sicily and South Italy), ‘Images and Meanings’, i.e. art to be read and decoded (Olympian gods, war and peace; politics and society; personification; the non-Greek in Greek Art; birth, marriage and death; ‘Age, Gender, and Social Identity’ and ‘Sex, Gender, and Sexuality’; drinking and dining; competitions, festivals and performance; religious ritual; agency – a rather disruptive polemic) and ‘Greek Art: Ancient to Antique’, i.e. mainly reception (Greek art – through Roman eyes; in late antiquity and Byzantium; from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment; and the Grand Tour – and the Hamiltons; at university – more a history of Classical Archaeology as a discipline; but also exhibitions, ‘The Cultural Property Debate’, rather general, and a survey of scholarship, publications and electronic resources). It is invidious to name only some of the contributors, but in order of appearance, Thomas Mannack, Stavros Paspalas, Olga Palagia, John Boardman, Lucilla Burn, François de Callataÿ, Tamar Hodos, Jan Bouzek, Alan Shapiro, Beth Cohen, François Lissarague, James Whitley and Stephen Dyson. Inevitably, some pieces will engage the target readership better than others; and a few make little effort to do so. Some heavier editing of ‘foreign’ English and polishing of the ‘Further Reading’ and the unified bibliography (almost a hundred pages) would have been beneficial though time-consuming.

Stephen Mitchell and David French have produced the first volume – Augustus to the end of the 3rd century AD – in the definitive publication of *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)*,⁵ capital of the province of Galatia and one of the principal cities of the Roman East. It contains 315 inscriptions, 31 published for the first time, plus comprehensive indexes and a concordance with previous publications, all prefaced by ‘Roman Ankara from Augustus to Aurelian: a history from inscriptions’ (pp. 1–36) – (when) was the Greek city of Ankara a *polis*?; Ankara in literary sources; chronological distribution of inscriptions; Galatia and Galatian society; military matters; public life, culture and language; the imperial cult, and others, and imperial visits – and a brief account (pp. 39–45) of relevant travellers and scholars visiting Angora/Ankara from the mid-16th century until Mitchell himself in the 1970s (the beginnings of the gestation of this current work). The inscriptions themselves – for a Greek city an unusually high percentage of them in Latin – form a prime source for its history and culture of the city and for identifying its place within the Roman empire. They are divided into 14 headings in rough parallel to the ‘introduction’ – the imperial temple (a new, fully illustrated edition of the *Res Gestae* is offered, based on study of the Greek and Latin texts on the temple – nos. 1–4, pp. 66–153); imperial dedications and related texts, provincial governors, procurators and Roman administrative staff, senators and equestrians, etc., concluding with epitaphs (Latin, bilingual, Greek with Latin formulae, Greek). All provided with detailed commentaries and illustrated. A handsome and solid large-format volume, well produced.

⁵ S. Mitchell and D. French (eds.), *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra)*, vol. 1: *From Augustus to the End of the Third Century AD*, Vestigia 62, Verlag C.H. Beck, Munich 2012, ix+523 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-406-62190-1/ISSN 0506-8010.

An archaeological guide to Albania,⁶ still one of Europe's remoter corners, is a welcome development. The publications of the International Centre for Albanian Archaeology have been reviewed here in recent years, but a work aimed at a wider audience is timely in light of the UNESCO World Heritage Site status awarded to Butrint almost a decade ago, more settled domestic conditions and an expansion of tourism. The author has been actively involved in excavation and research at Butrint and at a number of the other sites, but also works with a specialist tour company. Thus he offers perceptive commentary, not least his opening remarks on 'Archaeology in Albania' and 'Albania: an archaeological and historical overview' (pp. 9–21) combined with a good idea of what the target readership wants and needs, presented comprehensibly. Naturally, the volume is dominated by the alphabetical Gzaetteer (pp. 25–313) of roughly 50 sites, of which Butrint, Berat, Apollonia and Tirana receive most attention, but all have plans and many have other illustrations (line drawings, photographs, reconstructions, colour plates of the most significant). 'Communism, bunkerology and conflict archaeology in Albania' forms a brief coda (pp. 314–18). Useful glossary and maps.

Sites, Surveys, Corpora, etc.

An unusually fine collection of site reports and surveys was published in 2011/12. The first is *Ashkelon 3*,⁷ a substantial, luxurious (and good value) volume that brings to a close this major publication project in fitting style: 28 chapters and 26 contributors (from the United States, Israel and elsewhere) record over a decade of excavation and a quarter century of involvement; a happy and rare conjuncture of private sponsorship (the Leon Levy Foundation), public funding, people and site; and the kind of final report series we would all like to publish. The volume is arranged in five parts: 'Historical Setting, Architecture, and Stratigraphy' (pp. 1–49) contains 'Ashkelon on the Eve of Destruction in 604 B.C.', 'The Winery in Grid 38' and 'The Marketplace and Quarry in Grid 50'; and 'Pottery' houses chapters on 'Pottery Classification and Petrographic Analysis', 'Local Pottery, 'Phoenician...', 'Cypriot and North Syrian...', 'Southeastern...' and 'Egyptian...' (Joshua Walton) before Jane Waldbaum's fine contribution on 'Greek Pottery' (pp. 127–338), which is subdivided into Corinthian, East Greek Decorated open forms, East Greek Decorated closed forms, East Greek Coarse Ware open forms and East Greek Coarse Ware closed forms, to which are appended a concordance of Greek pottery by find-spot and 7th-century Greek pottery found at Ashkelon by J. Phythian-Adams. Part Three (pp. 339–588), 'Other Artifacts', publishes 'Seals and Seal Impressions' (Othmar Keel), 'Egyptian Amulets' (Christian Hermann), 'A Collection of Egyptian Bronzes' (Lanny Bell), 'Faience and Alabaster Vessels' (Michael Press), 'Beads and Other Jewelry' (S.Y. Park), 'Terracotta Figurines' (Susan Cohen), 'Balance Weights' (Birney and Levine), 'Loom Weights and Jar Stoppers' (Daniel Master), 'Metal Weapons and Tools' (Adam Aja), 'Chipped Stone' (Vardi and

⁶ O. Gilkes, *Albania: An Archaeological Guide*, I.B. Tauris, London/New York 2013, xv+332 pp., illustrations, 16 colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78076-069-8.

⁷ L.E. Stager, D.M. Master and J.D. Schloen, with contributions by A.J. Aja *et al.*, *Ashkelon 3: The Seventh Century B.C.*, The Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon, Final Reports of the Leon Levy Expedition to Ashkelon, Harvard Semitic Museum Publications, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, IN 2011, xvi+817 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-1-57506-939-5.

Rosen), 'Ground Stone' (Yorke Rowan) and 'Stone Incense Altars' (Seymour Gitin); and Part Four (pp. 589–698), 'Organic and Microartifactual Remains', deals with plant (Weiss *et al.*), animal (Hesse *et al.*) and fish remains (Omri Lerna) before 'Soil Flotation: A Window into Ashkelon's Environment and Economy' (Egon Lass). Part Five, 'Synthesis and Conclusion', contains a 'Quantitative and Spatial Analysis of Pottery and Other Artifacts' (pp. 701–36) and a Brief 'Conclusion'. Bibliography, a useful 'Concordance of Stratigraphic Contexts' and a well-organised index wrap up this impressive and outstanding volume.

Aren Maeir tells us about the work of the excavation in Gath, of which he has been director or co-director throughout. *Tell es-Safi/Gath I*⁸ publishes the 1996–2005 seasons in two large, thorough and impressive volumes. Volume 1 contains 30 chapters (two by Maeir; nine others in which he is co-author), concluded by a methodological appendix (Maeir and Alexander Zukerman). In the first chapter (pp. 1–88) Maeir provides an introduction, overview and synopsis of the results of the project through to 2010; he follows this with a history of research from 1838 to 1996 ('2A') and, jointly with Roma Avissar, re-examines Bliss and Macalister's 1899 excavations ('2B'). The succeeding group of chapters consider the environmental background of Gath and environs, its possible involvement in the Amara correspondence, Philistine Gath in the biblical record, Gath in the Mediaeval and Modern periods and, finally, in the Ottoman cadastral surveys of the 16th century. The surface survey results are presented by Joe Uziel and Maeir in Chapter 8, and Uziel, Zukerman, Itzhaq Shai and Maeir then deal with the stratigraphy and architecture of Area A and Area E. Next, pottery (Chapters 11–17): Early Bronze Age, Late Bronze Age, Iron I and Early Iron IIA, Late Iron IIA and Iron Age IIB (Uziel, Zukerman, Shai, Avissar, Maeir *et al.*), supplemented by David Ben-Shlomo's and Zachi Zweig's technological, data-mining and provenance studies. Stamp-seal amulets and unprovenanced glyptics, weaving implements, inscriptions, ground stone objects and chipped stone objects bring us to the final group of environmental, palaeogeographical, archaeobotanical and faunal studies, including 'Further Insights on the Notched Scapulae from Stratum A3' (Zukerman *et al.*), Jessie Pincus's ground-penetrating radar studies and Ayelet Levy-Reifer's 'The Early Bronze Age in the Judean Shephelah'. Volume 1 contains numerous tables, grafts, charts, plans and many line drawings and photographs, all well presented; Volume 2 is given over entirely to plates, some fold-outs, etc. Both are marked by clarity, thoroughness and enthusiasm.

Pity the archaeology and archaeologists of Syria amidst war and waves of destructive zealotry. A hint of the riches of sites just south of the Turkish border is provided by Andrew Jamieson's publication of the Neo-Assyrian pottery from Area C (Stratum 2) at Tell Ahmar III (ancient Til Barsib, a prominent location on the Euphrates that served as a crossing point between Upper Mesopotamia and northern Syria, first excavated by the French in the late 1920s).⁹ The three buildings of Area C enjoyed but brief use, and the pottery reflects this – (second half of the) 7th century BC. Nevertheless, there is an extensive

⁸ A.M. Maeir (ed.), *Tell es-Safi/Gath I: The 1996–2005 Seasons*, Ägypten und Altes Testament 69, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012. Vol. 1: Text, vii+628 pp., illustrations; Vol. 2: Plates, xi+312 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06711-9/ISSN 0720-9061.

⁹ A. Jamieson, *Tell Ahmar III: Neo-Assyrian Pottery from Area C*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Suppl. 35, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2012, xviii+385 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-2364-5.

ceramic corpus with comparanda in other assemblages across the Assyrian 'heartland', especially at Nimrud. The volume enjoys the high production standards and large format associated with the *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* supplement series. There are five chapters, opening with 'Tell Ahmar and Research on Neo-Assyrian Pottery', moving through 'Area C Ware Types' and 'Area C Shape Types' to distribution patterns, then 90 pages of regional survey of Neo-Assyrian pottery divided into nine zones (the Upper Euphrates, south-eastern and coastal Anatolia, the Habur Valley, northern and southern Mesopotamia, the Assyrian heartland, inland Syria and the Orontes, coastal Syria and, finally, the Phoenician coast). A 67-page pottery catalogue round off the volume. We look forward to the appearance of the next volume on Area D, further fruit of the ten years or so that the author has spent working at the site since Melbourne became involved at the end of the 1980s.

I reviewed the first volume of *Panskoye I* in *AWE* 3.1 (2004), pp. 407–08, where I 'keenly' awaited the next volume. I am happy here to give a warm welcome to that too,¹⁰ which is the publication of the cemetery/necropolis of this important rural settlement in the north-western Crimea, once within the *chora* of Tauric Chersonesos and formerly that of Olbia. The tombs range in date from the late 5th century to *ca.* 270 BC. An Introduction is followed by chapters on 'Tomb Structures and Burial Rites' (tumuli, inhumation, orientation, cremation, cenotaphs, etc., suggesting a mixed population of Greeks, Scythians and Taurians), 'Demographic Characteristics', a 'Chronology of the Necropolis' and 'Panskoye I Necropolis and its Place among the Necropoleis of the Northern Black Sea Region' (looking at the north-western Black Sea, the north-western Crimea and Chersonesos); then individual detailed 'Burial Descriptions' (pp. 87–205) and a 'Summary of Graves' (pp. 206–29), before the thoroughly annotated 'Catalogue of Objects' (pp. 230–356), each section of which is introduced by a general discussion containing illuminating and helpful background and analysis – amphora stamps, categories of fine ware pottery, plain ware, handmade pottery, lamps, terracottas, grave markers and altars, inscriptions, coins, metal objects, 'other stone' and ceramic objects, glass and organic material, bone objects. Brief appendices by Svetlana Efimova on craniology and Alexey Kasparov on astragaloi. Thoroughly indexed; an extensive bibliography, where 'Pozamentir' should be Posamentir. This leads me to my familiar refrain regarding Aarhus publications: when publishing in English, use English-language transliterations of Slavic names rather than sub-Germanic ones littered with diacritics – thus 'Černenko' can be found in the bibliography after Cvetaeva (which, of course, might be Tsvetaeva). The lead author, Vladimir Stolba, Russian himself, does here address this matter (p. 8); and at least 'sex' has not been driven out by 'gender'. Like its predecessor, an exemplary large-format publication, with the same high standards of production from Aarhus University Press and with the same fine, high quality of illustrations, this is a lasting monument to the Danish-Russian co-operation that flowered in Aarhus from the 1990s until recent times.

¹⁰ V.F. Stolba and E. Rogov, *Panskoye I, Volume 2: The Necropolis*, Archaeological Investigations in Western Crimea, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2012, 414 pp., illustrations, 78 plates. Cased. ISBN 87-7288-771-0. For publication of the necropolis by the late E. Rogov, see *Nekropol' Panskoe I v Severo-Zapadnom Krymu* (Simferopol 2011), based on his 1998 PhD dissertation.

Again from Aarhus University Press, and exhibiting the same high production values, is the two-volume *Džarylgač Survey Project*,¹¹ the fourteenth publication in the Aarhus *Black Sea Studies* series. This multidisciplinary project, which sought to investigate the rural landscape in the hinterland of Panskoe I (*sic: cf.* the previous review) in the north-western Crimea, was a joint venture between Aarhus, the University of Groningen and the Crimean Branch of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, active between 2006 and 2008 but since abandoned, to the chagrin of the co-editors, through disagreements with the Crimean Branch of the Institute of Archaeology, at a time when the area was threatened by an infestation of wind farms. Nevertheless, this, the first systematic, intensive survey of a region which was intensively settled in the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods, yielded excellent results, identifying a large number of hitherto undisturbed Greek and indigenous sites. The seven chapters of text provide an overview of the project, its goals, the environmental context and the history of research; the field methodologies, recording and analytical procedures, geophysics, GIS, sample trenches, database construction; soils, land types, land use and investigation in Lake Džarylgač; settlement data; material culture – settlement and funerary architecture, pottery, lithics, osteological data; prehistory and history of the landscape – settled, productive, sacral, funerary; and a brief essay on the context, from Prehistoric to Early Modern times. Six appendices (pp. 165–437) incorporate a site catalogue, ‘Finds per site’ and a finds catalogue (both S. Handberg), and soil augering descriptions. Alas, since publication, Pia Guldager Bilde, the co-editor and also lead author of four chapters, has died. Large format; all illustrations in the second volume. I repeat my remarks about transliteration.

*Pompeiopolis I*¹² publishes the first results of the excavation conducted by Lâtife Summerer at the eponymous city in Paphlagonia (2006–2010), though she and some of the other contributors disagree as to whether the city founded by Pompey (in the 60s BC after his defeat of Mithradates VI) might originally have been at a different location from Zimbılı Tepe (was this hill inhabited only from the end of the 1st century AD? – but what about architectural elements and pottery remains?). An international team of participants write mainly in German (ten chapters), with six pieces in English, French and Italian. The work may be thought of as preliminary but of great significance, since this is the first extensive excavation project for an ancient city in the far inland part of the Black Sea region of Turkey to have been published.¹³ Summerer explains her aims and methods in the opening chapter,

¹¹ P. Guldager Bilde, P. Attema and K. Winther-Jacobsen (eds.), *The Džarylgač Survey Project*, 2 vols., Black Sea Studies 14, The Danish National Research Foundation’s Centre for Black Sea Studies/Groningen Institute of Archaeology, University of Groningen, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2012. Vol 1: Text, 446 pp, tables; Vol. 2: Plates, 223 pp., black-and-white and colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-87-7934-521-8.

¹² L. Summerer (ed.), *Pompeiopolis I: eine Zwischenbilanz aus der Metropole Paphlagoniens nach fünf Kampagnen (2006–2010)*, Schriften des Zentrums für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Schwarzmeerraumes 21, Beier & Beran, Langenweißbach 2011, 245 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-941171-63-3.

¹³ Another project which has published several dozen articles and three volumes of results is Hadrianopolis (see E. Laflı and E. Christof, with a contribution by M. Metcalfe, *Hadrianopolis I: Inschriften aus Paphlagonia* [Oxford 2012] – reviewed below, pp. 423–24; S. Fünfschilling and E. Laflı, *Hadrianopolis II: Glasfunde des 6. und 7. Jahrhunderts aus Hadrianopolis, Paphlagonien (Turkei)*

also sketching the history of research. Survey is combined with geophysical prospection, and sondages deployed to test the results. The city centre is revealed as irregular, the nature of the 'Grosbau' on the hill top is debated, the Macellum and the Baths are investigated, as too the water supply system. The wealth of the late antique city is revealed by mosaics from a domestic bath and from a large house – 570 m² excavated with much more to go. Other chapters examine the finds – metal, mosaics, small finds; coins; fine ware, dominated by Pontic Sigillata A and B as known from the northern shore of the Black Sea in the 1st–3rd centuries AD, and with Pontic Red Slip in later centuries overshadowed by more-or-less local 'Micaceous Burnished Ware' and 'Micaceous Painted Ware'; bone objects; and inscriptions – and also topography and urban development, and regional surveys. The architecture says Italy, the mosaics hint at Antioch, the pottery is Pontic, but the cultural characteristics hint at the Greek *polis* structure. Many questions remain, showing the rich potential for further excavation. Thoroughly illustrated, predominantly in colour.

*Aphrodisias V: The Aphrodisias Regional Survey*¹⁴ is another beneficiary of the Leon Levy Foundation (see *Ashkelon* 3): sumptuous, well produced by von Zabern, and solid, as well as being comprehensively illustrated (from satellite plans to pottery drawings), sometimes in colour. Systematic archaeological investigation of Aphrodisias itself, a Hellenistic and Roman city with a population of some 10,000 in south-western Turkey, has been underway since 1961, primarily by New York University; but the survey of an area of 800 km² surrounding it, seeking to explore the links between the city and its setting, was not undertaken until 2005–2009 (enabling it to take advantage of the latest technologies and methodologies). This was interdisciplinary, combining intensive and extensive survey, remote sensing and geological reconnaissance, and adopting a broad chronological sweep. Christopher Ratté provides the Introduction and a chapter on tumulus tombs; Peter De Staebler writes about the Roman pottery; Evelyn Adkins supplies an extensive piece on the intensive survey, followed by Carola Stearns on the geoarchaeological investigations. Leah Long digs deep into regional marble quarries; ancient olive oil production and rural settlement are examined by Ian Lockey, aqueducts by Comito and Rojas, and Roman sarcophagi by Heather Turnbrow. Angelos Chaniotis reads the inscriptions; Örgü Dalgıç investigates Early Christian and Byzantine churches. A site index, concordance and general index wrap up this impressive volume, which is dedicated to the memory of Crawford H. Greenewalt jr: a fine commemoration, a worthy dedicatee.

The small finds, essentially votives, from the Austrian excavations of 1986–2000 at Lousoi in Arcadia of an important sanctuary of Artemis, are the focus of Veronika Misopoulos-Leon's volume,¹⁵ presented in 14 chapters. Eight cover the history of exploration from

[Rahden 2013]; E. Laflı and G.K. Şahin, *Hadrianopolis III: Ceramic Finds from Southwestern Paphlagonia* [Oxford 2016]).

¹⁴ C. Ratté and P.D. De Staebler (eds.), *Aphrodisias V: The Aphrodisias Regional Survey*, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Darmstadt/Mainz 2012, xii+434 pages, 358 illustrations and 2 fold-out plans. Cased. ISBN 978-3-8053-4560-6.

¹⁵ V. Mitsopoulos-Leon, *Das Heiligtum der Artemis Hemera in Lousoi: Kleinfunde aus den Grabungen 1986–2000*, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Sonderschriften 47, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna 2012, 224 pp., 54 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-900305-61-1/ISSN 1998-8931.

1898/99 onwards and the inter-relatedness of finds made then and after 1986, an overview of find-spots, topography, references in ancient authors and inscriptions, the relationship between Lousoi and other centres and the uncertain one between the sanctuary and the city, the manufacturing origin of finds, etc., before a consideration of the material (pp. 57–135) divided into three categories: bronze objects, but also other metals, ivory, marble, amber, etc.; terracotta figurines, masks and protomes, mostly Geometric and Archaic, about 200 examples from the new excavations and as many more overall; and two fragments of marble statues. Chapter 9 brings together the results of the investigation, and is followed by a catalogue of 589 objects (pp. 141–92, well-illustrated in 53 plates at the end of the volume), an appendix of the find-spots for material from both old and new excavations, and summaries of the work in German, English and Modern Greek. Clear presentation of material fortified by clear images. No index.

The magisterial publications of the University of Texas expedition at Metaponto continue, under the direction of Joe Carter, to set standards for all excavation projects.¹⁶ The four-volume work arising from the Bradano to Basento field survey (1980–2001), *Metaponto 3*, is particularly impressive for its scope and density, providing the first systematic publication of a large, long-term survey project in the territory of a South Italian Greek colony. After Carter's generous acknowledgments (and dedication to Adamesteanu and De Siena) and his Introduction (giving the background, details of the Metaponto project, the unique aspects of the survey and the goals of this work), Volume I discusses the geology, geomorphology and geoarchaeology of Metaponto (Part I), and the design and methodology of the survey, and GIS methods (Part II – with an explanation of two of the quantitative/statistical tools much used – Estimated Artifact Weight [EAW] and Multiple Criteria Evaluation [MCE] – in far from a void thanks to Adamesteanu's earlier work on typology and assemblages), then launches into the 11 core chapters of Part III, 'Survey Materials and Assemblages' (including grey ware, figured ware, plain and banded ware, lamps, cooking wares, transport amphorae, terracottas, loom-weights, coins, but dominated by the five-author 'Archaic and Black-Gloss Fine Ware', pp. 143–270 – and all yielding interesting data and datasets of broad application). Volume II (pp. 559–1025), largely by Carter, contains two sections, 'Prolegomena to the Settlement of the Chora' (prehistory and definition and identification of the research area – and/or the *chora*) and 'The Historic Development of the Chora, 625–25 BC' (integrating and contextualising the survey results using historical and other sources that provide background and framework), and a series of appendices (graphs, tables, the 'EAW of Dated Sites', 'Farmhouse Significance [FMCE]',

¹⁶ J.C. Carter and A. Prieto (eds.), *The Chora of Metaponto 3: Archaeological Field Survey, Bradano to Basento*, 4 vols., Institute of Classical Archaeology, Packard Humanities Institute, University of Texas Press, Austin 2011, xxvi+1273 pp. (text volumes) and ix+121 pp. (atlas volume), illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-0-292-72678-9; E. Lapadula, *The Chora of Metaponto 4: The Late Roman Farmhouse at San Biagio*, edited by J.C. Carter, Institute of Classical Archaeology, Packard Humanities Institute, University of Texas Press, Austin 2012, xiv+263 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-0-292-72877-6; E. Lanza Catti and K. Swift, *The Chora of Metaponto 5: A Greek Farmhouse at Ponte Fabrizio*, edited by J.C. Carter, Institute of Classical Archaeology, Packard Humanities Institute, University of Texas Press, Austin 2014, xxvii+479 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-0-292-75864-3.

'Exploratory Statistical Significance', etc.). Volume III considers the Roman and later periods, but also houses chapters on the 1999 Pizzica excavations, human remains and aerial photography, grouped into 'Division Lines: New Data and Analysis', i.e. bringing new evidence, data and models to bear on the division lines in the *chora* and concluding that they were a drainage 'system' that was not exactly a system. To conclude the feast there is a large-format atlas (maps and gazetteer), not that there is any absence of relevant maps and plans in the main volumes.

Thoroughly indexed, well and comprehensively illustrated (often in colour), furnished with all manner of tables and graphs in aid of analysis (integration and quantification of the survey evidence are the keynotes), and just a pleasure to examine, these volumes form an important publication of an important site and location (with the inestimable benefit of so little disturbance), invaluable for the study of Magna Graecia as a whole, and an essential reference tool – and they lead one to cast a covetous eye on what can be achieved by long-term projects (the University of Texas became involved over 40 years ago), generously funded, with a secure base in an understanding institution (all too rare nowadays), and a scale that brings in every conceivable sort of specialist (17 authors, fortified by an extensive 'background' squad of photographers, cartographers, documenters, translators, etc.) but which also enjoys stability amongst the core personnel (see the lists of names of the Survey parties). Indeed, in the acknowledgments in the first volume of *Metaponto 3*, the list of donors (individual, corporate, public and private foundations, etc.) reveals a commitment to philanthropy in Texas and the broader United States unparalleled in my own experience.

Metaponto 4 and *5* deal with farmhouses, one Greek (at Ponte Fabrizio) and one Late Roman (at San Biagio) in an exemplary fashion. Both maintain the standard of painstaking detail in publishing and illustrating all classes of finds as well as providing the settings, examination of structures, materials and layouts, considering the agricultural landscape and the rural economy, domestic cults, archaeobotany, etc., and deploying the expertise of the same broader Metaponto team to contribute on their own particular areas of specialism. Joe Carter and his team are to be congratulated on the work of the project and the significant quantity of new evidence revealed by these impressive publications.

The late David Ridgway, in reviewing Italian publications for this journal, remarked approvingly of the frequency with which they contained English abstracts. So it is with *Cuma*,¹⁷ which examines the Archaic pottery production of Pithekoussai and Cuma between the middle of the 8th and the first half of the 6th century BC, long known but not well known and contextually opaque. The printed volume contains a history of the investigation of the site, methodology, typological classification (pp. 53–134), analysis of formal typologies and the decorative repertoire (pp. 135–229), and a brief 'synthesis', plus bibliography and plates. The enclosed CD contains the classified catalogue, fully illustrated in colour and with line drawings, aligned with the categories A (oinochoe, 378 examples)–V (pisside, 14 examples) of Chapter 5, plus tables containing typological, terminological and chronological schemes and 44 distribution and quantification charts and graphs. The author has

¹⁷ F. Merlati, *Cuma: le ceramiche arcaiche. La produzione pithecusano-cumana tra la metà dell'VIII e l'inizio del VI secolo a.C.*, Quaderni del Centro Studi Magna Grecia 13, Studia cumani 3, Naus Editoria, Pozzuoli 2012, 270 pp., illustrations, 38 plates + CD. Paperback. ISBN 978-88-7478-027-3.

brought together material from old excavations at Cuma and fragments from new contexts found in the Lower Town over the last decade with material from the recent excavations of Pithekoussai, which provides the stratigraphic and chronological underpinning of the classification scheme, to define a formal repertoire of local Late Geometric–Protocorinthian pottery – shapes, types, varieties and variations, individual patterns. The greatest difficulty, especially in the earliest phase, was to differentiate local from imported ware, since local production initially adhered closely to the Euboean background of the colonists. Thereafter, things diverge, other cultural influences can be discerned, even specific workshops and craftsmen may be identified, and, by examining distribution patterns, some light is cast on the cultural dynamics of trade.

Without an English abstract (something unmanageable on practical grounds in view of the nature of the work), is the three-volume *La Ceramica a Figure Rosse della Magna Grecia e della Sicilia*,¹⁸ dedicated to Dale Trendall, for which no superlative is adequate. Almost 1800 pages, large format, art paper, lavishly illustrated – alas, but to be expected, at a lavish price beyond the reach of all but the most determined private purchaser, though every serious institutional library should make the effort to acquire it (producing it as hardback for harder ware would have added little *pro rata* to the price). The volumes are the fruits of a project initiated in 2005 at the University of Bari to undertake the draft overall reappraisal of figural ceramics produced in Magna Graecia and Sicily. Luigi Todisco, the editor, presided over a team of five (whose individual contribution is explicit in Volume II). The first volume is subtitled *Produzioni* and, after preliminaries, provides a catalogue of objects divided initially by production/workshops as Ceramica Lucana (pp. 1–37), Apula (pp. 39–328), Siceliota (pp. 329–79), Pestana (pp. 381–404) and Campana (pp. 405–92), then subdivided: group I of Lucana is ‘Officina ... di Pisticci e di Amykos’ (some introductory description is provided at this level), I.2 within this is ‘Bottega ... di Amykos’ (just a heading), down to the bottom of the hierarchical tree with the detailed individual entries (for single items or groups) – I.2.2d, for example, is Pittore di Polocoro – arranged uniformly to list and describe the number of vessels, provenance, form, inscriptions, subjects, place of production, date and bibliography, plus, where appropriate, *denominazione* (commonly a reference to a museum accession number, etc.). Volume II, *Inquadramento*, interrogates all of this information and provides much more than a ‘classification’, opening with an examination of relationships and exchange between Magna Graecia and Sicily in the 5th century BC (pp. 1–34), and following this up with chapters of varying length on written sources, on the history of the study of the vessels (with pp. 61–66 devoted to the work and works of Trendall), provenance and contexts (pp. 77–109), technique, form, iconography and iconology (pp. 153–335), inscriptions and, finally, brief thoughts on ‘vases in everyday life’, all broadly based; the endnotes consume almost 250 pages. Volume III, *Apparati*, contains the bibliography, indexes of names, places, museums and ceramics/ceramicists, concordances (pp. 127–215) from the works of Trendall and Trendall and Cambitoglou (unfortunately rendered ‘Gambitoglou’ on the page headers), graphs and tables, then the treasure trove of 382 pages of plates.

¹⁸ L. Todisco (ed.), *La Ceramica a Figure Rosse della Magna Grecia e della Sicilia*, 3 vols., ‘L’Erma’ di Bretschneider, Rome 2012, xxxiv+492 pp., xii+594 pp., x+644 pp. including 366 black-and-white plates + 16 colour plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-88-8265-620-1.

This sort of publication comes only once in a generation and will stand as a reference tool for many generations to come.

Proceedings and Collections

The Cyrus Cylinder, the clay cylinder-shaped decree from the Achaemenid ruler Cyrus inscribed with a propagandistic account of his conquest of Babylon in 539 BC, is one of the great finds from antiquity. Irving Finkel's edited volume, *The Cyrus Cylinder*,¹⁹ is beautifully produced and comprehensively illustrated in colour, but it is neither 'coffee-table' nor exhibition guide/catalogue. The five papers here published grew from a workshop at the British Museum in June 2010, underwritten, like the volume, by the Iran Heritage Foundation. Finkel introduces the volume and provides a paper on the Babylonian perspective on the Cylinder (including a new translation benefiting from finds of two newly identified fragments, a discussion of the forged Chinese 'bone texts', etc.), balanced by Shahrokh Razmjou's Persian perspective (Babylon, Cyrus, the 'fall', and the importance of the Cylinder, past and present). Between, Jonathan Taylor gives an account of its discovery and transfer to the Museum in 1879, St John Simpson a history of its display at the Museum, its conservation and the casting of replicas, and John Curtis an account of its iconic status, the late Shah's 1971 celebrations of the '2500th Anniversary of the Founding of the Persian Empire', and its display in Tehran then and in 2010–2011. As an appendix there is an annotated transliteration of the text, also by Finkel. Overall, an essay in how to reconstruct antiquity, but with some asides on the abuse as well as usage of source material.

*Ruthenia*²⁰ is an outwardly modest volume; its richness lies within. I am a firm advocate of making the work of Russian scholars available in the West; I have contributed to this development. Here we witness the ripened fruits of a project which, from 2003 to 2010, brought (young) Russian ancient historians to the Martin Luther University at Halle-Wittenberg – Andreas Mehl modestly downplays his own role. In a showcase for the work of post-Soviet Russian scholarship, as this is, it is fitting that the volume's introductory chapter, 'Classical Studies in Russia at the Beginning of the Twenty-First Century: A Collective Portrait in Contemporary Context' (Alexander Makhlayuk and Oleg Gabelko), provides the historical context in which Classics and cognate disciplines developed in Imperial Russia and the Soviet Union, an outline of current features and problems, and the somewhat rocky but essentially evolutionary track between. The 13 contributors, who regard themselves as standing unashamedly in succession to the Soviet school of classical scholarship, are based not just in Moscow or St Petersburg but as far afield as Kazan, Nizhny Novgorod, Samara and Saratov. Some examples: Mikhail Vysokii on 'Ancient Greek Legislation on Sicily: The Laws of Charondas'; Igor Surikov, 'Herodotus and the Philiaids'; Eduard Rung, 'Herodotus and Greek Medism'; Maxim Kholod 'On the Financial Relations of Alexander the Great and the Greek Cities of Asia Minor: The Case of

¹⁹ I.L. Finkel (ed.), *The Cyrus Cylinder: The King of Persia's Proclamation from Ancient Babylon*, I.B. Tauris, London/New York 2013, xi+144 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-7807-6063-6.

²⁰ A. Mehl, A.V. Makhlayuk and O. Gabelko (eds.), *Ruthenia Classica Aetatis Novae: A Collection of Works by Russian Scholars in Ancient Greek and Roman History*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2013, 235 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-10344-2.

Syntaxis'; Yuri Kuzmin, 'The Macedonian Aristocratic Family of Harpaloi-Polemaioi from Beroea'; Anton Korolenkov, 'Mithridates and Sertorius'; Gabelko, 'A Historical and Epigraphic Commentary on Hypsicrateia's Epitaph'; and Makhlayuk, 'The Roman Citizenry in Arms: The Republican Background and Traditions of the Imperial Army'. A sign of the times that accessibility involves publication (by an established German publishing house) in English. Surely the late John Hind deserves mention in the discussion of Russian-speaking Westerners working on the Black Sea, not just Heinen and Braund (p. 26)? – and perhaps some consideration of the contribution of Western-based Easterners, such as V. Stolba, M. Treister and myself.

Kerameos Paides: Studies Offered to Professor Michalis Tiverios by his Students,²¹ timed for his 65th birthday and, very sensibly, furnished with brief summaries in English – one in German – to offset the more limited public it would reach were it wholly in Modern Greek, is a well-produced, and well-deserved, volume in a larger format. It contains an appreciation of Tiverios's life and work by the editors, Eurydice Kefalidou and Despoina Tsiafaki, his Bibliography (pp. 18–23), and 32 chapters by former students, most still in Greece but spreading as far as Switzerland and Britain, starting with 'Homeric Paralipomena: The Departure of Hippodamas and Eurylochos' and proceeding through, as just a sample, 'Attic Black-figured Lekythoi from the Cemetery of Ancient Lefkas', 'Perfume Vases in Representations of Worship of the 5th c. BC', 'Thoughts and Remarks on the Organization of the Jena Painter's Workshop', 'An East Greek Fruitstand at Karabournaki', 'A Boeotian Komast Cup from Thermi near Thessaloniki', 'Local Pottery Workshops of the 8th c. BC around the Thermaic Gulf', 'Bird kotylai: A Pottery Group from Central Macedonian Sites', 'Phoenician Trade Amphorae from Methoni, Pieria' and 'Trade Amphorae from Karabournaki'. A combined bibliography.

Similar is the substantial volume offered to the scholar/administrator Katerina Romiopoulou,²² a significant moderniser and 'force' in the Greek archaeological service (whence many of the contributors are drawn), opening with a warm appreciation of her and her work, and the usual details of her publications, her exhibitions, her career, etc. There are 63 contributions in Modern Greek, all with English abstracts, and one in German ('Auch in Tod vereint', Kilian-Dirlmeier) and three in English ('A Northern Aegean Amphora from Xeropolis, Lefkandi', Irene Lemos; 'The Namepiece of the Typhon Painter: An Alternate View', Joan Mertens; 'Sacerdotal vessels and jewellery', Despina Ignatiadou), all with Modern Greek abstracts. The range of papers is vast, grouped into two sections, prehistoric (six papers, a mixture of new finds and interpretations of old favourites) and historic (ranging as far as the Early Byzantine), and the latter into six themes that reflect aspects of the hono-
rand's own work: topography, architecture, etc. (seven papers: Thessaloniki, Maroneia, Abdera, the 'Excavation of Stryme [?]' and 'Recent data concerning the eastern cemetery of

²¹ E. Kefalidou and D. Tsiafaki (eds.), *Kerameos Paides: Studies Offered to Professor Michalis Tiverios by his Students*, Etaireia Andrion Epistimonon, Thessaloniki 2012, 383 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-960-89087-2-7.

²² P. Adam-Veleni and K. Tzanavari (eds.), *Diniessa: timitikos tomos gia tin Katerina Rhomiopoulou*, Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki Publication 18, Hellenic Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, Culture and Sports/Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Thessaloniki 2012, 660 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-960-9621-09-0.

Eretria...'); pottery, vase-painting, etc. (18 papers, a significant number examining pottery production and circulation in the North Aegean); sculpture (11 papers, mainly grave stelai, some receiving their first publication); 'Microtecnica' (12 papers: glass, buckles, an axe, a ring, ivory, a terracotta figurine, a game counter, a silver fan, a mosaic floor, etc.); cults and burial customs (seven papers, mainly northern Greece and Macedonia); and a miscellany on coins, sacerdotal vessels, epigraphy, written sources (six papers). This handsome volume is of large format, on art paper and well illustrated. A few quibbles about erratic translation and spelling in English

*Tumuli Graves*²³ provides papers from a session, organised by the co-editors, at the International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences Congress in Desterro in Brazil, September 2011. Alexandra Figueiredo examines 'Ritual and death cults in recent prehistory in Central Portugal (Alto Ribatejo)', and she and others draw first conclusions from 'The cave of Sa Omu and Tziu Giovanni Murgia, Funtana Arrubia, Nuallao...' in south-central Sardinia, then Șerbenescu and Comșa consider 'The Yamnaya burials from Sultana, in the context of the similar finds on the territory of Romania' and Cristian Schuster 'Early Bronze Age burial mounds in South Romania'. '... Bronze Age Tumular Graves in West Serbia' (Ljuština and Dmitrović), '5th–4th c. BC Thracian Orphic Tumular Burials in the Sliven Region (Southeastern Bulgaria)' (Diana Dimitrova) and 'Agighiol and Peretu – Graves at Getae Basilei (350–300 BC) at Lower Danube' (Valeriu Sîrbu) conclude the Balkan aspect, Natalia Berseneva and Elena Fialko take us to the "Armed" Females of Iron Age Trans-Uralian Forest-Steppe...' and 'Funerary Monuments of the Scythian Amazons (Social Aspect)', Davide Delfino to the grave-goods of a Ligurian Iron Age necropolis. The English is variable, as is the treatment of Cyrillic bibliography.

*Homines, Funera, Astra*²⁴ brings papers from the funerary anthropology symposium held in Alba Iulia (Transylvania) in June 2011: 16 papers, 23 contributors from Romania and four based in Britain – there were other participants from Bulgaria and the Czech Republic. Starting with the spirituality of Palaeolithic burials, Palaeolithic anthropological discoveries in Greater Romania and funerary evidence of Palaeolithic social inequality, we proceed to 'Burial practices in the Iron Gates Mesolithic', Neolithic human remains at Alba Iulia, Durankulak cemetery (Southern Dobrudja), contextual and techno-typological analyses of (shell) adornments from the Hamangia cemetery at Cernavodă (Dobrudja) to the Eneolithic cemetery at Sultana (south-eastern Wallachia) and the Komariv-type Middle Bronze Age tumular cemetery at Adâncata (northern Moldavia bordering Bukovina). 'Coins and pebbles from the Anglo-Georgian excavations at Pichvnari', 'Funerary rite and rituals of the

²³ V. Sîrbu and C. Schuster (eds.), *Tumuli Graves – Status Symbol of the Dead in the Bronze and Iron Ages in Europe/Les tombes tumulaires – symboles du statut des défunts dans les âges du Bronze et du Fer en Europe*, Union Internationale des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques/International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, Proceedings of the XVI World Congress (Florianópolis, 4–10 September 2011)/Actes du XVI Congrès mondial (Florianópolis, 4–10 Septembre 2011), vol. 2: Actes de la session 47/Proceedings of Session 47, BAR International Series 2396, Archaeopress, Oxford 2012, vi+92 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0989-7.

²⁴ R. Kogălniceanu, R.-G. Curcă, M. Gligor and S. Stratton (eds.), *Homines, Funera, Astra*, Proceedings of the International Symposium on Funerary Anthropology, 5–8 June 2011, '1 December 1918' University, Alba Iulia, Romania, BAR International Series 2410, Archaeopress, Oxford 2012, viii+197 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1008-4.

Early Sarmatians... in the area between the mouths of the Don and the Danube' and 'Funerary customs of Scythians and Thracians: lexical analysis' take us beyond Romania, to which we return with infant burials in Roman Dobrudja (at Slava Rusă), everyday life in Scythia Minor reflected in funerary discoveries from Slava Rusă, and Early and Late Roman child graves in the Dobrudja. Plenty of deviations from the supposed normal burial customs, and a focus on the typology and functionality of artefacts, roles and symbolism, etc. Well edited, well illustrated (occasionally in colour), generally good English.

The *Proceedings of the 7th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*²⁵ (held in London in April 2010) are published, like those of its predecessor, in three volumes (plus a CD with colour images from Volume 2, part II) – a daunting task, as the editorial team of ten no doubt discovered, even when down to a mere 139 printed contributions (papers of the ten associated workshops are/will be published separately). Harrassowitz have, as ever, produced a handsome set of volumes, well provisioned with illustrations and tables – the corrigendum sheet no doubt the result of proofs returned far too late. Volume 1 contains three themes: 'Mega-Cities and Mega-Sites' (11 papers), 'The Archaeology of Consumption and Disposal' (20 papers) and 'Landscape, Transport and Communication' (13 papers). Çatalhöyük features in the first two papers, Ebla in the next two, followed by 'Fortification and Fortification Strategies of Mega-cities in the Ancient Near East' (Dirk Paul Mielke), the Assur project, Babylon, Achaemenid Persepolis and Seleucia on the Tigris. Feasting, banqueting in a Temple, weaponry and warrior burials, funerary foodstuffs and the socio-political aspects of refuse disposal are among the topics in the second part, but also 'From the Early to Middle Iron Age: Development of the Pottery Inventories from the New Excavations at Arslantepe' (Federico Manuelli); and, in the third, 'Site Morphology and Settlement History in the Northern Levant' (Jesse Casana), 'Water for Assyria' (Hartmut Kühne) and 'An Inland Levantine Perspective on Late Bronze Age Maritime Trade – the Case of Hazor feasts' (Kristina Hesse) give a taste. Volume 2 houses 'Ancient and Modern Issues in Cultural Heritage' (12 papers, from real destruction to virtual reconstruction, site management and conservation at Petra, social networking, but Naoise Mac Sweeney's 'A Land Without Autochthons: Anatolian Archaeology in the Early Twentieth Century' and Çiğdem Atakuman's 'Heritage as a Matter of Prestige: A Synopsis of the State Heritage Discourse and Practice in Turkey' were of particular interest to me), 'Colour and Light in Architecture, Art and Material Culture' (20 papers, including 'A Technical Study of the Colours on Çatalhöyük Wall Paintings' by Duygu Çamurcuoğlu, and Ebla, Persepolis, Hazor, etc.) and 'Islamic Archaeology' (12 papers). Volume 3 is devoted to 'Fieldwork and Recent Research' (25 papers – north-western Armenia, landscape archaeology south of the

²⁵ R. Matthews and J. Curtis, with the collaboration of M. Seymour, A. Fletcher, A. Gascoigne, C. Glatz, St J. Simpson, H. Taylor, J. Tubb and R. Chapman (eds.), *ICAANE 7: Proceedings of the 7th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 12 April–16 April 2010, the British Museum and UCL, London*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012. Vol. 1: *Mega-cities and Mega-sites; The Archaeology of Consumption and Disposal; Landscape, Transport and Communication*, xxii+738 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06684-6. Vol. 2: *Ancient and Modern Issues in Cultural Heritage; Colour and Light in Architecture, Art and Material Culture, Islamic Archaeology*, xxii+727 pp., illustrations + CD. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06685-3. Vol. 3: *Fieldwork and Recent Research; Posters*, xxii+717 pp., illustrations. Cased. 978-3-447-06686-0.

Caspian, three projects in Azerbaijan, a joint Georgian-Italian project to investigate 4th–3rd-millennium cultures in the Shida Kartli province of Georgia, middens and diet in Çatalhöyük, Ziyaret Tepe, archaeometric analysis of Hattian and Hittite metalwork) and 26 posters, several concerned with databases, software, ‘open access’, etc. (but also the South-Western Necropolis at Hierapolis in Phrygia, graves from Apamea-on-the-Euphrates, and examination of buildings and building materials from Late Chalcolithic Arslantepe).

A workshop at the 8th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (Warsaw, 2012) gave rise to *Seven Generations Since the Fall of Akkad*.²⁶ The participants had been asked to address various specific questions and the 15 papers (by 23 authors from North America and Europe) were pre-distributed to encourage collaborative discussion (hence the prompt publication). The Khabur Plains in north-eastern Syria have been used for a generation as a testing ground for the Akkadian collapse of ca. 2200 BC, hence: when did Akkadian imperialisation of the plains collapse, how many settlements/persons abandoned the plains, and what was the size and duration of remnant post-Akkadian settlement here? A clear and defined focus and a quantitative/scientific approach. The published volume is a happy demonstration of divergent opinions presented coherently and collaboratively. The editor, Harvey Weiss, opens with ‘Quantifying Collapse: The Late Third Millennium Khabur Plains’, his interest in ancient climate change and modern famine immediately to the fore. The other papers examine data from eight excavated sites (Arbid, Barri, Chagar Bazar, Brak, Mohammed Diyab, Leilan, Mozan and Hamoukar), buttressed by two regional surveys, with many focused upon ceramic types and typologies but others measuring agricultural and administrative activities, regional settlement distribution, chronology, glyptics, etc. To take a few examples: ‘Post-Akkadian ceramic assemblages of the central Upper Khabur: What can pottery tell us about political and climate change’ (Augusta McMahon), ‘Generation Count at Tell Arbid, Sector P’ (Rafał Koliński), ‘Household Dynamics in Late Third Millennium Northern Mesopotamia’ (Peter Pfälzner), ‘Akkadian and post-Akkadian Plant Use at Tell Leilan’ (Alexia Smith), ‘The Development of Underdevelopment? Imperialism, Economic Exploitation and Settlement Dynamics on the Khabur Plains, ca. 2300–2200 BC’ (Lauren Ristvet). No index. More details of individual authors would have been welcome, and perhaps combining the bibliographies.

*Anatolian Iron Ages 7*²⁷ is uniform with its immediate predecessor and edited, as before, by Altan Çilingiroğlu and Antonio Sagona. This seventh colloquium, held at Trakya University in Edirne in April 2010, deservedly had Urartu to the fore: the volume opens with Mahmut Baştürk, ‘The Eastern Sector at the Fortress of Ayanis: Architecture and Texture in the Painted Hall’, and continues with ‘War and Identity in the Early History of Urartu’ (Atilla Batmaz); then later Çilingiroğlu with Mirjo Salvini on some discoveries at Ayanis, some of which bear on Urartian measurement of volume, Karaosmanoğlu and Korucu on

²⁶ H. Weiss (ed.), *Seven Generations Since the Fall of Akkad*, Studia Chaburnensia 3, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012, viii+299 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-0623-9/ISSN 1869-845X.

²⁷ A. Çilingiroğlu and A.G. Sagona (eds.), *Anatolian Iron Ages 7: The Proceedings of the Seventh Anatolian Iron Ages Colloquium Held at Edirne, 19–24 April 2010*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Suppl. 39, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2012, x+332 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-2562-5.

the second season of excavations at the Apadama of Altın-tepe, Kemalettin Köroğlu on the nature of Urartian administration in 'The Kingdom of Urartu and Native Cultures', and 'Urartian Helmets in Reza Abbasi Museum, Iran' (Reza Nojehdehi). Gordion receives the attention of Lynn Roller (Phrygian semi-iconic idols) and Maya Vassileva (bronze animal figurines), while Aylin Erdem and Sagona take us to eastern Anatolian Iron Age through ceramics – respectively, regional variations in Grooved Pottery and ceramics from Sos Höyük, and their various affiliation and connections – and Geoffrey Summers and Charles Burney to north-western Iran (Late Iron Age pottery from Yanik Tepe). Rene Kunze reports on 'Archaeometric Investigations of Basaltic "Grinding Stones" from the Iron Age Settlements of Udabno, Georgia'. The tangled web of the Early Iron Age cultures of what is now Thrace and their links with the metal-rich Carpatho-Danubian region are examined by Elena Bozhinova; and ritual pit complexes in Iron Age Thrace by Nekhrizov and Tzvetkova (a case study of Svilengrad). Publication of a blacksmith's workshop in Clazomenae (Cevizoğlu and Yalçın) adds significantly to our limited data on metalworking in Anatolia in the Iron Age. Alas, the ash from a volcanic eruption in Iceland grounded many intending participants and, combined with too tight a deadline, has led to a volume containing fewer than half the possible contributions. Very attractively and solidly produced; all contributions well illustrated, some exceptionally so.

Urartu (Biainili to its own inhabitants) continues centre stage in the latest, in all ways substantial, *Acta Iranica*,²⁸ the proceedings of a symposium held in Munich in October 2007 in honour of Stephen Kroll: 30 papers (a few added to round out the coverage), more in English than German, on its history and archaeology, book-ended by a detailed Introduction, which provides an overview of the history of research, sources (their limitations and depredations), political history, government and society, economy and material culture, religion and language (a relative of Hurrian; undergoing recovery), and by a brief 'Afterword: The Future of Urartu's past' (chronological and historical matters, the art market, even the Urartu Coffee Cyber Café in California). Contributors are a veritable Who's Who of Urartian studies: Raffaele Biscione (classification of Urartian fortifications in Iran – as elite residences/power bases?), Charles Burney (the economy, stockbreeding, agriculture, probabilities and problems), Altan Çilingiroğlu (uniformity of temples), John Curtis (Assyrian and Urartian metalwork – where perhaps the former borrowed horse-trappings from the latter, reversing the usual direction of cultural flow), Findling and Muhle (archery), Andreas Fuchs ('Urartu in der Zeit' – war after war with Assyria), Georgina Herrmann (Assyrianising ivories at Nimrud – imported from Urartu?), Stephan Kroll (Salmanassar III; Rusa son of Erimeña in an archaeological context), Amei Lang (Urartian 'Animal Style?'), Oscar Muscarella ('Hasanlu and Urartu'), Astrid Nunn ('Wandmalerei in Urartu'), Peter Marinković (Urartu in the Bible), Karen Radner (buffer states between Assyria and Urartu, especially Muşasir), Michael Roaf (Rusa son of Erimeña as putative king of Urartu during Sargon's Eighth campaign; the tower-with-plant or spear-on-altar motif), Karel Rubinson (belts), Mirjo Salvini (his ongoing corpus of Urartian

²⁸ S. Kroll, C. Gruber, U. Hellwag, M. Roaf and P. Zimansky (eds.), *Biainili-Urartu*, The Proceedings of the Symposium Held in Munich, 12–14 October 2007/Tagungsbericht des Münchner Symposiums, 12.–14. Oktober 2007, *Acta Iranica* 51, Peeters, Leuven 2012, viii+528 pp., illustrations, 8 colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-2438-3.

inscriptions project), Ursula Seidl (again on Rusa son of Ermina), Adam Smith (prehistory of an Urartian landscape), Elizabeth Stone (social differentiation in settlements), David Stronach ('Urartu's impact on Achaemenid and pre-Achaemenid architecture in Iran'), Felix Ter-Martirosov (the Armenian connection) and Paul Zimansky ('Urartu as empire: cultural integration in the kingdom of Van'). High quality illustrations (plus colour plates), useful maps, a unified and comprehensive bibliography, and an index; and a welcome editorial convention to limit (largely needless) diacritics, though some persist.

*Kosmos*²⁹ is another handsome, hefty, large-format volume, richly illustrated (some in colour), that publishes over 90 papers from the 13th Aegean Conference in Copenhagen in April 2010. The event itself was another severely dislocated by the Icelandic volcano, or rather by the transport chaos that resulted in this overcautious age. A largely web-based conference was the result. Fortunately, nothing has disrupted this splendid publication. The focus of the conference provides rich material, from Robert Laffineur's Keynote Address, a *tour de force* and *tour d'horizon* of adornment in the Aegean Bronze Age, to many individual contributions, arranged into three main sections on textiles, jewellery and adornment, following on from that entitled 'Aspects of Kosmos', containing 'Some Evidence of Traditional Ritual Costume in the Bronze Age Aegean', 'Of Looms and Pebbles: Weaving at Minoan Coastal Settlements', 'Jewellery and Adornment at Akrotiri, Thera...' and 'From Texts to Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age' (by Marie-Louise Nosch, the co-editor). To give a very small sample of the rest: 'Textile Production in Bronze Age Miletos...' (Gleba and Cutler), '"Textiles for the Gods?" Linear B Evidence for the Use of Textiles in Religious Ceremonies' (Joann Gulizio), textile technology, silk, dyestuffs, fashion, prestige clothing, whorls and weights; signets and seals, jewellery production and consumption, gold and ivory, beads, pins and buttons, children and adornment, mirrors, grave-goods; animals as ornament, ivory and horn production, body modification, 'uniforms', weaponry, furniture, adornment of boats, fresco decoration and politics, glyptic, cups and diplomacy, cosmetic adornment, ornamentation of Shaft Grave swords; etc., etc.

The two volumes edited by Carmine Ampolo³⁰ contain a rich mixture of papers on Sicily from a conference held in Erice in October 2009, and both are richly illustrated. The first, *Agora greca e agorai di Sicilia*, contains 26 papers (one in English, one in French) grouped, following Ampolo's introductory 'L'agora in una prospettiva storiografica', into four sections: 'Aspetti storico-instituzionali' (seven papers, the first being Ampolo's 'L'agora come spazio politico e di comunicazione', with others such as 'L'agora in Aristotele',

²⁹ M.-L. Nosch and R. Laffineur (eds.), *Kosmos: Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age*, Proceedings of the 13th International Aegean Conference/13e Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Copenhagen, The Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Textile Research, 21–26 April 2010, Aegaeum 33, Peeters, Leuven/Liège 2012, x+810 pp., 185 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-2665-3.

³⁰ C. Ampolo (ed.), *Agora greca e agorai di Sicilia*, Atti delle sette giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima e la Sicilia occidentale nel contesto mediterraneo, Erice, 12–15 ottobre 2009, vol. 1, Seminari e Convegni 28, Edizione della Normale, Pisa 2012, xiv+386 pp., 175 plates (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-88-7642-440-3; C. Ampolo (ed.), *Sicilia occidentale: Studi, rassegne, ricerche*, Atti delle sette giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima e la Sicilia occidentale nel contesto mediterraneo, Erice, 12–15 ottobre 2009, vol. 2, Seminari e Convegni 29, Edizione della Normale, Pisa 2012, 351 pp., 164 plates (many in colour) + CD. Paperback. ISBN 978-88-7642-451-9.

'I magistrati dell'*agora* nelle città greche di età classica ed ellenistica', 'Aspetti giuridici dell'*agora* greca', etc.), '*Agorai e fora* in Sicilia' (13 papers, for Agrigento, Morgantina, Megara Hyblaea, Naxos, Messina, Alesa [thrice], Himera, Solunto, Iaitas, etc., culminating in Roger Wilson's '*Agorai and fora* in Hellenistic and Roman Sicily: an overview of the current *status quaestionis*'), '*L'agorà/fora* di Segesta' (five papers, two focused on the south-west and northern stoas, and an appendix containing a 3D reconstruction of the *agora*) and 'Altri casi di studio' ('*Agorai* de Magna Grecia' and 'Il problema dell'*agora* a Cipro...'). A thorough survey with extensive indexes. The second volume, *Sicilia occidentale*, is more diffuse. The section 'Rassegne e comunicazioni archaeologiche ed epigrafiche' houses 25 papers and an appendix, several of them on Palermo, five on Himeia, also Solunto, Monte Iato, Campofiorito, Trapani, two on Mozia, Lilibeo (Marsala), Poggioreale, two on Segesta, etc., many reporting finds and results from the 2007 to 2009 excavations (2006–2010 for Selinunte), but also 'Il teatro alto-ellenistico di Montagna dei Cavalli/Ippana', 'Contessa Entellina [Palermo]: foto aeree 1955–2000. Persistentze e mutamenti nel paesaggio naturale ed antropico' and 'La Soprintendenza del Mare alla ricerca del luogo esatto della Battaglia delle Egadi (241 a.C.)'. 'Alte ricerche della Scuola Normale Superiore' contains five papers (from 'Tyndaris: per uno *status quaestionis* sulle ipotesi di ubicazione dell'*agorà/fora*' to 'La colonisation grecque de la Sicile dans les fragments de Diodore'), and 'Presentazione di strumenti informatici' has two. Three appreciations of Vincenzo Tusa (1920–2009) close the text. A CD containing posters is included. Overall, these volumes might have benefited from English summaries (see above), but nevertheless they form a valuable addition to our knowledge of Sicily, of recent finds, work in progress and in prospect.

*L'Enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité*³¹ presents the papers of the third round table of the eponymous programme (EMA), held in Aix-en-Provence in January 2011. After Veronique Dasen's opening 'Cherchez l'enfant! La question de l'identité à partir du matériel funéraire' there come 'Études locales et régionales', subdivided between Greece, South Italy and Sicily (seven: 'Mobiler funéraire et classes d'âge dans les cités grecques d'Égée orientale à l'époque archaïque', Olivier Maraud; 'Grave Gifts in Child Burial in the Athenian Kerameikos: The Evidence of Sea Shells', Alexandria Alexandridou; 'Tombe d'enfants du IV^e s. av. J.-C. à Pydna', Zoé Kotitsa; 'Mobiler funéraire et statut social des enfants dans les nécropoles grecques de Sicile', Sophie Bouffier; etc.), Gaul (five: 'Mobiler funéraire et statut des enfants dans le monde indigène protohistorique du Sud de la France', Bernard Dedet; 'Le mobilier déposé dans les tombes d'enfants des colonies grecques de Marseille, Agde et Ampurias', Manuel Moliner; 'Le "cimetière de bébés" d'Alésia: un mobilier funéraire inédit', Sandra Jaeggi; etc.) and Africa (four: 'Le mobilier d'accompagnement des enfants en Égypte ancienne, à l'époque pharaonique', Amandine Marshall; 'Le statut de l'enfant punique et les objets funéraires', Hélène Bénichou-Safar; etc.), 'Études thématiques' (seven: 'Les restes animaux dans les tombes d'enfants à la période romaine: l'exemple de

³¹ A. Hermay and C. Dubois (eds.), *L'Enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité III: Le matériel associé aux tombes d'enfants*, Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée à la Maison Méditerranéenne des Sciences de l'Homme (MMSH) d'Aix-en-Provence, 20–22 janvier 2011, Bibliothèque d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne et Africaine 12, Éditions Errance, Arles/Centre Camille Jullian, Aix-en-Provence 2012, 461 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-2-87772-522-4/ISSN 2101-2849.

trois grandes nécropoles d'Italie, de Tunisie et du Nord de la France', Sébastien Lepetz; 'Iconografia e funzione delle terrecotte figurate nelle sepolture ellenistiche d'infanti e di adolescent della necropolis nore-orientale di Tebe', Huysecom-Haxhi *et al.*; 'L'amour des jeunes garçons dans le Grèce classique: à propos d'un astragale inscrit d'Apollonia du Pont', Antoine Hermay; etc.) and 'Nouveautés, Varia' ('La fouille du Babasteion d'Alexandrie: présentation préliminaire', Abd el-Maksoud *et al.*; 'Marqueurs de tombes d'enfants à Alexandrie: de nouveaux documents peints', Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets). Most papers in French, four in Italian, one in English. Larger format, well illustrated, in colour where necessary. No index.

*Thucydides and Herodotus*³² sprang from a panel at the American Philological Association's annual meeting in late 2009 in which five of the dozen contributors to the volume participated. Herodotus, Thucydides and the relationship between their work has been with us for a long time and for much of that so has disagreement about their respective merits, though the general trend of 'Thucydides good, Herodotus bad', a zero-sum game, has been reversed somewhat, so that the 'Father of Fables', with all his deviations, repetitions and incompatibilities, is returning to being 'Father of History'. The Introduction considers this debate, ancient and modern reception of both authors, etc. Four contributions examine 'Methods of Reasoning', including how Thucydides 'read' Herodotus, what both owe to Homeric practices and precedents, and how they adopt vastly different approaches to quantification. Five more chapters investigate 'Common Themes' and common and divergent structures: blind decisions preceding military action; oath-taking, -breaking and retribution; Homeric influence on the respective accounts of Thermopylae and Pylos; Thucydides on Themistocles and Themistocles in Herodotus; and Thucydides on the Persians and his own focus compared with/as a reaction to Herodotus in both regards, with the Sicilian expedition and Xerxes' expedition juxtaposed. Three chapters on 'Reception' by subsequent ancient writers – Herodotus, Thucydides and 4th-century rhetorical handbooks; the influence of Xenophon's *Hellenica*; the impact on Roman Republican historiography – bring the work to a close (though perhaps some editorial or external thoughts at this point would wrap it up more satisfactorily). Thoroughly indexed.

From the same publisher comes *Myth, Truth, and Narrative in Herodotus*,³³ the fruit of an international conference on Herodotus and Myth held in Oxford in September 2007, containing a dozen papers examining the range of ways Herodotus deals with myth, plus a very detailed editorial Introduction, 'Myth, Truth and Narrative in Herodotus' *Histories* (11 of the papers were from the conference; two specially commissioned). Six papers form the first part 'From Myth to Historical Method'; six, Part II, 'Myth and History'. What might be myth to a modern audience was not necessarily so to an ancient one or an ancient author; indeed, what is or was 'myth'? Did it substitute for hard evidence or was it interpreted as 'corroborative detail... intended to give artistic verisimilitude to an otherwise bald and unconvincing narrative'? Thus, the lengthy Introduction considers, among other subjects, 'The parameters of myth in Herodotus: towards a working definition'

³² E. Foster and D. Lateiner (eds.), *Thucydides and Herodotus*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, xiv+399 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-959326-2.

³³ E. Baragwanath and M. de Bakker (eds.), *Myth, Truth, and Narrative in Herodotus*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, xi+370 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-969397-9.

(pp. 10–19), as well as ‘Time and knowledge’, ‘The truth of myth: its historical context and the Histories’ and ‘Myth and Herodotus’ narrative: modes, genres, audiences’. Part I takes the traditional mythic and legendary inheritance (Homeric and Homeric concepts) and sees what Herodotus took from it and did with it, how he applied historical method to it, how he wove it, demythologised and rationalised, into his narrative, and also (Vivienne Gray) how he applied the heritage of storytelling. Part II examines ‘the status of myth in relation to historical truth, as a source for history and its historical explanation’ (p. 193), the interplay of myth and historical knowledge (not least in more recent events about which he had firmer factual knowledge, such as the expedition of Xerxes – Chapter 11, Angus Bowie – where his ambition of telling it as it really happened should have been easier to realise), myth as a historical source, etc. Thoroughly indexed, thoughtfully written.

*Making Sense of Greek Art*³⁴ is a collection dedicated to the late John Betts, founder of the Bristol Classical Press and, for over 40 years, a force at the University of Bristol. The Introduction combines some account of his life and work with an overview drawing out linkages and contrasts from the volume’s ten papers, by Betts’s former pupils and colleagues, wherein various aspects and materials of Greek art are examined in their original contexts and in terms of later interpretation and reception: ‘Contextual Iconography: the Horses of Artemis Ortha’ (Nicki Waugh); ‘Reconsidering the Meanings of Athenian Figured Vases’ (Zosia Archibald, taking a more archaeological approach and concentrating on material from a residential complex at Pistiros/Vetren in Thrace); ‘Reflections of Greek Myth in Etruria: Thetis’ (Vedia Izzet – local contexts and contextualisation); ‘Aphrodite’s Mirror: Reflections of Greek Art in Roman Houses’ (Shelley Hales); ‘The Archaic Style in Sculpture in the Eyes of Ancient and Modern Viewers’ (Christopher Hallett – Rome in the later 1st century BC); ‘Jacques-Louis David, the Greek Ideal and an Alternative’ (Ed Lilley); ‘... Collecting and Displaying Greek Vases in Early Nineteenth-Century English Interiors’ (Vicky Coltman – George Lucy’s collection at Charlecote; also Bowood, Castle Howard, Powis and Sudbury); ‘... Breathing Life into Greek Sculpture in the Works of Lawrence Alma-Tadema and Jean-Léon Gérôme’ (Genevieve Lively); “‘Living Alma-Tadema Pictures’: *Hypatia* at the Haymarket Theatre’ (Michael Liversedge); and ‘Marble for the Masses: The Elgin Marbles at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham’ (Kate Nichols). Well illustrated, not least the welcome four colour plates of some of Alma-Tadema’s work. Indexed.

*Vasenbilder im Kulturtransfer*³⁵ is the (extremely welcome) fifth set of conference proceedings from the German branch of the CVA. This event itself took up where its predecessor left off in 2008 and focused on the varying reception of predominantly Attic vases in some of the other parts of the classical world, from nearby Boeotia (two papers) via northern Greece to Europe north of the Alps, the Black Sea area and South Russia, but also Etruria (four papers containing a wealth of discussion and highlight an obvious fact: that

³⁴ V. Coltman (ed.), *Making Sense of Greek Art*, University of Exeter Press, Exeter 2012, xxii+252 pp., illustrations, 4 colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-0-85989-830-0.

³⁵ S. Schmidt and A. Stähl (eds.), *Vasenbilder im Kulturtransfer: Zirkulation und Rezeption griechischer Keramik im Mittelmeerraum*, Beiheft zum Corpus vasorum antiquorum, Deutschland Bd 5, Verlag C.H. Beck, Munich 2012, 186 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-406-62567-1.

authors treating a given region may reach different conclusions and interpretations having approached matters from different perspectives with different emphases) and Sicily, and some more broad, statistically driven studies of manufacture and the distribution and distribution patterns of particular types, shapes and decorative motifs. The whole (a dozen papers) is divided into three sections, 'Wege', 'Orte' and 'Perspektiven' following two introductory pieces – by the editors and by Beat Schweizer. How far could and did Greek pottery and pottery traditions, especially decoration, act to transmit the mentality, way of life, 'culture', etc. of Greece/the Greeks to recipients in other cultural milieu? What did they accept, reject, modify and reinterpret? What did the Greeks modify to make their wares more acceptable in these markets? What is culture, and what is meant by the various current and former 'buzzwords': Hellenisation, acculturation, interaction, intercultural..., etc.? Of particular interest to me is the pair of contributions by Anna Petrakova and Othmar Jaeggi on 'Kerch Style' vessels from the Black Sea. The former revisits finds from the *kurgans* of ancient Panticapaeum ('Late Attic Red-figure Vases from Burials in the Kerch Area: The Question of Interpretation in Ancient and Modern Contexts', pp. 151–63) to conclude that clients valued these vases as much as the golden objects buried with them; the latter, 'Attische Vasen des 4. Jhs. aus Kerč und Umgebung: Fragen zu Gebrauch, Verteilung und Rezeption', pp. 165–76), dissents strongly from the idea that Attic workshops were busily producing vessels depicting Amazons, Arimasps and griffins for still-barbarian recipients, rather their customers in the Cimmerian Bosphorus were culturally fully Greek! Papers in German, English, French and Italian. No index – a pity in such an important volume.

*Austausch und Kulturkontakt im Südkaukasus*³⁶ presents a fascinating selection of papers (14 in English; six in German and one in Russian, with brief English summaries) by German, Russian, Georgian, Azeri, Turkish and Armenian scholars: 'A new Transcaucasian bronze belt in the Northern Caucasus' (Dudarev and Fomenko), 'Formation und Transformation einer bronzezeitlichen Gebirgslandschaft im Nordkaukasus' (Reinhold *et al.*), 'The transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age in the North-West Caucasus in light of communication with Transcaucasia' (Erlikh), 'Über die Formierung der Bzyb'-Kolchis-Kultur' (Skakov), 'The Late Bronze/Early Iron Age burial grounds from Tsaishi' (Papuashvili), 'Dagger-shaped pendants with dog-like heads – A defining element of Colchian bronze objects' (Kobalia), 'Udabno – Eine erste Zusammenfassung der Ausgrabungs- und Prospektionsergebnisse nach Abschluss der Feldarbeiten' (Bertram and Bertam), 'Die keramik von Udabno in Ostgeorgien' (Brodbeck-Jucker), 'Studien zu den Kleinfunden von Udabno I–III (Ostgeorgien) – Zum Stand der Untersuchungen' (Kunze), 'Der Didi Gora nahe Cnori im Alazani-Tal in der Spätbronze-/Früheisenzeit' (Kastl), 'Keramik ostgeorgischer Fundplätze am Übergang von der Spätbronze- zur Früheisenzeit' (Ludwig-Egermann), 'Late Bronze/Early Iron Age sites in Trialeti – External relations and cultural contacts' (Shanshashvili and Narimanishvili), 'Late Bronze Age balance weights from Gegharot (Armenia)' (Bobokhyan and Badalyan), 'Some comments on the Late Bronze Age process in Erzurum and the

³⁶ A. Mehnert, G. Mehnert and S. Reinhold (eds.), *Austausch und Kulturkontakt im Südkaukasus und seinen angrenzenden Regionen in der Spätbronze-/Früheisenzeit*, Schriften des Zentrums für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des Schwarzmeerraumes 22, Beier & Beran, Langenweißbach 2012, 326 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-941171-81-7.

adjacent region' (Işıklı), 'Survey on the settlements of Late Bronze/Early Iron Age in the northern shore of Lake Van Basin' (Özfirat), 'Monuments of the early stage of the Late Bronze Age in Northwestern Azerbaijan' (Surkhayev), 'About Late Bronze/Early Iron Age sepulchral monuments of Naxçıvan' (İbragimli), '... Excavations and survey at Oğlanqala 2008–2010' (Ristvet *et al.*), '.... Reflections on the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age in Northern Iran and its connections to the Southern Caucasus' (Piller) and 'Iron Age II to III transition (Urartian Period) in Northwestern Iran as seen from Hasanlu' (Kroll), etc. Well illustrated, taking advantage of the large format (A4), and handsomely produced by a dedicated specialist publisher. Cyrillic bibliography is left in the original but Georgian, for example, is transliterated, and some examples of Germanic transliteration seep into the bibliographies of English-language articles. But I know how difficult multinational, multilingual collections can be.

*Monumentality in Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture*³⁷ publishes papers from a session organised in connection with the 2009 Archaeological Institute of America annual meeting to honour Ingrid Edlund-Berry (who offers an afterword, 'Reflections', to provide a link between the contributors, and with the increasingly monumental townscape of modern-day Austin, Texas). All contributors have close ties to her, and they have provided an interesting and important set of papers, variously topographical and social in emphasis, though perhaps a little diffuse (Michael Thomas likens them to a drive down the A1 to Rome, p. x): 'Introduction: The Experience of Monumentality in Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture' (Gretchen Meyers), and what monumentality and particularly *monumentum* meant; 'Straw to Stone, Huts to Houses: Transitions in Building Practices and Society in Protohistoric Latium' (Elizabeth Colantoni) – transformation by building material, and segmentation by the same (elites living in stone constructions, the rest in wattle-and-daub huts); 'The Performance of Death: Monumentality, Burial Practice, and Community Identity in Central Italy's Urbanizing Period' (Anthony Tuck) – especially Orientalising burials in Tarquinia, Caere and Chiusi; 'Monumentalization of the Etruscan Round Moulding in Sixth-Century BCE Central Italy' (Nancy Winter); 'Monumental Embodiment: Somatic Symbolism and the Tuscan Temple' (Gregory Warden); 'The Capitoline Temple and the Effects of Monumentality on Roman Temple Design' (John Hopkins); and 'On the Introduction of Stone Entablatures in Republican Temples in Rome' (Penelope Davies) – and the socio-political landscape of elite competition behind temple building. Attractively put together, well illustrated and well edited. Indexed.

Marincola *et al.*, *Greek Notions of the Past in the Archaic and Classical Eras*,³⁸ subtitled 'History without Historians' (as opposed to recent decayed decades where it is more often a case of 'Historians without History'), offers material from the sixth A.G. Leventis conference, held in Edinburgh in November 2009, where the central issue was what we would/could know/infer about Greek conceptions of the past if we lacked the texts of Herodotus,

³⁷ M.L. Thomas and G.E. Meyers (eds.), afterword by I.E.M. Edlund-Berry, *Monumentality in Etruscan and Early Roman Architecture: Ideology and Innovation*, University of Texas Press, Austin 2012, xiii+184 pp., illustrations. Cased ISBN 978-0-292-73888-1.

³⁸ J. Marincola, L. Llewellyn-Jones and C. Maciver (eds.), *Greek Notions of the Past in the Archaic and Classical Eras: History without Historians*, Edinburgh Leventis Studies 6, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2012, xiv+378 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-7486-4396-7.

Thucydides, *et al.* (p. vii) – approached by experts from diverse fields, using literary sources, material culture, cult practices, etc. For, as John Marincola's notes in his Introduction, 'A Past without Historians', taking issue with Jacoby, it is 'almost certainly the case that the vast majority of Greeks did not get their sense of the past from Herodotus and Thucydides ... [but from] the life of their city-state, in their rituals and celebrations...', so that 'if the past was everywhere present for the Greeks, then we ought to be able to find it no matter where we look' (p. 13). Thence we proceed to Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones's 'The Great Kings of the Fourth Century and the Greek Memory of the Persian Past' (i.e. the remarkable Persian hold on the Greek imagination, literary and visual), via epic, Homer, Hesiod, early Lyric, Pindar, Euripides, Old Comedy, 'Attic Heroes and the Construction of the Athenian Past in the Fifth Century' (Alan Shapiro), oratory and the contestation of history in Athenian trials, Plato, inscriptions, the politics of the past, etc. The final contribution is a 'Commentary' by Simon Goldhill (contesting the primacy given to critical historiography and turning on what he sees as the crushing burden of the Romantic history peddled in the 19th century), Suzanne Saïd and Christopher Pelling (no simple contrast of the 'mythical' mindset with the historians': moods and contexts matter), severally. A rich volume. Indexed.

In *Ancient Perspectives*,³⁹ publishable versions of the seven papers delivered in the Kenneth Nebenzahl jr Lectures in the History of Cartography in Chicago in 2007 (the sixteenth series) have been brought together by Richard Talbert, one of the lecturers and well known as editor of the *Barrington Atlas*... (Princeton 2000). Talbert also provides an Introduction. The offerings start with 'The Expression of Terrestrial and Celestial Order in Ancient Mesopotamia' (Francesca Rochberg), the richest map-stock of any ancient culture, move 'From Topography to Cosmos: Ancient Egypt's Multiple Maps' (David O'Connor – maps on papyrus and temple art with map-like elements) through 'Mapping the World: Greek Initiatives from Homer to Eratosthenes' (Georgia Irby) to 'Ptolemy's Geography: Mapmaking and the Scientific Enterprise' (Alexander Jones – a focus on Ptolemy's working method), 'Greek and Rome Surveying and Surveying Instruments' (Michael Lewis – an industrial archaeologist taking a technical and practical, not a literary approach) and '*Urbs Roma* to *Orbis Romanus*: Roman Mapping in the Grand Scale' (Talbert, the *Forma Urbis Romae* and the Peutinger Map), before 'Putting the World in Order: Mapping in Roman Texts', to expose from itineraries and geographical catalogues what mental picture of the world an educated Roman carried around, spatial awareness, etc. (Benet Salway). Obviously, the circumstances of a lecture series limit the number of contributions, thus various other ancient map-making traditions are excluded. The tone, also reflecting the lecture series, is more for a general scholarly audience and newcomers (not clogged with theory) than for established specialists (though they too will find things of interest). The maps and map-makers are placed culturally and intellectually but little is made of relationships with other forms of geographical representation. Unlike many collections there is sufficient coherence for a united bibliography; handsomely produced, thoroughly indexed and well illustrated.

³⁹ R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), *Ancient Perspectives: Maps and Their Place in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece, and Rome*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago/London 2012, ix+264 pp., illustrations, 9 colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-0-226-78973-8.

*World Antiquarianism*⁴⁰ is a collection originating from a conferences held in 2010 at the Getty Research Institute (and Getty production values are evident in the colour plates). The 21 contributions, divided into two headings, 'The Necessity of Antiquarianism' and 'Foundations of Antiquarianism', do indeed take in the world and diminish thoughts that antiquarianism was really a European phenomenon of largely the Early Modern period, though that period receives the densest coverage. There are many papers on China, India and Japan, and contributions on Central America and Oceania (but not Africa), and while all contain important debate of specific matters and events, nonetheless, they contribute to the comparative perspectives of the title. The interests of *AWE* focus most obviously, though not exclusively, on three groups of papers: 'The Roots of Antiquarianism' (Alain Schnapp's introduction, which asks, among other things, 'What is an Antiquarian?' and gives a rather bald reply, and begins the conversation on the 'poetics of ruins') and 'A Tentative Morphology of European Antiquarianism, 1500–1800' (Peter Miller – 'far from becoming a footnote, antiquarianism is at the forefront of historical scholarship...', p. 83), both from Part 1; 'Mesopotamian Antiquarianism from Sumer to Babylon' (Paul-Alain Beaulieu), 'Antiquarianism in Egypt: The Importance of Re' (Willeke Wendrich), 'Conservation of Objects and Monuments and the Sense of the Past during the Greco-Roman Era' (Schnapp), 'Antiquarianism in Roman Sardis' (Felipe Rojas) and 'Early Abbasid Antiquarianism...' (Michael Cooperson), at pp. 121–211; and 'The Medieval and Modern World and the Material Past' (Hans-Rudolf Meier), 'The Renaissance Foundations of European Antiquarianism' (William Sttenhouse) and 'Antiquarian Transformations in Eighteenth-Century Europe' (Giovanna Ceserani). Indexed. Bibliography buried in chapter endnotes. Nothing on antiquarianism in the West over the last two centuries.

Monographs

Marincola is one of those giving an encomium to Joseph Skinner's *The Invention of Greek Ethnography*,⁴¹ offspring of his 2009 Liverpool doctoral dissertation, which sets out to challenge the received opinion that the Greeks' discovery of 'Greekness' flowed from their encounter with Achaemenid Persia in the 6th–5th centuries BC, a titanic clash of cultures that forced a crystallising of identity and self-definition of the Greeks against the rest, the Other, the barbarians (a term that would be set on its voyage to pejorative misuse), etc. Through an examination of literary evidence and material remains (vases, coins, archaeological data), making use of recent developments in ethnographic and cultural studies and material culture-based analyses, the author seeks to demonstrate that the Greeks were concerned with the Other and their own identity well before the supposed invention of their ethnographic interests demonstrated in the writings of 5th century, if for no other reason than the quotidian realities of participating in an interconnected Mediterranean world (trade, objects, migration, colonisation) in which non-Greeks were present in person or through their (material) culture (contact implies some absorption, adoption and adaptation,

⁴⁰ A. Schnapp (ed.), with L. von Falkenhausen, P.N. Miller and T. Murray, *World Antiquarianism: Comparative Perspectives*, Getty Research Institute Issues and Debates, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2013, vii+455 pp., illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-60606-148-0.

⁴¹ J.E. Skinner, *The Invention of Greek Ethnography: From Homer to Herodotus*, Greeks Overseas. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, xi+343 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-019-979360-0.

and not just by the Others), and to undermine the false dichotomy of Greek and barbarian in favour of something more fluid and evolutionary. But the 'invention' itself came much later, at the hands of modern scholarship: the first chapter is titled 'Ethnography before Ethnography', susceptible to several readings – definitions and redefinitions; the tenacity of a monolithic/homogenous Greek identity; Herodotus as ethnographer or historian?; Felix Jacoby and the invention of a tradition; Paris in the 1960s and 'alterity'. The next, 'Populating the *Imaginaire*', encompasses Cyclopes, Hyperboreans, Arimaspians, Scythians, Amazons, Thracians, Phoenicians, Lydians, Ethiopians, Egyptians and Pelasgians before reaching Arcadia – a wonderful mixture of the actual, the mythical and the somewhere-in-betweeners. And in 'Mapping Identities', case studies of contact, reception and interaction include Olbia and its environs (pp. 151–75), followed by southern Calabria, then Delphi and Olympia, constituents of 'the imagined centre'. Discussion of Olbia, Berezan, the Scythians, etc. is, of course, welcome – but here it is one-sided and somewhat misleading because, as Skinner admits, he does not know Russian. Thus, what is presented is secondhand and superficial, based as it is on publications in Western European languages, mainly English, and lacking direct contact with the vast Russo-Ukrainian bibliography and scholarship on these matters. This limitation obtains for wherever most publication is in the local language. By its nature, this work is Hellenocentric, to use another dubious term; and it is, at times, a bit too densely theoretical. By the way, how did the outsiders view the Greeks? Very much as the Others, for it was surely the Greek who were the ones out of step. And how did Classical Greeks view their own ancestors – as 'not properly Greek'?

*Greece and Mesopotamia*⁴² is based on Johannes Haubold's 2008 W.B. Stanford Memorial Lectures at Trinity, Dublin. It consists of 'Parallel worlds' (Greek and Mesopotamian mythological poetry: *Gilgamesh*, Homer and Hesiod), 'Over the horizon' (historical writing by Ctesias and Herodotus, and in which one section is specifically 'Greeks and barbarians') and 'Scripts from the archive' (the Hellenistic period, the Seleucids, Berossos), book-ended by an Introduction and 'Further dialogues'. 'To put it bluntly, neither Assyriology nor Classics have favoured comparative work' (p. 3). Haubold, inspired by some of the practices of comparative literature and post-colonial studies, but remaining withal a classicist, concentrates on the period from the 8th century BC, when the Assyrians encountered the Ionian Greeks, to the 3rd century and the rise of a Babylonian-Greek literature under the Seleucid Antiochus I, using a selection of texts to show how the two literary cultures were related and how they became entwined. Connections are there to see, but there remain considerable difficulties in explaining them: the same or similar genres, narrative techniques, even specific scenes, though not necessarily the same mindset. Further consideration of who invented the 'barbarian', why and in what circumstances; and the 'invention of Greece as a self-contained cultural and geographical unit... largely in response to an ancient Babylonian discourse' (p. 14). Moreover, who invented the writing of universal history?

⁴² J. Haubold, *Greece and Mesopotamia: Dialogues in Literature*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013, xii+222 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-01076-5.

Negotiating Identity in the Ancient Mediterranean,⁴³ based upon a Johns Hopkins doctoral dissertation, is a set of comparative case studies of the multiethnic *emporion* of Emporion, Gravisca, Naucratis, Pistiros and Piraeus, using written (primarily) and material evidence, from the premises that 'the Mediterranean basin during the first millennium BC was a multicultural region with a great variety of linguistic, religious, social, and ethnic groups' (a connected Mediterranean in the footsteps of Horden and Purcell, etc.) and that 'this diverse and dynamic social and cultural landscape encouraged extensive contact and exchange and fostered permanent modes of interaction...' (p. 1). So, how did these various groups 'negotiate identity', construct distinct identities or merge into new ones? An introductory chapter considers Mediterranean perspectives – common material culture and maritime outlook; outlines the methodology; offers a working definition of an *emporion*, beyond Polanyi, drawing heavily on the work of the Copenhagen Polis Centre; and examines Mediterranean identities, citing Jonathan Hall's work on forms of ethnic identity, which recognises 'what a watershed moment the Persian Wars were for Hellenic identity...', before which there were many Greek cultures and no overall Greek identity ('Hellenicity') (pp. 12–13), compared with Irad Malkin's – of dispersion encouraging networks and an early discovery that those things which unite us, the Greeks, are greater than the distance that separates us, with the 'virtual centre' at Delphi holding everything together. The Emporion chapter considers the Phocaean trade network, the dynamism of this commercial settlement, Graeco-Iberian encounters, and Masaliote, Phocaean and Ionian identities. Gravisca focuses on identity, religion and Etruscans, and the Aristonothos Krater. That on Naucratis has to grapple with its contested nature, how Egypt exercised control, the diverse origins of its Greek population, civic and religious identities, thence 'from civic identity to Hellenicity', common identity in the common temple of the Hellenion. At Pistiros, after an examination of Greek traders, Thrace and Thrace's connection, the chapter turns inevitably to the Vetren inscription (text given), where the discussion is in terms of the text, all aspects of the Graeco-Thracian relationship discernible from it and the various levels of collective identities it reveals on both sides, and the archaeological evidence is left to speak to the problems of identifying Vetren as Pistiros (I have written of my own doubts on several occasions).⁴⁴ Piraeus is the story of non-Greeks living in a Greek *emporion*. Overall, law, political institutions and religion mattered more in the construction of identity than 'mythical genealogies or the claims to a common territory' (p. 239). Very impressive, interesting and useful, with a command of the bibliography and a dexterous combination of archaeological, literary and epigraphic evidence.

⁴³ D. Demetriou, *Negotiating Identity in the Mediterranean: The Archaic and Classical Greek Multiethnic Emporia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012, xiv+292 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-01944-7.

⁴⁴ See G.R. Tsetschladze: 'Pistiros in the System of Pontic Emporia (Greek Trading and Craft Settlements in the Hinterland of the Northern and Eastern Black Sea and Elsewhere)'. In M. Domaradzki, L. Domaradzka, J. Bouzek and J. Rostropowicz (eds.), *Pistiros et Thasos: Structures économiques dans la péninsule Balkanique VIIe-IIe siècle avant J.-C.* (Opole 2000), 235–46; 'Pistiros Revisited'. *Eirene* 47 (2011), 14–25; and 'Revisiting Ancient Greek Colonisation'. In G.R. Tsetschladze (ed.), *Greek Colonisation: An Account of Greek Colonies and Other Settlements Overseas*, vol. 1 (Leiden/Boston 2006), xli–xlii – also the excellent chapter by M.H. Hansen, 'Emporion. A Study of the Use and Meaning of the Term in the Archaic and Classical Periods', in the same volume, 1–39, especially 20–24.

Naoise Mac Sweeney's *Foundation Myths and Politics in Ancient Ionia*⁴⁵ is more than its title suggests: more broadly, it is about Greek ethnicity and identity, with Ionia chosen successfully as a case study. To simplify matters, identity and ethnicity are realised in a situation in which you are surrounded by Others. Indeed, Ionia was surrounded by Lydia, Caria and other native Anatolian states as well as by Dorians and Aeolians. How can foundation myths help us to study ethnicity? How much politics are there in these foundation myths? The author studies all available written sources of the 6th and 5th centuries BC that contain information about foundation myths. Obviously, there are very few for the Archaic period and the vast majority come from the Classical, which is when such oppositional models such as East and West, Europe and Asia, and Greek and barbarian were created. One would have expected archaeology to be drawn on more heavily than it is to reinforce her argument. The Introduction is subtitled 'identity and the construction of cultural differences'; there are six main chapters ('Foundation myths and politics', 'Ionia', 'Miletus: violence and bloodshed', 'Chios and Samos: land and island', 'Colophon and Ephesus: founding mothers' and 'Being Ionian: the Ionian League, Ionian Migrations and Smyrna') and brief Conclusions. The book is very welcome, not only giving us a different perspective on the study of Ionia and ancient Greece in general, but also presenting a different model of Greek identity and ethnicity suggestive of a more diverse sense of Greekness. Based on the study of foundation myths, Mac Sweeney demonstrates that the Ionian cities rejected the Athenian oppositional model in favour of a more subtle and less rigid perspective on ethnic and cultural distinctions. It would be interesting to see how the new model she suggests works for Ionian colonies.⁴⁶

Another new perspective, deploying a new methodology and providing some interesting insights, is that of Alex Mullen. She examines southern Gaul from the foundation of Massalia in the 6th century BC to the end of Roman rule,⁴⁷ eschewing claims to be writing a history of it and instead applies to it modern bilingualism theory and combines sociolin-

⁴⁵ N. Mac Sweeney, *Foundation Myths and Politics in Ancient Ionia*, Cambridge Classical Studies, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013, xiv+239 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-03749-6. And see pp. 435–37 below for a review of N. Mac Sweeney (ed.), *Foundation Myths in Ancient Societies: Dialogues and Discourses*.

⁴⁶ For Ionian colonisation, see, for example, G.R. Tsatskheladze: 'Greek Penetration of the Black Sea'. In G.R. Tsatskheladze and F. De Angelis (eds.), *The Archaeology of Greek Colonisation* (Oxford 1994), 111–36; 'Ionians Abroad'. In G.R. Tsatskheladze and A.M. Snodgrass (eds.), *Greek Settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea* (Oxford 2002), 81–96; "Beware of Greeks Bearing Gifts": Gifts, Tribute, Bribery and Cultural Contacts in the Greek Colonial World'. In R. Rollinger, B. Gufler, M. Lang and I. Madreiter (eds.), *Interkulturalität in der Alten Welt: Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts* (Wiesbaden 2010), 41–61; 'Pots versus People: Further Consideration of the Earliest Examples of East Greek Pottery in Native Settlements of the Northern Pontus'. In A. Hermay and G.R. Tsatskheladze (eds.), *From the Pillars of Hercules to the Footsteps of the Argonauts* (Leuven 2012), 315–74; and 'From the Pillars of Hercules to the Scythian Lands: Identifying Ethno-Cultural Interactions'. In R. Rollinger and K. Schnegg (eds.), *Kulturkontakte in antiken Welten: Von Denkmodell zum Fallbeispiel* (Leuven 2014), 215–51.

⁴⁷ A. Mullen, *Southern Gaul and the Mediterranean: Multilingualism and Multiple Identities in the Iron Age and Roman Periods*, Cambridge Classical Studies, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013, xix+455 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-02059-7.

guistics with archaeology in an expanded and revised version of her Cambridge doctoral dissertation.⁴⁸ Cultural contacts (with criticism of misinterpretations based on outdated views of them), multilingualism, multiple identities and entanglement are all here, and much discussion of purely linguistic matters; the approach throughout lives up to its claims to be multidisciplinary. The work is arranged in two parts: 'Multilingualism and Multiple Identities: Interdisciplinary Methodologies', heavily linguistic, with chapters such as 'Language contact and community dynamics', 'Bilingual texts and community dynamics', 'Scripts as indicators of contact' (concluding with rethinking Hellenisation) and 'Names as indicators of contact'; and 'Multilingualism and Multiple Identities in Southern Gaul', including '... Investigating Gaulish-Greek linguistic contacts', '... Investigating the influence of the Mediterranean *koiné*', '... Investigating the *loci* of cultural change' (focused on Glanum and the Aristaion) and 'Being Greek, becoming Roman, staying Celtic? Ethnolinguistic vitality from the Augustan period'. In her initial chapter, 'Multiple voices' (pp. 3–52), she tackles the meaning of 'Celtic' head on, adopting largely a linguistic usage, and ponders 'the use [and abuse] of certain well-established “-izations”', before mapping and describing her area of study. Appendix 1 is devoted to letter forms, 2 is a welcome list of Greek inscriptions of France not included in J.-C. Decourt, *Inscriptions grecques de la France* (Lyons 2004), and 3 'Onomastica Glanitorum' (pp. 328–83). Greek obviously arrived with the Phocaean colonists of Massalia, but how far did it penetrate beyond the colonies? When did the Celts settle, and did they speak Gaulish? Mullen favours broader Mediterranean influence, not purely Massaliote, in local adoption of Greek script, the creation of Gallo-Greek, etc. Thus her '-ization' of choice is Mediterranean, not Hellenic.

Why do we need a new book on Greek colonisation in the Mediterranean in the Archaic and Classical periods?⁴⁹ This is the question Maria Cecilia D'Ercole asks herself in her Introduction. And she answers it there – because of renewed interest, constant developments and intense theoretical debate – and very satisfactorily in the following 10 chapters, which mix examination of theories and themes with four illustrative case studies (pp. 135–97): 'Le débat historiographique: un bilan' (opening with T.J. Dunbabin's *Western Greeks*, considering 'La *frontier history* et la critique de lexique de la colonisation' of the 1970s, and closing with 'L'écart anglo-saxon' – essentially Robin Osborne and responses to him), 'Un processus historique global', 'Posséder la terre', '*Nomina*. Institutions, usages, traditions', 'Les enjeux culturels' (including Greeks and locals in the Black Sea), 'Épilogues. Crises et transformation du système colonial grec' (including the cities of the Black Sea), 'Entre Orient et Occident. La première colonisation eubéenne dans la mer Tyrrhénienne', 'Un réseau occidental: les fondations de Corinthe', 'Istros et l'embouchure de Danube', 'Marseille et l'Occident' and a brief Conclusion. A useful work of synthesis (*un bilan*), drawing evidence

⁴⁸ As Mullen notes, M. Dietler's *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France* (Berkeley 2010) appeared too late for consideration (see review in *AWE* 13 [2014], 304–08), though she had access to D. Demetriadou's book (reviewed at p. 329 above).

⁴⁹ M.C. D'Ercole, *Histoires Méditerranéennes: Aspects de la colonisation grecque de l'Occident à la mer Noire (VIIIe–IVe siècles av. J.-C.)*, Éditions Errance, Arles 2012, 221 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-87772-591-9.

from ancient authors, epigraphy and archaeology, but often, quite naturally, from secondary sources, it is just the right length for students and to introduce newcomers to the subject. Of course, when forcing such a large topic into a mere 200 pages, what is left out can be as important as what is left in. A glossary and useful maps, but, alas, no index (a particular shortcoming in view of its likely readership).

Marxism can be a useful tool of analysis, though mind-numbing and disastrous when theory is turned into political practice, and, too often, grand theoretical models find that pesky facts get in the way. Peter Rose reveals himself as something of a disciple of de Ste Croix, seasoned with some Althusser and Jameson, in offering *Class in Archaic Greece*,⁵⁰ the culmination of almost half a century of work. The theory is anchored and its use intelligent, so that 'class' and not simply 'status' (not simple either) gains some plausibility in a pre-modern, pre-industrial context. Rose, well in command of sources literary and (despite disavowals) archaeological, supplies what he claims has been missing, an over-arching explanation covering 800–500 BC: Dark Age society, the rise of the *polis*, colonisation, expansion, tyrants and the emergence of democracy (sometimes). He points the finger (in the opening and closing pages and quite often in between) at scholars who have wittingly or unwittingly used Marxist analysis or terminology in their studies of the history and society of Archaic Greece (but who have not quite admitted it and who have eschewed the theoretical framework). But surely the developments of the period have more complex foundations than just a struggle to control the means of production – in this case to wrest control from a 'class' of wealthy landowners monopolising it – which Rose sees as driving change throughout the period? There are seven well-organised chapters following the lengthy 'Introduction: theoretical considerations' (pp. 1–55), its last section devoted to 'the problem of the terminology of class': 'Class in the Dark Age and the rise of the *polis*', from relative egalitarianism to aristocrat-driven *polis*-formation; 'Homer's *Iliad*: alienation from a changing world', and of Achilles from Agamemnon; 'Trade, colonization, and the *Odyssey*', with economic motives and trading prospects foremost and doubts about the use of the term (wrapped in inverted commas) (see pp. 137–38, especially the footnotes); 'Hesiod: cosmogony, *basilêes*, farmers, and justice', and nascent class struggle; 'Tyranny and the Solonian Crisis'; 'Sparta and the consolidation of the oligarchic ideal'; and 'Athens and the emergence of democracy'. Better editing needed (for a volume from Cambridge University Press!).

Guy Rogers, in *The Mysteries of Artemis of Ephesos*,⁵¹ examines literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence scrupulously and reflectively in his investigation of six centuries of continuity and change, (sometimes complex) evolution and successful adaptation by this major cult: a Darwinian tale of polytheism, plus political accommodations, the multiplication of functionaries, ever grander spectacles and commercialisation. The religious life of the Graeco-Roman world is complicated. Here we are guided through it by the study of a single important cult, placed into its political, social and cultural context and that of the massive

⁵⁰ P.W. Rose, *Class in Archaic Greece*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012, xiii+439 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-768-4. G.E.M. de Ste Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (London 1981).

⁵¹ G.M. Rogers, *The Mysteries of Artemis of Ephesos: Cult, Polis and Change in the Graeco-Roman World*, Yale University Press, New Haven/London 2012, xxv+500 pp., illustrations, 2 colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-0-300-17863-0.

expansion of its home city, possibly the greatest in Roman Asia. The text is divided into three unequal parts: '... Initiation', with chapters on 'Continuity and Change', 'Funeral Games' and 'Mysteries and Sacrifices'; '... Rites', ever more complex, the role of the Kouretes, mystic sacrifices, etc.; and '... Viewing', containing the single chapter 'Cults, Polis, and Change in the Graeco-Roman World'. Four appendices ('The Other Mystery Cults of the Polis', 'Cults of the Prytaneion', 'Chronological Chart of Kouretes' and 'Chart of Mysteries and Change'), a useful glossary, 120 pages of endnotes, a 'select modern bibliography' (still 40 pages, for secondary literature is plentiful) and a set of indexes (of ancient authors and inscriptions as well as general). A reservoir of information that make a valuable contribution to our knowledge of a prestigious and expansive civic cult (and of Ephesus itself).

Strange is the world in which an author apologises for using BC/AD. In effect Peter Wells does this in *How Ancient Europeans Saw the World*.⁵² Wells is an anthropologist and his principal concern with 'new styles of imagery or ornament' is not where they came from, etc. but 'rather what the new style can tell us about how people's ways of seeing, their visual perception, changed...' (p. 3). Thus, to interpret things correctly, we have to see things – structures, objects, burial sites, the arrangement of settlements – not as they appear to us but as they would have done, were meant to do, to their creators. But how? In part by (r)ecting several generations of interpretative accretion. The visual world of the Late Prehistoric communities of Central and Western Europe differed deeply from our own and from the literate civilisation of Rome (evident from the 2nd century BC onward). Wells turns in part to neuroscience and cognitive psychology, for instance 'extended mind theory', to recent developments in material culture studies, even, in passing, to modern practices in advertising, marketing and product design. Four chapters are subsumed under 'Theory and Method', others include 'Pottery: The Visual Ecology of the Everyday', 'Attraction and Enchantment: Fibulae', 'Status and Violence: Swords and Scabbards', 'Arranging Spaces: Objects in Graves', 'New Media in the Late Iron Age: Coins and Writing', 'Changing Patterns in Objects and in Perception', etc. Thus, the objects are familiar but the tools are not. A 'Bibliographical Essay' in place of notes.

*The World of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms: A Political and Military History*⁵³ exhibits Trevor Bryce's command of the land of Hatti. The focus is on the cities, states and territories that made up the world of the kingdoms that grew up in south-eastern Anatolia and northern Syria following the collapse of the Late Bronze Age Hittite empire in the 12th century BC, with Assyria jumping between background and foreground. Twelve chapters, grouped into three sections, 'Setting the Scene' (the possible fate of Hattusa, language and Luwian script, mass deportation and ethnic mixing; Midas and the Phrygians, the Cimmerians, Lydia and other incomers and successors in Anatolia; 'Defining the Neo-Hittites'; and discussing the Biblical Hittites), 'The Iron Age Kingdoms and Dynasties' (Neo-Hittite kingdoms in the Euphrates, in the Anti-Taurus and western Syria, in south-eastern Anatolia; Aramaean states and other states and peoples) and 'The Neo-Hittite Kingdoms in their Historical

⁵² P.S. Wells, *How Ancient Europeans Saw the World: Visions, Patterns, and the Shaping of the Mind in Prehistoric Times*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2012, xviii+285 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-14338-5.

⁵³ T. Bryce, *The World of the Neo-Hittite Kingdoms: A Political and Military History*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, xiii+356 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-921872-1.

Context' (evolution, subjection to Assyria, absorption), take us from the abandonment of the imperial capital at Hattusa to the absorption of Kummuh into the Assyrian provincial system in 708 BC, the Hittite imperial legacy and speculation about Suppiluliuma II's heirs; and spatially the confines expand to a more broadly based survey of historical developments in the Near East during the Iron Age in order to understand all-important developments and distractions in the Assyrian empire, for, as Bryce notes (pp. 3–4), the largest source of 'information about the Neo-Hittite kingdoms comes from the inscriptions of those who plundered and subjugated and finally abolished the[m] – the Assyrians'. Throughout, there is a heavy reliance on written sources, and Bryce adopts a straightforward approach to what they say, whereas one can be too clever by half; however, he could make much more use of archaeological evidence to counterbalance the shortage (or shortcomings) of the written sources, especially when he moves beyond Hatti to Greek colonisation of western Anatolia or to Midas and the fall of Gordion (in light of the new Gordion chronology and all the related debates, here ignored). Appendices contain lists of rulers and the transliterations of Luwian hieroglyphic logograms. Useful maps, and usefully free from needless diacritics.

*Trouble in the West*⁵⁴ – from Cambyses' conquest of Egypt in 525 BC to Alexander's in 332 BC, but with the 60 years after 401 BC, when Persia lost control of Egypt, at its core – is an accessible account of the 'western' policy of Achaemenid Persia, the great power of the eastern Mediterranean. As such it helps to dispel the notion that Greece was their main western interest, a conceit of Greek historians; though it is Greek literary texts that form the author's main source, a weakness after the Peace of 386 BC as Greek sources turn inward. The initial swift success (against a new and unprepared ruler, strategic ineptitude, defection and betrayal) was followed by Cambyses becoming an 'Egyptian' king, and Darius after him (a pseudo-continuity, a light hand, *contra* Herodotus – and a means of avoiding the imperial overstretch, in distance and numbers, that was evident in mounting the initial campaign). Persian rule was never secure. Action against persistent rebellions in the Western Delta was frequent, costly and generally unsuccessful; and heavy-handedness, as after the revolt of 487 BC, proved counterproductive in the long run. And it was the long-run drain on Persian resources and the concomitant exhaustion of the Egyptians – revolt after revolt and campaign after campaign down to the 330s BC – that left both open to Alexander. How Persia's Egypt problem and Egypt's Persian problem intersected and interacted with Athens, Sparta, the Ionian Greeks, Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean in the period in between is pieced together to provide a convincing narrative. The provision, in appendices, of a list of rulers and a timeline bespeaks an attempt to garner a readership beyond the specialist.

Greg Woolf's *Rome: An Empire's Story*⁵⁵ packs an enormous amount into a mere 300 pages of text; it has to – from the traditional foundation of Rome in 753 BC until... the Arab invasion of Visigothic Spain in AD 711. Perhaps AD 636 and the near simultaneous

⁵⁴ S. Ruzicka, *Trouble in the West: Egypt and the Persian Empire 525–332 BCE*, Oxford Studies in Early Empires, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, xxv+311 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-976662-8.

⁵⁵ G. Woolf, *Rome, An Empire's Story*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, xvi+366 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-960308-4.

defeat of the Romans and Persian by the Arabs (parallels with Egypt, Persia and Alexander nearly a millennium before?) might have been a better end-point. For Woolf, Rome was a fairly typical pre-industrial empire, and this influences his choice of comparisons and his rejection of modern supposed parallels. All empires fail and fall; Rome's was atypical in its longevity, thanks to its genius or good fortune in recovering from one crisis after another, until the ups and (mainly) downs of the 5th century onward, i.e. its 'success'.⁵⁶ Eighteen chapters, often pithily titled – 'At Heaven's Command', 'Things Fall Apart' – bounce the reader along from how the empire was created to its demise, and how it was sustained along the way (militarily, economically, socially). The account is conducted at a cracking pace from the first paragraph of Chapter 1, 'The Whole Story', in clear prose, purposefully illustrated and drawing on a vast range of sources. Chapters presenting a chronological narrative alternate with thematic ones on ecology, slavery, (pagan) religion, entertainment, the economy, identity, Christianity and legacy/posterity that embody the latest research, historical and archaeological. Suitable for all sorts of reader, this is probably the best short overall history of Rome to have appeared.

The first volume has been published of a long-awaited comprehensive project on Roman Philippopolis, *Rimskiyat Filipopol*.⁵⁷ The city was established after Thrace came under Macedonian domination and it achieved considerable growth and importance; in the Roman period it became even more imposing. A detailed study of the Hellenistic levels is limited by the substantial Roman architecture sitting above them. The present volume's main aim is the study of urban development from the 1st century to the beginning of the 4th century AD, achieved by examining all kinds of evidence: literary, archaeological, architectural, numismatic, etc. The second chapter divides into a section on the legacy of Hellenistic urbanisation in the Roman period and a much longer section devoted to the development of the topography of Roman Philippopolis. The ensuing four chapters make a presentation of the city's public architecture (*agora*, stadium, baths, theatre, cult architecture, water supply system), domestic architecture and its fortification system. The bibliography is impressive and the work contains a lot of fine illustrations and various appendices. The very long Germany summary makes the kernel of the book available more widely. We keenly await subsequent volumes from this project.

In *Rome on the Euphrates*,⁵⁸ first published nearly half a century ago, Freya Stark inverted the balance from travel-writing with history stirred in to history-writing with travel-writing as light seasoning. From the 'Battle of Magnesia' to 'The Age of Justinian', in 16 essentially chronological chapters, she gives an account of Rome's successful post-Carthage move east against Hellenistic Seleucid Syria and its further bouts of eastward expansion, the

⁵⁶ Failure has often attracted much more interest than success: for example, historians of the Union with Ireland, 1801–1922, often harp on its failure(s) but, compared with most European polities of the time, it was a long-lasting, politically stable success!

⁵⁷ I. Topalilov, *Rimskiyat Filipopol. Tom 1: Topografiya, Gradoustroistvo i Arkhitektura/Das Römische Philippopolis. B.1: Topografie, Städtebau und Architektur*, Faber, Veliko Turnovo, 2012 (in Bulgarian with extensive summary in German), 311 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-954-400-739-3.

⁵⁸ F. Stark, *Rome on the Euphrates: The Story of a Frontier*, new paperback edition, Tauris Parke Paperbacks, I.B. Tauris, London 2012, xviii+504 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-84885-314-0.

Mithradatic Wars, Armenia (repeatedly), etc., to establish a fluctuating frontier for which the Euphrates is shorthand. This account combines the history of Roman success and failure with that of the river and of the other states and empires seeking to control it, Seleucids, Parthians, Sasanians, etc. In the background is the draining of resources and sapping of will, not least the disruption of trade with China, that this imposed over eight centuries: buffer zones suck people in; attempts to isolate the areas beyond them are often peppered by adventurist strikes, tit-for-tat, across them, revealing strategic and logistical overstretch. A lengthy work with plenty of footnotes – mainly to ancient authors – and illustrations. The ‘modern’ bibliography runs from Mommsen and Rostovtzeff to Ostrogorsky and Glubb Pasha (familiar with Britain on the Euphrates). Just savour the writing.

Two-and-a-half cheers for the Huns! – though the dust-jacket illustration reinforces the stereotype.⁵⁹ As C.L. Beckwith has already argued in a broader sweep,⁶⁰ Inner Asia was far less backward than has commonly been supposed: most of the ‘evidence’ for the backward steppe had come from the entirely unbiased accounts of the powers on its periphery on whom these unsophisticates wreaked damage. Hyun Jin Kim takes up the cudgels to delineate the Huns as far from primitive, having created their own highly sophisticated political culture before any encounters with more ‘civilised’ or ‘advanced’ Germanic peoples, having a sufficient culture of their own not to be mere passive recipients of all that advanced Western civilisation they encountered towards the end of their long march, being a conduit for the transmission of aspects of Central Eurasian culture to the West, feeding in to the creation of ‘Europe’ (torchbearers?), and blazing a path for the series of other steppe empires that spread west (and east) with such frequency and fecundity over the following millennium. An Introduction (the significance of steppe empires, the new world order of late antiquity and beyond), leads on to ‘Rome’s Inner Asian enemies before the Huns’ (Parthians, Sasanids), ‘The Huns in Central Asia’ (from before the 4th up to the 6th century AD), ‘The Huns in Europe’ (Rome, Germanic tribes, Roman military collapse), ‘The end of the Hunnic Empire in the west’ (civil war, Ardaric, Odoacer, Valamer, Ostrogoths, new invasions from the East; the most detailed chapter), ‘The later Huns and the birth of Europe’ (Bulgars, Oghurs, Avars), a brief ‘Conclusion’, asking ‘where indeed does Europe end?’ and, fashionably, reiterating the cosmopolitan nature of the Hunnic and Roman empires (p. 158). Extremely detailed endnotes.

Mariya Ivanova, in *The Black Sea and the Early Civilizations of Europe, the Near East and Asia*, aims to place the prehistory of the Black Sea in a global and historical context, hence the second part of the title.⁶¹ The brief Introduction leads into eight chapters: ‘Environment’, ‘A Framework of Technology’ and ‘Eurasia: The Neolithic Prologue’; then ‘The Valley of the Lower Kuban’, ‘The North Black Sea Grassland’, ‘Wetlands of the Western Black Sea’ and ‘Unknown Coasts: The Black Sea Littoral of Anatolia’ (unknown then and later, but with some surprising omissions of what has become known through

⁵⁹ H.J. Kim, *The Huns, Rome and the Birth of Europe*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013, viii+338 pp., 3 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-00906-6.

⁶⁰ *Empires of the Silk Road: A History of Central Eurasia from the Bronze Age to the Present* (Princeton 2009). Reviewed in *AWE* 12 (2013), 351–52.

⁶¹ M. Ivanova, *The Black Sea and the Early Civilizations of Europe, the Near East and Asia*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013, xvii+390 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-03219-4.

recent work), the core; and 'Conclusions: The Black Sea and the Outside World'. Although the volume claims to cover the whole Black Sea, in reality its focus is mainly the steppes of the northern Black Sea, Eurasia and the North Caucasus. For the western Pontus it is the Usatova culture that is presented. But what about the lands of modern-day Bulgaria and Romania: they appear just in passing yet they are surely the true western Black Sea. The eastern Black Sea is practically ignored even within a one-page survey of the Caucasian coast. For Ivanova it is mainly the North Caucasus. The bibliography is extensive (over 60 pages) and useful, but for Western scholars it carries the drawback that Cyrillic publications are given in that alphabet, neither transliterated (though the names of the authors are) nor translated. I believe that the author does not know Georgian, since there is no Georgian material cited (presenting this in the original alphabet would be really unhelpful), and the Georgian Bronze Age receives the barest coverage. In this regard, and in some matters of terminology and structure (some lengthy digressions that interrupt the flow), Cambridge University Press seems to have fallen asleep at the editorial wheel. Notwithstanding these irritations, an ambitious and very useful work of synthesis covering four or five millennia. It shows the difficulty of knitting together theoretical and methodological divisions, not least on account of the generations of mutual isolation arising from the existence of the Soviet Union and then its satellites – the Introduction considers the Soviet legacy.

David Redfern⁶² offers a short study of the manufacturing technology of Scythian gold jewellery compared with Greek, 7th–5th centuries BC, using laser optics in the study of tool-marks on 146 items from the Ashmolean, the Antikensammlung in Berlin and the private Feinstein collection in Berlin. The focus is the northern Black Sea and its hinterland. Chapter 1 deals with the methodology and with problems of chronology (pp. 3–19); Chapter 2 – after an introductory account of the Scythians and their contacts, steppe cultures, Transylvanian raw materials, and Greek colonisation, trade, exchange and craftsmen – with case studies of objects from a gold hoard found at Vetttersfelde and the Berlin portion of the Maikop Hoard, from an illegal excavation at Nymphaeum by Franz Biller in 1868 (Ashmolean) and the privately held necklace from the Nikolaev area, concluding with a section on production technology; and a brief Chapter 3 (pp. 93–96) offers general conclusions. Useful distribution maps of comparable necklaces to the Nikolaev one, and of punches, matrices and moulds. Unfortunately, the author lacks knowledge of the extensive Russo-Ukrainian bibliography, a great hindrance for his general discussion of Scythians, Greek colonisation and Graeco-Scythian relations. A little more care with notes and proof-reading required.

*Writing...*⁶³ is designed as a brief introduction to an 'immense, tangled, and obscure topic', made even more obscure by a 'careless use of categories and terms' and by the professionals' 'neologisms, buzzwords, and ... attempt a[t] fatal precision' (all p. xv): what

⁶² D.V. Redfern, *A Study of Scythian Gold Jewellery Manufacturing Technology and its Comparison to Greek Techniques from the 7th to 5th Centuries BC*, BAR International Series 2424, Archaeopress, Oxford 2012, ii+102 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1023-7.

⁶³ B.P. Powell, *Writing: Theory and History of the Technology of Civilization*, Paperback edition, Wiley-Blackwell, Malden, MA/Oxford/Chichester 2012, xx+276 pp., illustrations. Paperback, ISBN 978-1-118-25532-2.

writing is, how it developed in antiquity, and how its structures serve social needs and create patterns of social behaviour. There are 18 chapters from 'What is Writing?' (and how it relates to language and speech, or not), 'Writing with Signs', 'Categories and Features of Writing' and 'Some General Issues in the Study of Writing', via 'Protocuneiform and Counting Tokens', the 'Origin of Lexigraphic Writing in Mesopotamia', four chapters on Egyptian hieroglyphs and speech, 'Syllabic Scripts of the Aegean', three on West Semitic writing (Ugarit, the Phoenicians), one on Chinese, one of Mesoamerica (Mayan), to 'The Greek Alphabet: Writing That Changed the World'. The author seeks to explain and limit the terminology, producing an accessible work on a difficult topic. Extensively illustrated and furnished with a chronology, a glossary and 'Further Reading'. Commendable and recommendable.

And from theory to practice in *Bronze Age Bureaucracy*, by Nicholas Postgate, long-time Professor of Assyriology in Cambridge and excavator in Iraq and southern Turkey.⁶⁴ Postgate's stated aim, which he achieves, is to enhance our understanding of the administrative-governmental processes of the Middle Assyrian period by undertaking detailed examination of ten archives (i.e. cuneiform, tablets) within their socio-political context. A brisk Introduction also provides the context of Mesopotamian bureaucracy and a clear outline of the structure of the book and chapters to follow. Chapter 2 is 'The Land of Aššur in the Late Bronze Age' (context), followed by 'Writing in Assyria: The Scribes and Their Output' (practices), two survey chapters, before taking five 'Archives at Aššur' and five more 'Archives in the Provinces' and subjecting them to scrutiny in (sometimes great) detail (pp. 86–326). Here, Postgate's mastery of the primary sources and their interpretation is clear, and the presentation is also far less daunting than a non-specialist might expect. We can see the wood for the trees and the pathway through the dense philological foliage (much of it exiled to the footnotes) remains open. 'The Government of Assyria and its Impact' is considered in Chapter 6. 'Nuzi, the Nearest Neighbour' and 'Western Contemporaries: Alalah, Ugarit and Greece', Chapters 7–8, provide a backdrop, comparisons and contrasts. Finally, to conclude, 'The Records of Government', and a thought with echoes down the millennia: (over) expansion/overstretch of the state producing a top-heavy bureaucracy thence administrative-governmental sclerosis. We learn of the nature and ethos of government, offerings to the national shrine, state agriculture, the economy, politics, palace etiquette, etc. Useful appendices and a thorough set of indexes of Akkadian words, toponyms and ethnonyms, personal names, subjects and citations.

To end, I would like to mention the deserved appearance in paperback of *Art in Athens During the Peloponnesian War*, first published in 2009 and reviewed in *AWE* 11 (2012), p. 284.⁶⁵

Linacre College, Oxford/University of Nottingham/International Gocha R. Tsatskheladze
Hellenic University, Thessaloniki/University of Bucharest

⁶⁴ N. Postgate, *Bronze Age Bureaucracy: Writing and the Practice of Government in Assyria*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013, xi+484 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-04375-6.

⁶⁵ O. Palagia (ed.), *Art in Athens during the Peloponnesian War*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2014, xxiv+286 pp., illustrations. Paperback edition. ISBN 978-1-107-65654-3.

BEYOND THE BOUNDARIES OF POST-PHARAONIC EGYPT

S. Guéron (ed.), *Entre Afrique et Égypte: relations et échanges entre les espaces au sud de la Méditerranée à l'époque romaine*, Scripta Antiqua 49, Ausonius Éditions, Bordeaux 2012, 326 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-2-35613-077-8/ISSN 1298-1990.

J.H.F. Dijkstra and G. Fisher (eds.), *Inside and Out: Interactions between Rome and the Peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity*, Late Antique History and Religion 8, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2014, xviii+481 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-33124-4.

E.R. O'Connell (ed.), *Egypt in the First Millennium AD: Perspectives from New Fieldwork*, British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 2, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2014, xiv+230 pp., illustrations 68 pp. of colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-3071-1.

Scholars have circumscribed the temporal and spatial boundaries of ancient Egypt since the earliest days of the discipline. Pharaonic eras along the Nile Valley occupied pride of place. Over the years, this spatial focus has slowly widened to include the Nile Delta, and the Eastern and Western Deserts. In the past several decades, study of the later phases of Egyptian history has become increasingly common. Economic and social exchanges in these later periods and peripheral areas, as can be detected in port cities and towns, have also drawn increased attention.¹ Such developments reveal significant new connections between Egypt and other regions.

Three recent publications continue to build upon this trend by reimagining the ways in which we can investigate the temporal and physical boundaries of the ancient world. These publications question the source material itself, whose perspective we receive, and the composition of the interactions between peoples across space and time. In so doing, they promote the promising new directions of scholarship within post-Pharaonic Egypt.

Entre Afrique et Égypte is a book resulting from a colloquium held at the University of Limoges in September 2010. The volume explores the relations between North Africa and Egypt during the period that they were united under the political and administrative control of the Roman empire. The relationships between Egypt and North Africa had a long history prior to Roman rule, yet it is a well-known truism that imperial control creates new conditions for economic and social exchanges.

The 15 chapters in this volume are grouped into four sections: 'Itinéraires et lieux d'échange', which has three chapters reviewing exchange and travel between Egypt and North Africa; 'Les traces matérielles de l'échange: les objets de l'échange', which examines the exchange of small finds, ceramics and cotton; 'Transfert des idées, transfert des savoirs', which explores technological (hydrological mainly) exchanges as well as stylistic impacts upon art and architecture; and 'Voyages et déplacements des gouvernants et des peuples',

¹ For example: W.V. Harris and G.R. Ruffini, *Ancient Alexandria between Egypt and Greece* (Leiden/Boston 2004); S.E. Sidebotham, *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route* (Berkeley 2011); and S.E. Sidebotham, M. Hense and H.M. Nouwens, *The Red Land: The Illustrated Archaeology of Egypt's Eastern Desert* (Cairo/New York 2008).

which provides case studies of shifting groups of peoples under Roman rule and later. While some of the contributors are sceptical about the evidence for connections that they can muster (Bagnall), others reveal strong evidence of contact (Ballet *et al.*, Gatto and Mori) and tantalising clues of connections that once eluded scholars (Gradel *et al.*).

The book has a large number of illustrations to accompany the individual contributions, which aid the reader. The wealth of illustrations may have come at some cost as some of the figures could have been reproduced more clearly: some are too dark to see clearly and many lack scale bars (for example: Abdelouahab and Soltani; Leveau), while others are rendered at such small scale as to make the scale bar illegible (for example Michel). Another small issue concerns the 'Sommaire', which includes incorrect page numbers for the final three chapters and for the bibliography. Despite these drawbacks, the volume provides a highly desirable account of the connections between Egypt and North Africa, which has been lacking for far too long.

Inside and Out also provides an insightful introduction to interactions during Roman rule. This volume focuses particularly on late antiquity, and chiefly upon areas in Egypt and Arabia, although Nubia is also covered (by Smith and by Edwards, for example, as well as within other chapters). The intent of the volume is to explore how the Arabs perceived their position in the face of great powers such as Rome and (to a lesser extent) Persia as well as compare the situation on the Arabian frontier with that on the southern Egyptian frontier (Dijkstra and Fisher, in their 'General Introduction' at pp. 7–9).

One of the most welcome aspects of this volume is the endeavour to include 'voices' from inside and outside the dominant powers. This approach answers an issue that Whittaker raised in 1994 regarding frontier studies: 'The trouble with all our frontier studies is that they are made from the inside outward...I wondered how those whom Romans called "barbarians" – those beyond the frontiers – would have viewed the Roman frontier from outside.'²

In order to supply these inside and outside voices, the editors included contributions that cover epigraphy, archaeology, documentary, literary and other sources. This range in material is remarkable and, naturally, contradictions arise in the process. These contradictions are acknowledged by the contributors and explored in some of the articles. Such contradictions are valuable to the discipline and worthy of additional exploration in future research.

There are two chapters at the start of the volume ('General Introduction' and 'The Peoples beyond the Arabian Frontier in Late Antiquity') followed by 17 chapters divided into six sections: 'An Anthropological Approach', which contains two papers that apply anthropological terminology and frameworks to the ancient material; 'The Precursors', in which four papers examine relationships prior to late antiquity (for this volume the 4th century is taken as the start of late antiquity); 'The 'Outside' Sources', which has three chapters covering Roman source material relating to the frontiers; 'The "Inside" Sources', which contains four chapters dealing primarily with documentary sources written by those on the periphery of these great powers; 'The Religious Dimension', which contains two papers that address Christianity and the miaphysite movement; and 'The Aftermath', which

² C.R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore 1994), 241.

contains two papers that address the situation on the frontiers after Roman rule crumbled in this region.

The volume is well illustrated with clear figures and maps. Each of the chapters following the General Introduction begins with an abstract. Although the volume is highly specialised, the authors define their terms and set up their case studies clearly. Specialists will find this volume easy to consult, even if certain regions or periods lie outside of their expertise. In sum, *Inside and Out* is one of the most significant volumes on late antique Egyptian and Arabian frontiers to appear in recent years. Its impact upon the discipline is both certain and welcome.

Egypt in the First Millennium AD focuses on the results derived from recent fieldwork upon post-Pharaonic sites in Egypt. Although Egypt has a long and vibrant history of excavation, post-Pharaonic Egypt was neglected until more recent decades. Recently, authors have made valuable inroads into understanding post-Pharaonic rule.³ This edited book is the outcome of a conference held at the British Museum in July 2012. This reviewer participated in the conference and contributed to the volume, which both influences my perspective and amplifies my background understanding of the editor's aims.

In addition to Rathbone's Preface and O'Connell's well-written introduction, the volume contains 14 chapters divided into four sections. The editor attempted broad geographical coverage for each section: 'Settlements', which contains four chapters, covering the Western Desert, Nile Valley and the Delta; 'Cemeteries', which contains three chapters, some of which focus on particular objects or attributes of cemeteries; 'Settling Rock-Cut Tombs and Quarries', which contains four chapters; and 'Temple-Church-Mosque', which contains three chapters on the long-term reuse of religious sites in Egypt. Themes of continuity and change weave throughout most of the contributing chapters, which is one of the aims for the volume (as O'Connell makes clear in her introduction, p. 1).

The volume is lavishly produced and illustrated with both black-and-white as well as colour plates. The text has been edited carefully; each contributor defines terms and explains perspectives clearly. There are few notable editorial errors. It is hoped that this volume will draw continued attention to fieldwork in post-Pharaonic Egypt, which has made great gains in the past several decades.

In conclusion, the volumes discussed here move beyond traditional spatial and temporal boundaries typically circumscribed around ancient Egypt. The editors of these works have cultivated dialogues between 'inside' and 'outside' voices (Dijkstra and Fisher), connections between Egypt and other regions (Guédon; Dijkstra and Fisher), as well as probed the edges of new knowledge gained from recent excavation (O'Connell). These approaches take the reader well beyond traditional Egyptology and, in so doing, invigorate the discipline.

³ For summaries, see R.S. Bagnall, 'Archaeological Work on Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, 1995–2000'. *AJA* 105 (2001), 227–43; R.S. Bagnall and P. Davoli, 'Archaeological Work on Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, 2001–2009'. *AJA* 115 (2011), 103–57; C. Riggs, 'Introduction'. In C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (Oxford 2012), 1–8; A.L. Boozer, 'New Perspectives on Post-Pharaonic Egypt'. *AWE* 13 (2014), 260–64.

Evidence forms a fundamental concern within all of the volumes: many contributors to *Entre Afrique et Égypte* bemoan the lack of hard evidence to suggest connections which authors suspect once existed; *Inside and Out* queries the tensions that we might find in our historical understandings when allowing different voices and perspectives to be heard; and *Egypt in the First Millennium AD* demonstrates the step changes that can occur in a discipline when scientifically grounded methodologies are applied to periods and data once thought to be insignificant. An additional insight – particularly evident in O’Connell’s volume, but present in all – is how we can understand continuity and change. This question is enormous and unwieldy. Although it is a question that will preoccupy scholars for a long time to come, these volumes have created new questions to address the concern of continuity and change.

Finally, for studies of post-Pharaonic Egypt to penetrate into other arenas of study, scholars must engage with conceptual frameworks employed across related areas of study. Among these three volumes, concepts of ‘connectivity’,⁴ ‘consumption’⁵ and ‘entanglement’,⁶ in particular, would be relevant to the discussions. The reviewed works engage more (Dijkstra and Fisher) or less (Guédon) with such theoretical frameworks. This lack of theoretical engagement does not weaken works that do not employ them, *per se*, but it may limit their impact to specialists beyond Egypt. As the questions raised by these three volumes have much to contribute to these theoretical discussions, it is hoped that additional inroads into social theory will be made.

In sum, these three volumes are timely additions to the growing works on the multifaceted world of post-Pharaonic Egypt. They will provide specialist scholars ample new questions to pursue for years to come.

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THE EDINBURGH HISTORY OF ANCIENT ROME

C. Ando, *Imperial Rome, AD 193 to 284: The Critical Century*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2012, xiv+256 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-7486-2050-0

J. Harries, *Imperial Rome, AD 284 to 363: The New Empire*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2012, xvii+366 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-7486-2053-1

A.D. Lee, *From Rome to Byzantium, AD 363 to 565: The Transformation of Ancient Rome*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2013, xxii+337 pp., illustrations. Paperback: ISBN 978-0-7486-2791-2

⁴ O. LaBianca and S.A. Scham (eds.), *Connectivity in Antiquity: Globalization as Long-Term Historical Process* (London 2006).

⁵ P.R. Mullins, ‘The Archaeology of Consumption’. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40 (2011), 133–44.

⁶ M. Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France* (Berkeley 2010). Reviewed in *AWE* 13 (2014), 304–08.

- J.S. Richardson, *Augustan Rome, 44 BC to AD 14: The Restoration of the Republic and the Establishment of the Empire*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2012, xviii+266 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-7486-1954-9
- N. Rosenstein, *Rome and the Mediterranean, 290 to 146 BC: The Imperial Republic*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2012, xix+290 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-7486-2322-8
- C. Steel, *The End of the Roman Republic, 146 to 44 BC: Conquest and Crisis*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2013, xi+284 pp., 1 map. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-7486-1945-0

This review deals with the six volumes of the *Edinburgh History of Ancient Rome* currently in print, produced under the editorship of J.S. Richardson (who also provides the volume dealing with the Augustan era in the series). The first four volumes appeared in 2012 (covering the periods 290–146 BC, 44 BC–AD 14, AD 193–284 and 284–363 respectively) with two more following in 2013 (on the periods 146–44 BC and AD 365–565). A further two, one covering ‘Early Roman Italy’ and another on the years between the reigns of Tiberius and Commodus are yet to be published. When the series is completed, there will be eight volumes in all, covering more than a thousand years of Roman history from Early Roman Italy to AD 565. In Richardson’s editorial preface, included with each of the volumes, it is stated that the intention of the series is ‘to present for students and all who are interested in the history of western civilisation the changing shape of the entity that was Rome’. It can be stated at the outset that upon the basis of the six which are reviewed here the series has achieved this goal admirably. Richardson also identifies two general questions; first, ‘what was Rome?’, and second, ‘how did a small city in central Italy become one of the most power and significant entities in the history of the world?’.

The series comprises a number of features which will indeed be of value to students. In general terms, each of the volumes is able to stand alone as a history of the particular period; the student need not read the other books in the set in order to find important context. While this approach results in some degree of cross-over of topics between one and the next (something which is noticeable when reading six in sequence) it is likely to be of value to readers who are looking for discussion on specific periods, eras and topics from Roman history. Thus, for instance, J. Harries (on AD 284–363) opens with a survey of the 3rd century (pp. 1–24) which overlaps with, yet is distinct from, C. Ando in the corresponding volume covering AD 193–284. There is no cross-referencing between the volumes. Each book adopts a generally chronological treatment of its material (though including chapters which survey broader issues diachronically) and discussion of the ancient sources is evident in each of the six reviewed here. The political and social structures that governed the Roman world are given particular attention in each volume, and this emerges strongly as a major theme throughout the series. The key wars, players and political upheavals of each era are discussed and a useful chronology and guide to further reading is included in each. Each volume includes one or more maps and illustrations.

Nathan Rosenstein provides the volume for 290–146 BC, the second in the completed series. He alternates between broader survey chapters and those which provide a more narrative history. The first chapter examines the Roman aristocracy in the mid-Republic

and rightly emphasises the numerous ways, both subtle and overt, in which power was exercised by the Roman aristocracy. Chapter 2 deals with the period from 290 BC to the end of the First Punic War. Chapter 3, which covers the period between the First and Second Punic Wars focuses upon a survey of the rise of Rome's military power with an account of the Second Punic War provided in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 narrates the wars of the early 2nd century BC and flows into discussion of the long-debated nature of Roman imperialism. Chapter 6 covers the period up until 146 BC and the destruction of Carthage. The seventh and final chapter of the book neatly continues on from where the first chapter had begun; surveying how the period from 290 to 146 changed Rome and in particular the character of its ruling class. In each chapter Rosenstein discusses many of the major historical scholarly debates while making the subject matter accessible for the general reader.

In the next book, Catherine Steel covers the final century of the Roman Republic (146–44 BC). Steel adopts a thematic approach. Chapters 1 to 3 dealing with 'The Crisis of the later Second Century BC' (pp. 9–41), 'Domestic Politics' (pp. 42–61) and 'Imperial Power' (pp. 62–79) respectively; each integrates broad thematic discussion with a focus on the key events and on particular issues. This is followed with a more narrative history approach in Chapter 4 discussing the events of 91 to 70/69 BC and again in Chapter 6 on the period of 70 to 44 BC. This is a very readable account of a momentous and exceedingly violent time in Roman history. It manages to navigate the numerous historiographic debates on this period lucidly.

Richardson's *Augustan Rome* (44 BC–AD 14) deals with an era of Roman history for which there are numerous competing general histories; for instance, Zanker (1988), Eck (2007), Galinsky (2012).¹ In the volume Richardson focuses firmly upon the political-military history of the period. Subtitled *The Restoration of the Republic and the Establishment of the Empire*, the general interpretation presented is of Octavian/Augustus as having renewed Republican institutions while establishing himself as sole ruler. Comparatively little attention is devoted to the artistic and cultural changes of the period, or indeed, the role of public art and the monumentalisation of Augustus' achievements and his family until the final chapter. Richardson also adopts a particularly chronological approach, more so than the other volumes in the series. A short chapter on Octavian's birth and early life is followed by Chapter 2 covering the years 44 to 41. Chapter 3, on the era of the *triumviri R.P.C.*, is followed by two chapters on the long period of his sole rule. A concluding chapter surveys the content of the *res gestae* and then uses this to branch into discussion of how Augustus and his family became imbedded into the fabric Roman society. The nomenclature used in the book of Octavian/C. Iulius Caesar divi filius/Imperator Iulius Caesar/Augustus is addressed in an opening note but still risks confusing some students and general readers.

As is frequently observed, the 3rd century is a period which suffers from a dismal lack of good literary source material. In addition, numerous 'regime changes', hostile later sources and significant gaps in our knowledge are exceptionally challenging for undergraduate

¹ P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor 1988); W. Eck, *The Age of Augustus*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 2007); K. Galinsky, *Augustus: Introduction to the Life of an Emperor* (Cambridge 2012).

students to grapple with. A general history such as that which Clifford Ando has provided (dealing with the period of AD 193–284) is, in this regard, all the more essential for students wanting to study the 3rd century. Ando does a skilful job of setting out a readable narrative from the patchy and inconsistent source material (indeed sometimes with sources which seem to have been written with the intention of misleading). Those chapters which offer a more ‘event’-focused discussion are divided into the Severans, Maximinus to Philip (Chapter 5), Decius to the reign of Gallienus (Chapter 7) and finally, the successors of Gallienus up till the ascension of Diocletian (Chapter 9). There is often a relatively high level focus in the book on the emperor, governance and the provinces and the period is treated primarily as one of real crisis. Ando does not shy away from using colourful language to describe subjects, for instance referring to the ‘idiocy’ of Septimius Severus (p. 62), ‘the imbecility of Maximinus’ or indeed ‘the staggering idiocy, one might say, of the imperial system’ (p. 105). Ando notably views the *Constitutio Antoniniana* passed under Caracalla as significant (pp. 76–77). His reconstruction of the string of emperors that followed Alexander Severus in quick succession makes complex and confusing topics accessible and engaging to the general reader. This volume includes a list of emperors and usurpers, a worthwhile feature for students, in addition to the chronology and guide to further reading.

In the next volume, Jill Harries covers the period of Diocletian, Constantine and the rule of his family (AD 284–363). Chapter 1, entitled ‘The Long Third Century’ provides a wide-ranging discussion of the conditions of the empire, highlighting elements of continuity and change from the mid-3rd century through to the later part of the 4th (with the death of Julian). In so doing it touches upon many of the major themes of the period in general; the efforts from the time of Gallienus onward to regain the military stability of the empire (pp. 7–8), the ongoing challenges to finances, the philosophical/religious climate, a discussion which is returned to in Chapter 14. A series of chapters follow which deal with the period encompassed by the reign of Diocletian, investigating the reign of Diocletian and his colleagues; his momentous (and unique) ‘abdication’ in May 305 is briefly covered (p. 41). Chapter 3 deals with the reforms of provincial organisation, the army, the economy and the law, Chapter 4 the state’s interaction with, and persecution of, religious groups. A series of chapters deals with the rise to power of Constantine (Chapter 5), discussion of his legislative reforms (Chapter 6) and his interactions with the Church (Chapter 7). Chapter 8 discusses the reigns of the sons of Constantine, while Chapter 9 considers warfare and the security of the empire between the death of Constantine and the reign of Julian. Chapters 10 to 12 deal with the relationship of the empire and the Church, women, and Rome and Antioch. Chapter 13 provides a focused discussion of the reign of Julian. The momentous social and cultural changes of the period are discussed but the focus is frequently upon how the state variously reacted or interacted with these movements. This is also the most illustrated of the volumes; with 50 figures in all, grouped at the end of most chapters. Unfortunately in the paperback copy reviewed here some were small and several indistinct.

A.D. Lee’s volume, the final in the series, covers a significantly longer period (AD 365–565) than the others in spite of the more detailed ancient material which exists (when compared with, for instance, the 3rd century). The issue of what constitutes an appropriate ‘end’ to the ancient history of Rome is relevant in a volume that has this scope and the issue is raised a number of times. The reign of Justinian is a reasonable point to complete the series

(although one could argue in favour of the reigns of Constantine, Julian, Theodosius or Romulus Augustulus as logical terminal points for a general history of Rome for different reasons). Like several others in the series, this volume employs its own distinctive structure. It is divided into four parts. Part 1 covers the latter 4th century from the reign of Julian, part 2 the 'long' 5th century, while part 3 provides a thematically organised discussion of 'longer term trends'. Part 4 deals with the era of Justinian and provides the end point not only for the volume, but indeed, for the series as a whole, concluding with a chapter on 'Justinian and the Roman Past' which is coupled with 'Justinian and the Christian Present'. A list of rulers and a list of bishops of Rome are included in addition to the other appendices.

Having discussed the individual volumes in the series, what can be said of it as a whole? The choice of divisions into periods in this series seems sensible and, for example, the period of 290 to 146 BC neatly encompasses, from the Pyrrhic War to the destruction of Carthage and the rich literary sources for the rise of the Republic. The death of Julian in 363 as the division between the last two volumes is more distinctive but is justified (see Lee's argument, pp. xiii–xvi). The later volumes encompass a broader historical scope than their nominal dates, which perhaps reflects the difficulties in later Roman history of defining points of fundamental transition – but it also means the volumes can stand independently of one another.

There are some minor variances between books in the series; examples are the lack of a bibliography in the 44 BC to AD 14 volume, differing levels of detail in the footnotes, chronology and further reading sections, and differences in the sizing and clarity of the illustrations and maps. As can be seen from the above survey, however, in each volume the series provides an intelligent and highly readable account of the respective periods, skilfully pitched to their intended audience. Roman historians will, however, notice the numerous interpretative insights of each author and in this regard each volume is able to stand alone. The period covered by each is relatively short; less than a century in the case of several. This allows for each author to engage in detailed discussions of broader issues amidst sections that present a more chronologically organised history. While seeming to be targeted at the tertiary student market and, to a lesser extent, some general readers, each of the volumes in the series covered by this review succeeds in highlighting the complexities of their respective topics and periods.

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P. Adam-Veleni and D. Tsangari (eds.), *Greek Colonisation: New Data, Current Approaches*, Proceedings of the Scientific Meeting held in Thessaloniki (6 February 2015), Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki/Alpha Bank, Athens 2015, 227 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-618-5072-16-2

1.

Not a new subject, but one which by now encompasses the full range of archaeological, historical and art-historical studies, so that all scholars will find at least a minority of subjects here to interest them. I can do little more than index them.

On sites: Lentini, Pakkenen and Sarris report on new finds at Sicilian Naxos, especially related to domestic planning, the *agora* and ship-sheds. Klenina turns to the Hellenistic development of the Dorian colony of Tauric Chersonesos. Petropoulos considers Sybaris in the light of recent Greek excavations there. Roubis reconsiders the role of sites in the Basilicata region.

On objects and classes of objects: Tsangari looks at sea images on colonial coins; and Tselekas at motifs on northern Greek silver in the west.

There are broader issues too. Adam-Veleni considers the interactions in various areas between peripherally Greek Macedonia and the west. The relevance of northern Greece and Macedonia to developments in the western colonies in later but pre-Roman periods is being better appreciated by now. Manoledakis looks at the viewpoint of the local population in the southern Black Sea regions of colonisation, an area rather neglected in favour of the other shores. Osanna looks at local and imported cults in pre-Roman Pompeii. Petropoulos takes a broader view of relations with native peoples in the Black Sea region. Stefani goes back to the Bronze Age to review Mycenaean relations east and west. Terzopoulou takes us to the fount of so much of our knowledge and understanding of Archaic Greece by turning to Herodotus' use of Anacharsis, the Scythian traveller and sage, who, whether he existed or not, was the excuse for our most valuable ancient study of Central Asia, regularly now being justified by scholarship. Finally, Tsatskheladze gives a brief but masterly review of the current state of studies regarding the interrelations and inter-indebtedness of Greeks and non-Greeks. We can be too generous in both respects.

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John Boardman

2.

In a little over 200 years between the mid-8th century and the late 6th century BC Greek settlement expanded from its Aegean homeland to cover most of the Mediterranean and Black Sea basins in one of the great ethnic migrations of antiquity. Investigation of this phenomenon is, understandably, one of the major themes of Classical Archaeology and the subject of numerous conferences. *Greek Colonisation: New Data and Current Approaches* is a welcome addition to this literature, containing the proceedings of one such conference that was held at Thessaloniki on 6 February 2015.

Reflecting the geographical breadth of Greek settlement, the participants were international, including scholars from Spain, Italy, Greece, the Ukraine and Australia. All the papers in the proceedings are in English and follow a common format, being preceded by an extensive abstract in Modern Greek and followed by a bibliography emphasising recent publications and illustrations and plans. As its title, *Greek Colonisation: New Data, Current Approaches*, indicates, the 13 papers in the volume are strongly empirical in character, providing brief but up-to-date summaries of the results of current excavations, primarily in Italy and the Black Sea, with six papers dealing with the former region, four with the latter area, and three with more general topics concerning Greek colonisation.

The first of the six articles dealing with Italy is a suggestive paper by Polyxeni Adam-Veleni arguing for trade connections in the Archaic and Classical periods between Greek colonies in northern Greece, principally the Chalcidice, and Italy and Sicily on the basis of

similarities established by recent discoveries in a variety of cultural phenomena including art, technology, religion, coinage and writing. More closely focused on Sicily is Maria Costanza Lentini, Jari Pakkanen and Apostolos Sarris's paper which summarises the results of the joint Italian, Greek and Finnish excavation at Naxos which focused on reconstructing the urban plan of 5th-century BC Naxos, with particular emphasis on the city's ship-sheds and agora and their relationship to its orthogonal street plan. The focus shifts back to Italy with Massimo Osanna's discussion of votive finds at Pompeii, suggesting in particular that terracotta female busts found in the Athena sanctuary reflect Athena's responsibility at Pompeii for the life cycles of both male and female children. Michalis Petropoulos's paper reports on the results of the joint Italian and Greek excavations at the site of Sybaris, notably the discovery of the remains of the 4th-century BC walls of Thurii and the establishment of a relative chronology for building activity at Sybaris from the late 6th to the first half of the 4th century BC. Particularly interesting is the paper of Dimitris Roubis analysing the symbiotic relationship between Metapontion and its non-Greek neighbours, which demonstrates that the city's *chora* was devoted to intensive agriculture and its hinterland to various forms of specialised pastoralism. In the final paper of this group, Panagiotis Tselekas establishes through a review of the evidence of coin hoards that northern Greek coins were a small but significant source of silver for South Italian and Sicilian mints prior to 480 BC.

The four papers devoted to Greek colonisation in the Black Sea, while also built on a strong empirical base, are more interpretative in character than those dealing with the western Mediterranean. In the first paper of the group Elena Klenina uses archaeological evidence to provide a lucid overview of the economic history of Tauric Chersonesus from its foundation in the 5th century to the late 2nd century BC. In their papers Manolis Manoledakis and Elias Petropoulos treat one of the major issues of Black Sea scholarship, the attitude of the non-Greek populations of the region to Greek settlement. Manoledakis, relying primarily on literary evidence because of the inadequacy of archaeology on the south coast of the Black Sea, maintains that Greek settlement in the region was only possible because of the active collaboration of the local populations who saw it as advantageous to them. By contrast, Petropoulos claims that most Black Sea Greek colonies were not founded on sites previously occupied by local populations as is usually believed, arguing instead that dug out structures and handmade pottery, which are generally understood as indicative of the presence of non-Greeks, should, in fact, be ascribed to the Greek settlers. The Black Sea papers conclude with Domna Terzopoulou's analysis of the history of the figure of Anacharsis, the Scythian wise-man, from his first appearance in the fourth book of Herodotus' *Histories* throughout antiquity to his reappearance in the 18th century in Jean-Jacques Barthélemy's enormous novel, *The Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece during the middle of the fourth century before the Christian Era*, and its influence on the formation of Modern Greek revolutionary thought.

The final three papers in the volume deal with a miscellany of topics related to the general topic of colonisation. Evangelia Stefani lucidly reviews Greek Mediterranean contacts in the 2nd millennium BC, arguing that Mycenaean activity covered most of the Mediterranean so that when colonisation began in the 8th century BC the Greeks did not go to unknown territories but to ones known for centuries. Dimitra Tsangari briefly but clearly describes in her paper how the intimate relationship of Greek colonies with the sea and

seamanship was reflected in the types they chose for their coins. The book closes with an illuminating survey by Gocha Tsetskhladze of the state of current scholarship concerning Greek colonisation, highlighting the shift in emphasis from questions concerning the reason for colonisation to discussion of the interaction between the Greeks and the native populations in whose territories they settled.

Greek Colonisation: New Data, Current Approaches is an interesting and useful volume. Its empiricism and emphasis on recent work is both its strength and its weakness. As Tsetskhladze's paper makes clear, recent scholarship – particularly Anglo-American scholarship – on Greek colonisation is rich and varied, but few of the papers engage with it. A more serious problem is the nature of the publication itself. The conference and the publication of its proceedings were both sponsored by Alpha Bank, which is to be congratulated for making possible projects of this excellent quality. It is, however, a pity that for that same reason scholars will find it difficult to obtain access to the papers in the volume.

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J.R. Anderson and D.A. Welsby (eds.), *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond*, Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies, British Museum Publications on Egypt and Sudan 1, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2014, xxviii+1194 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-3044-5

The Fourth Cataract and Beyond contains the proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies that was held at the British Museum from 1 to 6 August 2010. The 1194 pages of this massive volume contain 115 papers, and like its predecessors, it is a valuable survey of current research in Nubian studies. The publication of so massive a volume less than four years after the conference is a remarkable achievement by the editors for which all scholars of the history of Nubia from prehistory to the present should be grateful.

The volume has added interest because it constitutes a preliminary report on the result of the international salvage campaign connected with the construction of the Merowe Dam at the Fourth Cataract of the Nile. Like the great UNESCO campaign of the 1960s, the Merowe Dam campaign surveyed and excavated archaeological sites in a 170-mile stretch of the Nile that was flooded when the dam became operational in 2008. Just as is the case with all Nubian Studies conferences, the 2010 meeting was divided into thematic sessions centred on the discussion of invited main papers and more general report and research sessions. In accordance with the conference's focus on the Merowe Dam salvage campaign, the main paper sessions were devoted to surveying the results of the excavations that were carried out during the campaign. Each session dealt with one of the five principal chronological periods of Nubian history: Prehistory, Kerma Period, Kushite Period, Mediaeval Period and Islamic Period.

As was the case with the UNESCO salvage campaign of the 1960s, the results of the Merowe Dam campaign will fundamentally alter the writing of Nubian history. Prior to the campaign, the Fourth Cataract region was archaeologically *terra incognita* with virtually no significant known sites. It is now clear, however, that, far from being uninhabited, occupation of the Fourth Cataract region extends from the Paleolithic Period to the present with population peaking in the Mediaeval Period after a decline in the Napatan and

Meroitic Periods. Since only a small number of the excellent articles in this massive volume can be highlighted in a brief review, I will focus on those relating to periods and topics most likely to interest readers of this journal.

One of the principal developments in Nubian studies in the past half-century has been the recognition of the importance of Kerma as the centre of the earliest known state in the African interior. Fortunately, therefore, four of the main papers survey the impact of the Merowe Dam campaign on our knowledge of the Kerma Period. Henryk Paner provides a detailed summary of Kerma culture finds in the Fourth Cataract region, confirming that the area was an integral part of the Kerma cultural zone. Charles Bonnet lucidly summarises the results of 40 years of excavation at Kerma. The remaining two papers are more narrowly historical. In the first Brigitte Gratien demonstrates that Kerma culture extended as far north as the Second Cataract, while in the second Dominique Valbelle reviews the history of relations between Kerma and Egypt in the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC, arguing that references to Iam in Old Kingdom and Kush in Middle and New Kingdom texts both refer to the Kerma kingdom, whose territory covered most of Upper Nubia.

Although Napatan and Meroitic finds in the Fourth Cataract region were limited, three of the main papers deal with them and, more generally, with the island of Meroe. In the first paper Salah Mohamed Ahmed argues convincingly that the local population's primary activity was agriculture. Vincent Rondot discusses the recently discovered Amon temple at el-Hassa, suggesting that its architectural design was influenced by observation of the ruins of New Kingdom temples in Upper Nubia that were still visible in antiquity. In the final paper in this section Angelica Lohwasser innovatively uses settlement patterns to produce an outline political map of the kingdom of Kush, identifying its Nile Valley heartland and those areas of the eastern and western deserts that were under Kushite control.

The treatment of the Mediaeval Period is similar, with Bogdan Zurawski providing a detailed account of Christian remains in the Fourth Cataract region and Włodzimierz Godlewski, David Edwards and Derek Welsby contributing up-to-date accounts of the archaeology of the Christian kingdoms of Makuria, Nobadia and Alwa. Of particular interest to readers of this journal is David Edwards's demonstration that what has been considered since the early 20th century one of the signature monuments of late ancient Nubia, the 'castle' at Karanog, is probably a mediaeval tower house.

The 96 research papers and reports that take up the rest of the volume are organised into the same five chronological categories as the main papers, supplemented by sessions devoted to multi-period and linguistic topics. Particularly impressive among these papers is the contribution of Claude Rilly, who surveys the linguistic evidence for ethnicity in Nubia, demonstrating that Blemmye and other Cushitic languages were dominant in Lower Nubia and Eastern Sudanic languages including Meroitic in Upper Nubia.

The remaining papers range widely over social, economic, political and cultural history. Valuable studies are numerous. Examples include Emberling, Williams, Ingvaldstadt and James's use of ceramic analysis to demonstrate the interaction of multiple cultural traditions in the Fourth Cataract region during the Kerma Period; Enrico Mirminti's survey of the archaeological evidence confirming contact between Kerma and Avaris during the Second Intermediate Period; Stuart Smith and Michelle Buzon's tracing the emergence of a hybrid Kushite identity blending Egyptian and Nubian elements at

Tombos in the 2nd millennium BC; Jean Revez's impressive argument for collateral succession in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty; Michael Zach's convincing demonstration of the important role of the military in the Meroitic monarchy; and Julie Anderson and Salah Mohamed Ahmed's reconstruction of the history of the important deposit of early Napatan royal statues discovered at Dangeil, just north of the island of Meroe.

A familiar cliché is that archaeology is destruction. Sometimes, however, it is also rescue. Such was the case with the UNESCO salvage campaign of the 1960s, which made Lower Nubia archaeologically the best known area in the African interior despite the flooding of the region by the waters of Lake Nasser. History has repeated itself in the last two decades with the Merowe Dam campaign, which has similarly revealed the archaeological riches of the fourth cataract region. The papers in *The Fourth Cataract and Beyond* is the first instalment in making the results of the campaign more widely known and will, for that reason, be an invaluable resource for historians not only of ancient Nubia but of ancient north-east Africa in general.

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N.J. Andrade, *Syrian Identity in the Greco-Roman World*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013, xxx+412 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-01205-9

Die Kurzbeschreibung des Buches auf dessen erster, nicht paginierter Seite macht deutlich, dass der Verfasser Griechischsein (*Greekness*) und Syrischsein (*Syrianness*) als 'sich ständig verändernde und umformende Kategorien' ansieht und 'die Voraussetzungen für den Umgang vieler Altertumswissenschaftler mit römisch-kaiserzeitlicher griechischer Identität, Ethnizität und Kultur sowie Hybriditäts-Prozesse und ähnliche Konzepte kritisiert'. Hiermit ist das Ergebnis des Buches vorweggenommen, wie es am Schluss des Buches (S. 340–48, bes. 343 unter der Überschrift 'Griechischsein und seine Manifestationen') und in Teilresultaten am Schluss eines jeden der elf Kapitel dargestellt ist. Dementsprechend ergibt sich als Nathanael Andrades Sicht auf die von ihm behandelte Region, dass 'Syrien, obwohl es nicht das Zentrum der griechisch-römischen Welt war, was "Griechisch" und "Römisch" ausgemacht hat, für immer verändert hat' (S. 342). Auf einiges darin enthaltene Grundsätzliche wird hier zurückzukommen sein.

A.s Untersuchungen sind nach Sachthemen geordnet, folgen aber auch ausdrücklich der Chronologie und den damit indirekt ausgedrückten Entwicklungen in Syrien: Teil I mit drei Kapiteln gilt den griechischen Städten Syriens und dem syrischen Ethnos von der Regierungszeit des in der Forschung zeitweilig einseitig als Vorkämpfer von Hellenisierung bewerteten Seleukidenkönigs Antiochos IV. (ab 175 v. Chr.) bis in die Zeit der Neuordnung des südlichen Syriens nach der Niederschlagung des jüdischen Aufstandes durch Vespasian und Titus (73 n. Chr.). A. stellt Grenzen des Griechischseins fest und betont, dass 'syrische Griechen' und 'Einheimische' miteinander einerseits auf der Basis des Syrischseins und andererseits als Bürger griechischer Städte miteinander agiert haben (S. 95). Teil II mit vier Kapiteln gilt griechischen Gruppen in Syrien vom ersten bis 3. Jh. n. Chr. Zum einen setzt A. mit 'den griechischen Städten des syrischen Ethnos' das fort, was er im letzten Kapitel des Teils I erörtert hat. Zum anderen behandelt er seiner Argumentationslinie entlang Städte an der Außengrenze des Römischen Reiches und in zwei eigenen Kapiteln

die immer wieder zu Untersuchungen über Griechen im Nahen Osten bzw. Hellenisierung und über Einheimische bzw. Beharren auf der eigenen Kultur herangezogenen Städte Palmyra und Dura-Europos. In Teil III mit weiteren vier Kapiteln stößt A. für das 2. und 3. Jh. n. Chr. mit 'Nachahmungsgriechen: Griechen sein und (zugleich) anders sein' zum Kern seines Forschungsinteresses vor. Nach der Heranziehung von Quellen aller Gattungen, vor allem aber archäologischer und epigraphischer Dokumente in den Teilen I und II, legt er nun anhand literarischer Texte dar, wie Griechen sich über Syrien geäußert und wie ein Syrer, Lukian in seiner Schrift 'Über die syrische Göttin', sich dem entgegengestellt hat. Diesen Teil beendet A. mit der Meldung eines historischen Erfolges (S. 314: Überschrift des 11. Kapitels): der Durchsetzung 'syrischen Griechischseins und Römischseins' (Letzteres hat für A. eine weitaus geringere Bedeutung als Griechischsein, ist aber für ihn doch relevant – die Juden werden von A. noch viel kürzer abgetan, und Jüdischsein [*Jewishness*] gibt es bei ihm nicht).

Gegenstand des Buches ist also Identität, und zwar die einer regionalen Gruppe (Syrer), die durch individuelle, als verallgemeinerungsfähig angesehene Haltungen erfasst wird, als Teil einer größeren überregionalen Gruppe (Griechen). Man kann sich allerdings fragen, ob bzw. inwiefern Ethnizität und Kultur wie bei A. auf derselben Stufe wie Identität stehen oder ob bzw. inwiefern die beiden ersteren Kriterien für letztere sind. Nicht für die Schilderung von Vorgängen und Zuständen, die für die Herstellung von Identität geeignet sein können, sehr wohl aber für die Beurteilung, ob die kleinere Gruppe als Teil der größeren angesehen wird, sind zwei weitere Kriterien maßgeblich: der erkennbare Wille der kleineren Gruppe, zur größeren zu gehören, und die Akzeptanz dieser Zugehörigkeit durch die größere Gruppe. Damit kommt jenseits aller sachlich-objektiv feststellbaren Gegebenheiten dem voluntativen Aspekt der Beteiligten und damit einer subjektiven Komponente eine entscheidende Rolle zu. Hier hat A.s kritische Behandlung der zweiten Sophistik mit ihrer engen Definition von Griechischsein unter Rückgriff auf die Griechen der 'klassischen' Zeit ihren Platz, die Veränderungen des Griechischseins in späterer Zeit und an anderen Orten, insbesondere in den Städten der durch Alexander d. Gr. den Griechen erschlossenen Siedlungsgebiete im Osten, grundsätzlich ausschließt bzw. ignoriert (S. 247–50). Zu fragen ist nur, ob der großen Bedeutung der zweiten Sophistik in der griechischen Literatur ihr Einfluss auf das Denken von Griechen und Römern insgesamt entspricht. Die von A. herausgearbeitete oben erwähnte Gegenposition Lukians (S. 288–313) besagt hierfür nichts. Ohnehin kann – was A. nicht verschweigt – die Sophistik für den Ausschluss von Syrern aus dem Griechenbegriff erst ab dem 2. Jh. n. Chr. verantwortlich gemacht werden.

A.s Ablehnung von Prozessen und Prozessresultaten, die von der Forschung mit dem Wort 'Hybridität' bedacht worden sind, kann der Rezensent nur eingeschränkt folgen. Und er wundert sich über A.s Haltung, die ihm im Widerspruch dazu zu stehen scheint, dass, wie hier bereits dargestellt, A. – zu Recht – Griechischsein und Syrischsein in ständiger Wandlung begriffen sieht: In den meisten in historischen Zeiten fassbaren Völkern und Kulturen spiegeln sich Akkulturations- bzw. Interkulturationsvorgänge wider; sie sind der Motor wohl der meisten kollektiven Veränderungen. Zum einen kann man deren Resultate sehr wohl mit 'Hybridität' als analytischem, nicht wertendem Begriff bezeichnen. Zum anderen wird man generell Haltungen jeweils Beteiligter oder zeitgenössischer Beobachter berücksichtigen müssen. Bei den Griechen haben Reinheit und Mischung,

ausgedrückt durch Bezeichnungen wie 'Eteokreter' und 'Mixobarbaroi', gegeneinander gestanden. Diese beiden und ähnliche Ausdrücke werten nun gerade, und zwar die Reinheit positiv, ja mit Bewunderung und die Mischung mit negativer Tendenz. Wenn man diese beiden Bewertungspole als gegeben hinnimmt (was nicht bedeutet, dass man sie selbst gut findet), dann wird verständlich, warum einerseits von außen her Syrern maximal ein mit 'Barbarischem' gemischtes und auf keinen Fall ein reines Griechischsein zugebilligt worden ist und andererseits Syrer selbst darauf gepocht haben, Griechen ohne Abstrich, eben echte Griechen zu sein.

Dass A.s Buch zu partiellem Widerspruch und Diskussion einlädt, ist keinesfalls als negatives Urteil zu verstehen. Im Gegenteil: A. hat in der Erfassung und Interpretation von Quellen, in der Heranziehung einschlägiger Theorien und in seinen auf beidem gegründeten Thesen ein Werk verfasst, das für die Behandlung nicht nur des konkreten Gegenstandes, sondern auch vergleichbarer Themen Maßstäbe setzt.

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B. Bader and M.F. Ownby (eds.), *Functional Aspects of Egyptian Ceramics in their Archaeological Context*, Proceedings of a Conference Held at the McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, Cambridge, July 24th–July 25th 2009, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 217, Peeters/Departement Oosterse Studies, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2013, xii+421 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-2581-6

The acts of this extremely interesting meeting, held in Cambridge, include the works of 21 scholars (however, many more participated as the 'List of participants/authors' clearly proves) devoted to the profound study of Egyptian ceramics, where the functional aspects dominate over the traditional division into chronological periods or regions. The limitation of space means that it is not possible to speak adequately about each contribution to this challenging discussion, thus I shall focus on ten.

Part 1, 'Domestic Environment', comprises five papers dealing broadly with beer jars, bread moulds, bread trays, cooking pots and the related process of baking bread throughout Egyptian history. A. El-Senussi's richly illustrated paper, 'The Function of the Traditional Offering, the So-Called Beer Jar, in the Old Kingdom According to Pictorial and Written Sources', is precisely what the title implies: numerous examples of the use of beer jars as found on the walls of Old Kingdom tombs. He examines the agricultural, food-production and offering scenes on the examples of 26 figures mostly from the Memphite necropolis. These beer jars were omnipresent in Egyptian society and belonged to the most common type of vessels and logically were used for multiple purposes, not only for the single commodity of beer, as the author rightly stresses in his analysis. Also to be noted is the paper by T.I. Rzeuska, 'Dinner is Served: Remarks on Middle Kingdom Cooking Pots from Elephantine', mainly because, as the capital of the First Upper Egyptian Nome, this site has a very long history of occupation – over four millennia – and can offer endless opportunities to study various facets of permanently settled society. In respect of cooking ceramics and various cooking methods, the author presents a series of aspects – such as fabrics, types of vessels, location of sooting and cooking methods – that prove that this type of local household pottery was widely

influenced or inspired not only by Egyptian developments (from the Nile Delta) but mainly by Nubian trends.

One of the most interesting contributions to the current debate about the functional aspects of the pottery occurring in particular contexts is undoubtedly that of A. Masson, 'Domestic and Cultic Vessels from the Priests' Quarter in Karnak: The Fine Line between the Profane and the Sacred' (in Part 2, 'Festival and Cult'). She provides a well-organised analysis of several types of domestic and cultic vessels – from small cups, jars and cooking pots, but also incense burners or *keranoi*, to the large storage jars which were rarely used solely for their primary function. More frequently, they were used (or better reused) for multiple functions that the very specific nature of the priests' houses, this 'domestic area within a sacred precinct', invited.

Within Part 3, 'Afterlife and Funerary Rituals', is a contribution by S. Laemmel, 'A Pottery Assemblage from the tomb of Harwa (Western Thebes): Mortuary and Cultic Reuse of a 25th Dynasty Funerary Structure'. Although this is a comprehensive study of a fairly large assemblage of pottery throughout Egyptian history (from the New Kingdom to the Roman-Coptic periods), I would like to stress the author's effort to demonstrate – on the basis of unearthened pottery – how significantly the function of certain parts of the tomb of Harwa changed over the time. Naturally, this process of gradual degradation of burial structures (from their original function to rubbish place) is well visible in all ancient Egyptian cemeteries, but not always is it so perfectly documented as here, both from the side of architectural remains and of related ceramic assemblages.

The title of Part 4, 'Reuse', belongs to the relatively new topic which has caught the attention of ceramicists working all over the country. Three 'case studies' exemplify the fairly numerous possibilities of using intact pots as building and architectural components or reusing different parts of vessels in large building complexes: G. Pyke and D.B. Hedstrom, 'The Afterlife of Sherds: Architectural Re-use Strategies at the Monastery of John the Little, Wadi Natrun', for example. However, H. Franzmeier's 'The Secondary Function of Pottery – a Case Study from Qantir-Piramesse' is an absolutely unique example of how pottery (or better layers of sherds) can be used during the construction process of the well (Fig. 1, p. 295) as a functional element (a filter) to guarantee the potability of the water. Step-by-step the author clearly demonstrates the relationship between the examinations of unearthened material (a rather sufficient *ca.* 26,000 sherds were analysed both in terms of shapes and fabrics) and the interpretation of archaeological structures in terms of their function. This paper is highly commended to the attention of readers.

Part 5, 'Engagement with Pottery', closes the book and contains three very interesting contributions. The second, 'Mother's Best Tea Service – Pottery as Diplomatic Gifts in the Second Intermediate Period', written by the British scholar D.A. Aston, examines the wider socio-cultural background of occupied Egypt through the use of fine imported serving vessels at the opulent feasts of the ruling Hyksos family. These were undertaken in the royal palace in Avaris/Tell el-Dab'a as a mark of their power, international/diplomatic relations and royal prestige. A bonus, under the title 'Pottery gifts from the Levant', briefly presents so far unpublished material from the Austrian excavation which well attests the relationship existing between the Hyksos king Khyam and the ruler of Ebla (pp. 382–87). M. Mamedow, in her excellent and in-depth study of the intensive industrial Roman activities within the former precinct of the Bastet-Temple, 'Wells and Kilns:

Local Ceramic Production and Use at Tell Basta in Roman Times', shows how detailed and exhaustive information can be obtained from the excavated site when modern methods of experimental archaeology are applied. Thanks to the thorough investigation of the area under research and subsequent firing experiments, the bed of clay utilised for the production of pottery – in our case 'saqiya' – was identified with certainty and classified as TB Nile A. In such a way the industrial complex of wells and kilns was confirmed and, according to the author, it may have functioned for three or four centuries, with the peak in the 3rd–4th centuries AD.

An aside: the expression 'case study' is used extensively in this book. Perhaps now is the time to consider a change; this could be a challenge for such clever and experienced scholars as the two editors, Bettina Bader and Marry Faye Ownby, who here demonstrate their abilities.

Since the role of ceramologists working side by side with archaeologists in ancient sites all around the Egypt has increased significantly during recent decades, books such as this are a welcome opportunity to demonstrate several examples of new approaches and new trends in the interpretation of the functions of pottery in different archaeological situations and locations. Moreover, this may encourage other specialists to join in these stimulating debates with their own fresh ideas.

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S.T. Basílico, *La cerámica importada de Tell el-Ghaba, norte de Sinai Interacciones locales y regionales durante la época saíta (siglos VII–VI a.C.)*, BAR International Series 2491, Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, ix+312 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1105-0

In Tell el-Ghaba, as in many other places in North Sinai, archaeologists find themselves in a position where the surviving material remains, indeed entire sites, are severely endangered by continuing and even intensifying exploitation of the land. New reclamations, development projects and extensive use of irrigation serve to destroy the historical record beyond redemption. The interests of people struggling to provide for their families are too often in conflict with the interests promoted by archaeologists all over the world. In such cases special international rescue programmes may help, and it is in this connection that the Argentine Archaeological mission in Tell el-Ghaba successfully participated in the 'Northern Sinai Agricultural Development Project. Environmental Impact Assessment'.

The volume under review was written by the project's ceramicist, Susana Basílico, and is an attempt to introduce this settlement, dated to the Saite Period and lying in close vicinity to the Pelusiac branch of the Nile on the important commercial route eastwards to the Levant, within 12 chapters. B. begins with a short historical overview of the Saite Period, where she sketches the historical, political and economic development of Egypt during the 7th–6th centuries BC and continues with the detailed presentation of the areas like Eastern Nile Delta (Chapter 4), North-Western Delta (Chapter 5), Wadi Tumilat (Chapter 6) and North Sinai (Chapter 7) with their well-known sites: Tell Defenneh, Tell el-Balamun, Naucratis, Sais, Buto, Tell el-Retabeh, Tell el-Maskhuta, Tell el-Qedwa, Tell el-Herr, etc.

Of particular interest, of course, is Tell el-Ghaba, dotted with Areas I–VIII, where several well-preserved mud-brick casemate structures were unearthed and subsequently investigated (pp. 93–102, Figs. 25–34). For all the abovementioned sites B. examines the architectural arrangement of settlements, the structural elements of buildings and the archaeological finds, mainly the contextual deposits of imported vessels, which is subsequently taken as comparative material to infer the mutual relationship existing between the different territories in the Nile Delta and Tell el-Ghaba. Each chapter contains extensive references to both older sources and up-to-date material from the recent excavations, enabling the reader to seek further information. These sections call for little comment. A respected authority on this subject is the British archaeologist A.J. Spencer, but his crucial work, ‘Casemate Foundation Once Again’,¹ is absent from the references.

The second half of the book (Chapters 8–12) offers a highly complex and profound study of an assemblage of imported pottery from Areas I and II of Tell el-Ghaba. Not surprisingly, import makes up only about 2% of the entire collection. Thus, Egyptian sherds predominate massively, which is a situation well-known from all sites (or better their assemblages of imports) mentioned by B. in this well-organised thesis.

The numerous graphs (21) are extremely helpful for quick and reliable orientation in the different aspects of the studied pottery, for example, in the ratio of diagnostic to non-diagnostic sherds, morphology, fabric and provenance. Tell el-Ghaba’s assemblage of imports includes sherds of large Levantine storage jars, so-called torpedo jars and mortaria, a nice collection of Samian and Chian transport amphorae and unusually – in comparison with other sites in the Nile Delta (Tell el-Qedwa, Defenneh and Tell el-Maskhuta, to mention the closest neighbours) – an enormous amount of Black on Red jugs and juglets of Cypriot provenance. In this respect it makes sense to point to graph no. 7 (p. 120), from which is clear that the most numerous fragments were of Levantine vessels (2260 pieces), then Cypriot (380 pieces), Aegean (144 pieces) and finally Palestine (295 pieces). The study also reveals that local imitations of the most popular vessels of that time, such as Phoenician torpedo jars, large storage jars with mushroom rims and decanters, were frequently executed in local, rather poor quality material than in high quality Nile silt fabric. The book concludes with extensive bibliography for those who wish to become further acquainted with the archaeology/ceramics of the Delta sites and two appendices which are strictly documental: a catalogue of pottery from unearthed areas I and II; and convolutes used during the excavations.

B.’s book is a valuable fresh contribution to research on the North Sinai/Eastern Delta. Through the abundant pottery finds, more exactly imports, and their meticulous analysis, it offers a well-informed insight into one particular frontier outpost of Saite Egypt – Tell el-Ghaba. However, B. also stresses that this was an integral part of a chain of the settlements – frequently strongly fortified and garrisoned by troops – built in the strategically and/or commercially important areas of Egypt as an expression of the expansionary foreign policy of the Saite kings towards their neighbours in the Levantine coastal area.

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¹ In A. Leahy and J. Tait (eds.), *Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honour of H.S. Smith* (Oxford 1999), 295–300.

E.P. Baughan, *Couched in Death: Klinai and Identity in Anatolia and Beyond*. Wisconsin Studies in Classics, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison 2013, xvii+487 pp., Illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-299-29180-8

The core of this book originates in Elizabeth Baughan's PhD thesis, upgraded and developed by a decade of further research.

The first chapter, 'Archaic and Classical Greek *Klinai*', considers the earliest depictions of *klinai* in Greek vase-painting and the actual remains that have been discovered. The chapter serves as an introduction to this wide subject. The Greek words used for different types of couches and their contextualised meanings are reviewed, as well as the scenes, position and setting in which they were represented in 6th–5th-century BC vase-painting. B. argues soundly for the preferred use of *klinai* in her study. She gives detailed description and examples of Type A and B legs of couches (and other pieces of furniture: stools and thrones). The exhaustive examples of representations on Greek vases (over 300 vases are mentioned and discussed at different length!) is only to show that we cannot fully rely on these images for information about the real furniture. However, even under the subtitle of 'Physical Remains' the discussion of vases prevails. The attempt to specify the origins of the two kinds of *klinai* remains, of course, without a definite answer, but points to the East Aegean area as the most probable place of initial spread into the Greek world (p. 78).

B. tries to find some regularity related to identities in the depictions of different types of *klinai*. She joins those who consider Type B as the symbol of wealth and luxury. But there might be another kind of identity implied: as this type became prevalent on South Italian vases and as actual funeral *klinai* in 4th-century BC Macedonian tombs, one can consider the possible opposition Greek/cultural *vs* 'Barbarian'/wild. Such an idea can find support in the representation on a 6th-century BC Attic vase (Fig. 54, p. 79), where the symposiasts on Type B *klinai* hold *rhyta*. The latter could have implied more 'Eastern-ness' as well.

The second chapter, 'Funerary *Klinai* in Anatolia', is an exhaustive overview of Anatolian tombs and the attested benches, beds, couches and *klinai* in them. B. acknowledges the objective difficulties in studying and classifying Anatolian *kline*-/couch-tombs due to looting, destruction and the unavailability of good documentation. This chapter should be read together with the catalogue, which is an invaluable resource with extensive bibliography and discussions on the published (partially or fully investigated or just recorded) tombs, *ca.* 600–400 BC, arranged according to types and then region (Appendix A, 171 entries!). The variety of couches/*klinai* demonstrates well that they can hardly be classified under the Greek iconographic types (and do not need to be!).

The conclusions of this chapter show that funeral beds became most popular in Anatolia in the 6th and 5th centuries BC, especially in Phrygia and Lydia. The examples discussed reveal the ambiguity of their meaning: places for eternal rest, for *prothesis* or marking the deceased as an elite banqueter, none of which alone can be supported without any written evidence (p. 176).

The thrust of the third chapter, 'Origin of the Kline-Tomb', and of the book itself, is the argumentation against Elspeth Dusinberre's view of their Achaemenid origin. Evidence for funeral banquets and the use of beds in the funeral rituals exists in Anatolia prior to the

Persian conquest, some of the most compelling being that from Phrygia. B. then searches for the origin of the reclining banquet ritual to find (and emphasise) the Phoenician *marzeah* as 'socially inspired habit, an expression of elite status and luxury, perhaps also connected with eroticism in ritual context' (p. 214).

Not surprisingly, the zone of origin of the reclining banquet is found in Syro-Palestine, or the area of the Neo-Hittite kingdoms whence so many things spread to the West: the alphabet, ivory-carving techniques, so-called 'Syren' cauldrons, etc. The lavish material remains of a funeral feast from Gordion (Tumulus MM) are considered with expressed doubts whether the banquet was in a reclining position or not.¹ Among the Anatolian intermediaries of this Near Eastern practice Lydia is highlighted, although early evidence is lacking (no *kline*-tomb there before the 6th century BC: p. 224).

B. is not the only one to search for identities in Achaemenid Anatolia in her fourth chapter, 'Banqueting and Identity in Achaemenid Anatolia', as is well demonstrated in her review of the much-debated terms 'Graeco-Persian', 'Anatolian-Persian', 'Persianising', etc. Like many before her, she observes the multicultural and multiethnic milieu of Achaemenid Anatolia, best expressed by 'hybridisation' and 'hybrid culture'. The use of these terms first started in connection with the Greek colonies and their hinterland and is now applied to Anatolia under the Persians. The best examples of *kline*-tombs in Lydia come from just this period (as do many others in Phrygia, Paphlagonia, etc.). Their meaning (together with the grave-goods assemblages and grave stelai) as a mark of prestige and status, probably reiterated by the emulation of Persian court and satrapal artistic expressions, is not new. Towards the end of the chapter the initial stimulus of Phrygia in the process is finally recognised. Naturally, Lydia was the immediate, and thus the most visible, intermediary between Near Eastern cultural practices and achievements and the East Greek world. Pursuing further M. Munn's idea about Phrygia and Lydia being the model of sovereignty for the Greeks might have been more fruitful in explaining the emergence of *kline*-tombs. Early Greek tyrants emulated representations of the elite status of the Anatolian monarchs, which would later culminate in imitating the Great King and his satraps.

Elements of the funeral banquet should not be detached from each other in searching for their specific origin or meaning (which is ambiguous and often elusive!); nor should the reclining banquet be isolated from the other elements of elite representations. As B. observes, the feast could be rendered in three- and two-dimensional forms. The puzzle of the elite atmosphere could have been arranged by parts in different media: among the best examples being the painted female images on the side walls of the Aktepe tomb approaching the real *kline* (Cat. 52, Fig. 119), the banquet set of Tumulus MM at Gordion and the furnishings of the tomb in Naip Tumulus at Tekirdağ (pp. 270–71). The combination of the parts differed in each region but still conveyed a very similar idea. With the lack of domestic written sources we cannot tell whether the banquet and

¹ A comment in passing: the quotation about the earliest Phrygian inscriptions from Gordion is not quite correct. In fact C. Brixhe ('Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes. Supplément I'. *Kadmos* 41 [2002], 25–26) assumes, after Keith DeVries, that none of the earliest inscriptions originated from the destruction level itself. Thus, these cannot be dated to the 9th century BC, as stated by Baughan (p. 404, n. 316), but still would be earlier than the earliest Greek inscriptions.

its appliances were meant just for the funeral or for the afterlife of the deceased. The feast in ritual context was the important issue and any household parallels or interpretations are irrelevant here. Not surprisingly, most of the earliest evidence of reclining banquet in Greece came from sanctuaries (p. 218). Of course, erotic and cult meanings were also present but less visible in the archaeological record.

Throughout the book and in the final 'Conclusions: Legacies and Meanings', excursions on Etruscan and Macedonian tombs are presented (pp. 226–32 and 267–73). Against this background the absence of the 5th–3rd-century BC Thracian tombs is surprising (apart from the wooden *kline* from Duvanlii). Benches/beds/couches, although some badly damaged, were found in most of the stone-built chamber tombs in the Kazanluk Valley excavated in recent decades.² Beds with two headrests can be suspected in the Big Arsenalka, the Shoushmanets and the Helvetsia Tumuli (an arrangement of the two beds in the latter), while a *kline* with carved legs terminating in lion's paws can be seen in the unique Ostrusha tomb. The exceptional chamber tomb in Naip Tumulus near Tekirdağ, dated to the mid-4th century BC, discussed by B., yielded a silver jug with a graffito reading 'Teres', which supposedly could have been the Odrysian Teres III or Kersebleptes' son (or, anyway a Thracian aristocrat): the find and its implications go unmentioned in the text. When speaking of tombs in Turkish Thrace or north-western Asia Minor the Thracian contribution to 'hybridisation' cannot be ruled out or neglected. Otherwise, the legacy of reclining couching in death in the Renaissance and the 18th and 19th centuries is a welcome closing of this huge study.

B. does not deal with particularly new material (except for the recently discovered tomb in Kocaresul Tumulus near Daskyleion known only by preliminary reports), but the gathering together and arrangement of this huge body of material deserves admiration. She supplies her study with exhaustive bibliography on every subject she touches upon in her copious endnotes.³ The narrative is clear and well organised: a concise summary or announcement of the contents of every chapter is provided at the beginning of each section. A list of the Greek vases discussed is provided (Appendix B), as well as an informative index.

The book is lavishly illustrated with drawings, tables and black-and-white as well as colour photographs, beautifully printed. I believe it will become an indispensable work of reference on Anatolian tombs as well as on many subjects referring to Greek iconography.

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² G. Kitov, 'Tombs of Thracian Kings in the Region of Kazanluk'. In M. Stefanovich and C. Angelova (eds.), *PRAE. In honorem Henrieta Todorova* (Sofia 2007), 265–77.

³ In some cases the primary source, corpus or dictionary is not consulted. For example, C. Brixhe, 'Corpus des inscriptions paléo-phrygiennes. Supplément II'. *Kadmos* 43 (2004), B-04, 32–42, and B-05, 42–66, are not quoted for respectively the Üyücek inscription on p. 350, n. 36, or the Vezirhan stele on p. 415, n. 160. Rather, C. Melchert, *A Dictionary of the Lycian Language* (New York 2004), 32 should be consulted for the meaning of *km̥mi* on p. 97.

M.-C. Beaulieu, *The Sea in the Greek Imagination*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2016, x+267 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-8122-4765-7

The sea was all-important to the Greeks. It surrounded them, it gave them their only access to other peoples, at once opening the opportunities for trade and, as Greece filled up, for colonisation. No wonder that it figured large in their literature. Marie-Claire Beaulieu's book is about its role as perceived only in literature, and only in literature about Greek myth, which is of course plentiful. There is no room here for consideration of Braudel, or of Horden and Purcell. This not a serious omission but it makes clear that this is a book for the mythographer rather than the historian, despite being based on the realities of Greek history and the geography of the Mediterranean.

The Ocean gave access to the remotest places, and these included the Isles of the Blessed and Hades. It served as the divider between life and death. So the Odysseus story is a lesson in geography as well as cosmology. A sea voyage can often provide the solution to problems – for Perseus, Theseus, Jason. The role of Carthage in Greek views on the seas is discussed, but not that of the Phoenicians, their predecessors, and a people known to the Homeric world. It can be the home of demons, but also of real creatures like dolphins which figure large in Greek mythography, perhaps because they figure large too in Greek diets (see *AWE* 10 [2011], 1–9), an aspect not discussed. Herodotus perhaps deserved more attention, for revealing what the Greeks really knew about what lay beyond their waters – certainly no encircling Ocean. Representations in art are considered but not with the range possible for such sources rather than the obvious illustrations which can be related to texts. But the book is well written, true to its title, a pleasure to read and an invaluable reference point for those sources that it employs.

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C.I. Beckwith, *Greek Buddha: Pyrrho's Encounter with Early Buddhism in Central Asia*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2015, xxi+275 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-16644-5

The book is composed of four major chapters preceded by a Preface, Acknowledgments and Prologue and followed by three appendices, endnotes, bibliography and index. Like his previous book, *Warriors of the Cloisters: The Central Asian Origins of Science in the Medieval World* (Princeton 2012), the present work also has a confusing title.¹ As Christopher Beckwith explains in the Preface (p. x), the main objective of his research is to determine whether Indian thought – particularly Buddhism – had influenced Pyrrho's thought. In the prologue B. begins his demonstration by making the Buddha a Scythian, misinterpreting the epithet 'Śakyamuni' as the 'Sage of the Scythians'. He passes over in silence the works of renowned historians such as Romila Thapar and B.D. Chattopadhyaya who have dealt extensively with the question of state formation in India; their names are not even mentioned. In the discussion of the Scythian presence in Central Asia and India major publications of the French

¹ See the review of *Warriors of the Cloisters* by A. Novikoff in *The Medieval Review* (2014) <<http://scholarworks.iu.edu/journals/index.php/tmr/article/view/18524/24637>>.

and Russian specialists are not taken into account (Veronique Schiltz, Henri-Paul Francfort, Viktor Ivanovich Sarianidi, Boris Ilich Marshak, etc.). B. gives an enormous importance to Pyrrho of Elis who travelled to India with Anaxarchus in the entourage of Alexander the Great. As Peter Green, one of the world authorities on Alexander the Great – also not cited – correctly pointed out, ‘Pyrrho seems to have written nothing: it is often claimed, on little or no evidence, that he modelled himself on Socrates and Democritus’.² It is in this ambiguous context that B. says at the end of the Prologue, that ‘This book shows not only that Pyrrho’s complete package is similar to Early Buddhism, but also that the significant parts and interactions occur in the same way in both systems.’ He believes that ‘Pyrrho’s journey to Central Asia and India with Alexander thus had an outcome for the future of philosophy that has lasted down to the present’. The works of so many authors on Buddhism are used without any critical examination or serious effort to digest their findings and the reader easily gets lost in this very much speculative exercise.

The first chapter deals with ‘Pyrrho’s thought’. In the second, B. goes on to say: ‘The earliest attested philosophical-religious system that is both historically datable and clearly recognisable as a form of Buddhism is Early Pyrrhonism.’ This being said he argues that even Megasthenes (the envoy of Seleucos I to Mauyran Chandagupta’s court) had some notion of Buddhism, because according to him again Buddhism travelled to China from Bactria as early as the 3rd century which also a wrong assumption. B. even assumes that Strabo, who quotes Megasthenes’ lost *Indica*, knew about the existence of a Pre-Pure land sect. None of this is substantiated. In the third chapter, B. treats Buddhist thought of the Classical age in China and India in the same superficial manner. The fourth chapter, perhaps the one that the author considers to be his great achievement in this book, treats what he calls the ‘Greek Enlightenment’. In the Epilogue, B. uses the works of André Bareau and Gregory Schopen, making these scholars say what he himself wants to demonstrate, by taking their findings out of context. He does not seem to have any knowledge of the geographical locations of the inscriptions nor any notion of the archaeological reality of any of the sites dealt with. The archaeological reports were not taken into consideration. In conclusion, the reader would be advised to be extremely cautious when reading this book, because most of the arguments developed in it are pure speculations and misinterpretations.

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J.C. Bernhardt, *Die Nikemonument von Samothrake und der Kampf der Bilder*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2014, 169 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-10864-5

Johannes Christian Bernhardt propose dans son ouvrage, *Die Nikemonument von Samothrake und der Kampf der Bilder*, une relecture du chef-d’œuvre du Musée du Louvre sous un angle historique, laissant au second plan ce qui a très souvent été placé au premier, l’analyse stylistique. Depuis sa découverte en 1863, la Victoire de Samothrace a fait couler beaucoup d’encre, tant pour la louer que pour évoquer le mystère entourant son contexte historique. Ainsi, aussi bien sa date de création que son commanditaire, son sculpteur ou

² P. Green, *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of Hellenistic Age* (Berkeley 1990), 606.

l'événement qui poussa à sa réalisation n'ont trouvé aujourd'hui de consensus parmi les chercheurs. Qui? Quand? Pourquoi? En dehors du nom de l'artiste – qu'il serait présomptueux d'identifier sans signature – c'est à ces questions que B. tente de répondre. Il s'attache dans un premier temps à faire une historiographie critique du sujet. Pour démêler et ordonner l'ensemble, il commence par examiner les trois principaux événements ayant pu donner lieu à l'édification du monument. Trois batailles et leurs acteurs sont étudiés: Salamine de Chypre en 306 av. J.-C., Cos en 255 av. J.-C. et Sidé et Myonnésos en 190 av. J.-C. Chaque théorie est présentée avec les sources historiques, archéologiques et iconographiques sur lesquelles elle s'appuie, les intérêts et failles de chaque raisonnement sont soulignés pour finalement aboutir au rejet des trois datations, rejoignant ainsi le scepticisme qui domine depuis la fin des années 1990. Après ce constat général, B. dresse la liste des données sur la Victoire qui, hors de tout schéma interprétatif, ne peuvent être, selon lui, remises en question: la connexion d'une Nikè sur une proue avec une victoire navale, le rapport avec le monnayage de Démétrios Poliorcète, l'analyse pétrologique de la proue affirmant sa provenance rhodienne, le rattachement de la proue au type de la trihémiolie rhodienne et le lien stylistique de la Victoire avec l'art hellénistique offrant des parallèles à la fois avec les sculptures du Parthénon et celles de l'autel de Pergame.

Dans la partie suivante, c'est la relation entre la Victoire et Démétrios Poliorcète qui est étudiée. Jusqu'ici, le rattachement de la statue à la victoire de Salamine en 306 av. J.-C. avait été essentiellement fondée sur une mise en parallèle avec les monnaies de Démétrios, en partant du principe que les graveurs s'étaient inspirés de la statue. L'auteur renverse cette donnée en proposant une statue inspirée d'une monnaie. Il analyse ensuite la période mouvementée qui suit la bataille de Salamine et la situation précaire dans laquelle se trouve Démétrios après la défaite d'Ipsos et la mort d'Antigone le Borgne en 301 av. J.-C. C'est à ce moment là que le souverain aurait choisi le motif de la victoire s'avancant sur une proue de navire à la fois pour sa nouvelle monnaie et pour son monument à Samothrace. Il rappelait ainsi son ancienne gloire et provoquait tant Ptolémée que Lysimaque. Ce concept de provocation est le fil conducteur de l'ouvrage.

Il est développé dans la dernière partie dans le contexte du sanctuaire des Grands Dieux de Samothrace. Après avoir abordé les hypothèses de reconstitution du monument dont faisait partie la Victoire, B. étudie l'évolution architecturale du sanctuaire en mettant en exergue le 'Bauboom'¹ qui survint à partir de la deuxième moitié du IV^e s. av. J.-C. Philippe II puis Alexandre auraient initié le processus en faisant élever deux monuments, le Téménos et le Hiéron. Par la suite, l'attachement des Diadoques et de leurs successeurs à faire construire un édifice dans le même sanctuaire panhellénique aurait été une façon de s'inscrire dans la continuité des Argéades et de légitimer leur pouvoir. Cette idée n'est pas nouvelle mais elle va être poussée encore plus loin par une tentative de restitution du paysage, monument par monument, en présentant le lien visuel qui pouvait ou non exister entre eux. En 301–300 av. J.-C., date à laquelle B. place l'édification de la Victoire et de son monument, le sanctuaire ne comportait que la 'structure à orthostates', le Téménos, le Hiéron, l'Altar Court, le monument dédicatoire de Philippe III et Alexandre IV et le théâtre circulaire. En la plaçant sur la colline sud, Démétrios rendait la Victoire visible depuis les

¹ B. Schmidt-Dounas, *Geschenke erhalten die Freundschaft. Politik und Selbstarstellung im Spiegel der Monumente* (Berlin 2000).

principaux points du sanctuaire et l'alignait sur les édifices dans lesquels les initiations aux mystères devaient avoir lieu. Le 'Kampf der Bilder', la lutte des images, pouvait commencer et le sanctuaire devenait un microcosme à l'image de la politique mouvementée des III^e et II^e s. av. J.-C. Les souverains plaçaient alors leurs monuments tels des pions afin d'annihiler la visibilité des uns tout en soulignant leur propre magnificence par une architecture et des matériaux luxueux.

L'idée d'ensemble est séduisante par sa logique. Cependant, les datations et les attributions des monuments ne pouvant être aujourd'hui certifiées, plusieurs schémas interprétatifs sont encore possibles. Celui de B. est cohérent et offre l'avantage de connecter bâtiments et personnes dans une suite logique. Néanmoins, de nouvelles découvertes pourraient tout aussi bien valider qu'invalider son hypothèse. L'ensemble fonctionne, donc, mais laisse place à la critique. L'ouvrage s'appuie sur des sources précises et une riche bibliographie présentées de manière claire, les illustrations en noir et blanc sont de bonne qualité. La légende des plans du sanctuaire aurait pu être plus détaillée.

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J. Boardman, *The Greeks in Asia*, Thames and Hudson, London 2015, 240 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-0-500-25213-0

1994 saw the publication of John Boardman's *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* (London), his 1993 A.W. Mellon Lectures in Fine Art in Washington, DC. Now, more than 20 years later, B. returns to the topic with the book under review, which has a similar though not identical task and a comparable structure, based on geography and chronology. The task is outlined in the Preface (p. 6): 'The book is about what happened when Greeks met easterners – Anatolians, Levantines, Persians, Asiatics, Indians; how they interacted and what effects there were on the arts and societies of distant lands...'

B. stresses that 'In my book on the Diffusion of Greek Art... the reader will find a more fully documented account of much of this subject, more art and archaeology, less history' (p. 10). Thus, there are certain chapters (3, 5–8) and topics of the 1994 book that are not included in the new book, which is focused on the diffusion of classical art in Asia, namely those on Egypt and North Africa, the countries of the Black Sea (Thrace, Scythia, Colchis) and Europe, primarily Italy and Spain. Instead, Chapter 4 of the 1994 book ('The East after Alexander the Great' is transformed into four chapters of the new book, discussing: 'Greeks and Alexander the Great' (pp. 52–60), 'The New Greek Kingdoms in the East' (pp. 81–101), 'Greeks and their Arts in Central Asia' (pp. 102–28) and 'Greeks and their Arts in India' (pp. 129–94). Completely new is the last chapter of the book, entitled 'Greeks, Romans, Parthians and Sasanians: before Islam' (pp. 195–213). Further on, there is an Epilogue (pp. 214–19), list of abbreviations (p. 220), notes (pp. 221–35) as well as the indexes (pp. 237–40).

B.'s approach to the problems discussed in the book is clearly defined in the Preface (pp. 7–15), reflecting his own deep experience in studying many of the lands to which this volume is devoted, including personal acquaintance with these areas, his concentration primarily on the archaeological and art-historical aspects, and not limited to material

coming from regular scientific excavations – ‘a minority of scholars would regard such material as untouchable, but it would be foolish, indeed unscholarly and smacking of censorship, to ignore it’ (p. 10).

The book starts from the very beginning of Greek contact with the East (Chapter 1, pp. 16–28), covering the early contacts of the Euboeans, going further to Lydia, the northern Black Sea area and Colchis. The next chapter deals with the problem of ‘Greeks and Achaemenid Persia’ (pp. 29–51), which has been discussed by B. elsewhere.¹

The next four chapters, mentioned above, are the kernel of the book, with an attempt to outline the contacts of the Greek in the East, primarily in the Hellenistic period in the states which were established after the fall of the Achaemenid empire and its conquest by Alexander the Great – in the Near and Middle East, but especially in the Central Asia and India. B.’s attention in Chapter 3 is focused on Greek influence and interaction with local traditions in the art of the Seleucid and Parthian empires (pp. 62–78), discussing, for instance, the finds from the excavations of the Parthian capital, Nisa, but also those in the kingdom of Commagene (p. 79). Chapter 4 is devoted primarily to Greek input in the genesis of the art of Graeco-Bactria, revealed both in the monumental art of Ai Khanoum as well as in the minor arts, primarily metalwork from the Oxus Treasure, and coinage. The ivory rhyta from Parthian Nisa are discussed in this chapter, while, according to B., ‘the total Greekness of their style also the determinedly Greek subtlety of their iconography seems to betoken Greek hands and it is perfectly possible that the whole find is booty from a Greco-Bactrian source’ (p. 88).

The next (fifth) chapter contains a very brief survey of Hellenistic silverwork, primarily phalerae of horse-harnesses, found in the nomadic burials in the steppes from the northern Black Sea area to Kazakhstan (pp. 102–09), B. discusses further the spectacular gold jewellery with stone inlays from the royal Yuehzhhi necropolis of Tillya Tepe in North Afghanistan, belonging to the beginning of the 1st century AD (pp. 109–15) and dwells on possible Greek influences on the art of China in the Han period (pp. 116–20).

Much more attention is devoted by B. to the Greeks and their arts in India – this is the longest chapter, covering not only the period of the Mauryan dynasty but also later Buddhist art, and discussing the monumental and minor arts (stone palettes, gems and seals, jewellery, plate) from Taxila and Gandhara (pp. 129–60), ivory, plaster casts of metalwork and painted glass from Begram (pp. 160–62), but also the Gandhara style in sculpture (pp. 167–94).

The last chapter of the book is devoted to the influence of Greek and Roman art in Iran in the first centuries AD, treating Parthian reliefs, sculpture and terracottas and Sasanian silver (pp. 195–213).

There are certain remarks by B. in the Epilogue that I wish to stress: ‘The ancient world was not as big, as we might think...’, and, ‘The Greeks colonized not only the lands where they settled, but also those they had simply visited or heard about with their mythological nexus, abetted by the skills of artists and poets whose works seemed very accessible at all levels of society’ (both p. 215).

¹ J. Boardman, *Persia and the West: An Archaeological Investigation of the Genesis of Achaemenid Art* (London 2000).

There are several points in the book which I would question. For instance, why should the rider on a gold buckle from Saksanokhur in Tadjikistan be considered as 'Chinese' (p. 120 and Pl. XXIX)? Neither the costume of the rider, the subject of the scene, nor the Mongoloid features of the rider lead us to such a conclusion. For the discussion of Greek and Roman influence in the Far East (pp. 115–20) it would be important to mention the recent finds of late Hellenistic metalwork² and early imperial Roman glass in the aristocratic Xiongnu burials in Noin-Ula³ and in the grave complex of Gol Mod II,⁴ i.e. in Mongolia. Related to the discussion of Roman (Alexandrian) painted glass vessels in Begram (p. 162), it would be useful to mention a find of a similar vessel with the scenes of gladiatorial combat from the 3rd-century AD nomadic burial at Lebedevka in western Kazakhstan, suggesting that such vessels could reach Central Asia by land routes.⁵

Some abbreviations used in the notes (for instance, p. 227, n. 207) are absent from the list of abbreviations on pp. 220–21. I also came across some minor errors/misprints, although it was not my task to look for them, for instance, p. 227, n. 205 should be *ACSS* 18 (2012), 51–109 instead of (2014), 81–109.

The book is written accessibly and offers an up-to-date view of the influence of the Greeks (and actually Romans) and their culture across Central Asia, India and western China up to the rise of Islam. There are very few scholars nowadays whose encyclopaedic knowledge allows them to create an overview of such wide historical and geographical scope and of various cultures. B., one of the most distinguished historians of Greek arts, manages to do this. The book gives a very good general picture, but if one wants to study certain periods, areas or problems deeply it is necessary to dig further into the literature; the notes give the reader a good starting point for this. In spite of certain deficiencies, some of which were briefly mentioned above, this is a very useful book for all those interested in the art and archaeology of vast areas of Eurasia and the influence of the Greek and Roman civilisations on the art and cultures of the different peoples living there.

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² N.V. Polosmak, E.S. Bogdanov and D. Tseveendorzh, *Dvadsatyi Noin-ulinskii kurgan* (Novosibirsk 2011), 110–17; M. Treister, 'K nakhodke falara iz medaliona ellinisticheskoi chashi v kurgane no. 20 mogil'nika Noin-Ula (Severnaya Mongoliya)'. *VDI* 2 (2014), 125–50.

³ U. Brosseder, 'A Study on the Complexity and Dynamics of Interaction and Exchange in Late Iron Age Eurasia'. In J. Bemmman and M. Schmauder (eds.), *Complexity of Interaction along the Eurasian Steppe Zone in the First Millennium CE* (Bonn 2015), 199–332.

⁴ D. Erdenebaatar, T.-O. Iderkhantai, B. Galbadrakh, E. Minzhiddorzh and S. Orgilbaier, 'Excavations of satellite burial 30, Tomb 1 Complex, Gol Mod 2 Necropolis'. In U. Brosseder and B.K. Miller (eds.), *Xiongnu Archaeology: Multidisciplinary Perspectives of the First Steppe Empire in Inner Asia* (Bonn 2011), 312, fig. 11.1; Brosseder (as in n. 3), 261–64, fig. 29.2.

⁵ M. Treister, 'Nomaden an der Schnittstelle von transeurasischen Karawanenrouten (Importobjekte aus den spätsarmatischen Gräbern von Lebedevka)'. In T. Stöllner and Z. Samašev (eds.), *Unbekanntes Kasachstan: Archäologie im Herzen Asiens* (Bochum 2013), 737–38, fig. 6; M.G. Moshkova and M.Y. Treister, 'Steklyanniy kubok so stsenoi poedinka gladiatorov iz kochevnicheskogo pogrebeniya mogil'nika Lebedevka-V (Zapadnyi Kazakhstan)'. *RosA* 2 (2014), 108–19.

J. Borchhardt and A. Pekridou-Gorecki, mit Beiträgen von Ş. Karagöz *et al.*, Aufnahmen von L. Fliesser *et al.*, *Limyra: Studien zu Kunst und Epigraphik in den Nekropolen der Antike*, Forschungen in Limyra 5, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut/Phoibos Verlag, Vienna 2012, 465 pp., illustrations, 100 plates, 8 fold-outs in pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-3-85161-062-8

This book is dedicated to the necropoleis of Limyra, which constitute the largest corpus of sepulchral monuments in Lycia. There were three necropoleis *extra muros* and ten in the *chora* of the ancient city, and they are described in the introductory chapter.

Eight chapters of the book (A–G, pp. 37–387) are devoted to the iconographic and stylistic analysis of the funerary monuments, starting with the prominent *Heroon* of the Lycian king Perikle and ending with Roman sarcophagi. These chapters were written by A. Pekridou-Gorecki, J. Borchhardt, V. Üblagger, R. Schwiembacher, V. Stuppner, Ş. Karagöz and M. Seyer. The funerary iconography of Limyran tombs embraces scenes of life in peace (women and men with children/servants, feasts, hunting scenes, chariot races, sacrifices, ‘parades’ of soldiers and cavalry men) and war (battles, duels), along with portrayals of mythological beings (Caryatids, Bellerophon, Arimasps, Centaurs and Lapiths, etc.) and their exploits. Some depictions are unique and open to diverse interpretations, whereas commentaries tend to be too long and superfluous at times (such as 26 pages of commentary on a half-page description of a battle scene between Arimasps and griffins on pp. 117–44). A. Pekridou-Gorecki studies the female and male dress, shoes, jewellery, hairstyles, armour and weapons, vessels, furniture and miscellaneous everyday objects, as well as animals and plants depicted on the funerary monuments (pp. 159–201); J. Borchhardt is responsible for the stylistic and chronological analysis of funerary monuments (pp. 203–51) that are compared with the Nereid monument from Xanthos, the *Heroon* from Trysa, Asclepius’ temple in Epidaurus and other relevant monuments. The same author, aided by R. Schwiembacher (on the subject of female abduction), offers his ‘hermeneutische Versuche’ on pp. 253–323. This rich commentary contains precious details and opinions on the kingship in Lycia, on court and military officials, Median and Persian mode of burial, army, hunting, ‘Frauenraub in der Ethnologie’ (another instance of a needlessly extensive excursus!), education and sports, cults, myths and acculturation. V. Stuppner provides the chapter on seven Roman sarcophagi and their fragments found in Limyra (pp. 331–70) and his contribution is followed by two shorter studies from Ş. Karagöz and M. Seyer on the busts of Psyche on a sarcophagus-cover and two fragments of funerary stelai with reliefs respectively. A general catalogue of the objects of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman art in Limyra, signed by J. Borchhardt and A. Pekridou-Gorecki, round off the first part of the book.

The second, shorter part of the book (pp. 389–457) deals with Lycian and Greek inscriptions from Limyra. The 54 funerary inscriptions in the Lycian language are edited by G. Neumann (pp. 389–410). These short inscriptions often contain a clause against the desecration of the grave, where we see that the prosecution/process against the offenders is occasionally entrusted to a local deity and/or his sanctuary (nos. 5, 6, 8, 11, 17, 18, 22, 31, 34, 38, 43, 46, 47). Particularly interesting are no. 8 carved on the rock-tomb of Erzesinube, priest of Trddzubi (Greek Τρῶσσος), where the penalty for desecration is 12(?) rams/goats for the local precinct plus 12(?) head of cattle for Trddzubi and an unknown fine for the

'Mother' (= Leto), and nos. 31, 38, 43 with similar clauses involving the same or different local 'Mothers'. Inscriptions nos. 18 and 51 are dated by the reign of Perikle. Only one inscription (no. 26) is bilingual Lycian-Greek. M. Wörrle presents a corpus of 81 funerary inscriptions from Limyra on pp. 411–57, providing an index of personal names at the end. Of the all the inscriptions, 37 were previously unpublished. Among them, the more remarkable ones are no. 36, a Hellenistic verse inscription for a family from Magnesia on the Maiandros, and no. 66, mentioning two freedmen ἐν παρὰ μὸνῃ and a συγγώρησις of the proconsul Cn. Arrius Cornelius Proculus (AD 138–140) concerning the right of burial in the specific sarcophagus.

The volume is provided with 100 tables of photographs and drawings and, in a separate folder, seven maps of necropoleis and a catalogue of the funerary monuments.

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Marijana Ricić

J. Breder, *Attische Grabbezirke klassischer Zeit*, Philippika 60, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2013, x+389 pp., 107 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06868-0/ISSN 1613-5628

If precincts played a role in the debate on Attic burial customs in the past, then it was mostly because of the splendid reliefs and decorated stone vessels they once featured. Many detailed studies have been devoted to these various types of burial monument, but it was Jan Breder's goal instead to analyse the precincts as complex aggregates of architecture, actual burials and burial-related equipment. This is certainly a more difficult task, since undisputable precincts have to be identified first according to certain criteria – and these criteria can be quite different, as shown by the earlier and well-known article by Garland 1982 or monographs by Bergemann 1997 and Closterman 1999.¹

B. focuses on archaeologically confirmed structures with an enclosing stone wall (at least on one side) and over average equipped burials within – while he excludes those without localisation and only identified by the assemblage and togetherness of certain monuments. In this way he reduces the number of undisputable precincts – in contrast to the earlier attempts (especially by Closterman 1999) – to some 128 objects, listed in an elaborate and most useful catalogue. Nevertheless, he offers two more catalogue chapters (the catalogue in total counts some hundred pages) discussing those structures which have been left out for various reasons. With more than a hundred plates the book is well illustrated, and two most welcome and valuable appendices deal with rarely discussed issues, such as the stone material used for the so-called *peribolos* walls and the complete inventory of the safely identified precincts.

The 140-page interpretative text is structured in eight chapters, of which IV–VII, presenting the current debate on constructive details, internal organisation, relevant finds and significance of certain types of monuments, form the most important part. The first three

¹ R. Garland, 'A First Catalogue of Attic Peribolos Tombs'. *BSA* 77 (1982), 125–76; J. Bergemann, *Demos und Thanatos. Untersuchungen zum Wertesystem der Polis im Spiegel der attischen Grabreliefs des 4. Jahrhunderts und zur Funktion der gleichzeitigen Grabbauten* (Munich 1997); W. E. Closterman, *The Self-Presentation of the Family. The Function of Classical Attic Peribolos Tombs* (Dissertation, Johns Hopkins 1999).

chapters are devoted to the history of research, the potential Geometric/Archaic forerunners, and the depiction of burial precincts in Attic vase-painting. These three chapters might not offer too many new insights but are, on the other hand, the inevitable and most helpful groundwork for the understanding of the later tradition and its stable or fluctuating development towards the Classical era – the actual gist of the book.

Especially the discussion of earlier precinct structures reminds us of how many unsolved questions we are still dealing with – concerning the mounting of clay *pinakes* or the unbroken continuity(?) of larger mud-brick structures during the 5th century BC, for example. Helpful and worth mentioning is the simultaneous treatment of the development of burial markers and their decoration. Naturally, the chapter on depictions of burial customs and tombs does not solve the question of what the images on white ground lekythoi really show – in fact it hardly offers new ideas but repeats a couple of outdated views; much more has been written on this most difficult matter in the past. For example, one will hardly agree with B. that the depicted stelai served as models for the reintroduced gravestones after 430/420 BC or that the depositing of vessels next to the burial markers was only an ephemeral phenomenon – which seems at least questionable. Apart from this, a good deal of additional scholarly writing would have been worth quoting here.

Chapter IV finally starts to deal with the architectonical appearance and the contextual analysis of Classical burial precincts – needless to say, B.'s observations rely heavily on the results of the Kerameikos and the Rhamnous excavation (unfortunately, the numbering system is somehow confusing, as clear references to previous or other countings in the books of Brückner, Kübler, Knigge or Stroszeck, which are missing, as is a good overall plan one could turn to). Apart from the impressive front walls of a variety of layout types, B. succeeds in identifying entrances via a narrow or rear side in most cases, which in fact underlines the immense importance of accessibility of these mostly rectangular precincts. This goes well together with the fact that not all of these front walls served as real 'terrace walls' (as they are often called) but were originally at least partly meant to be free-standing – which makes them perfectly comparable with (the rather similar in appearance) *peribolos* walls of sanctuaries: these could as well have had a supporting and/or enclosing and demarcating function. A deliberate interference between a sacred and a funerary sphere, also present in the use of *horos*-stones or similar furnishing, must have been the consequence. Furthermore, by placing the first graves at substantial depth, the Athenians followed the old tradition of burying their dead literally underneath the funerary monument (the whole *peribolos*) – and not in the backfill between the *peribolos* walls.

Of great interest is the first comprehensive overview of capstones that decorated such precincts, even though their existence (being important testimonies of private building activities in those days) had already been attested by former excavations. B. did not look for comparable structures outside of Attica – so it just should be noted that his useful compilation might solve the problem of the original function of the *geisa* found in the late Classical/early Hellenistic necropolis of Chersonesos, for example.²

² R. Posamentir, *The Polychrome Grave Stelai from the Early Hellenistic Necropolis* (Austin, TX 2011), 351–52.

Consequently, B.'s examination of the confirmed precincts leads to the question of whether the space behind the front walls was necessarily completely backfilled (as so often reconstructed) or not: this problem is strongly connected with the execution of burial rites and their localisation. That often graves and stelai cannot be spatially or directly associated with each other was to be expected, but by an in-depth analysis of a number of excavated precincts B. convincingly succeeds in providing evidence that, in some cases, the *peribolos* walls initially remained substantially higher than the thoroughly uneven ground level behind – the latter being always dependent on natural topography and, even more important, the existence of earlier burials. This is well attested by offering pits and substantial substructures (almost always right behind the front wall but differing strongly in height of their base level) for the various heavy grave monuments, reaching down to the foundations of the front walls – but only if no earlier burials were disturbed. Finally it seems that some of the *peribolos* walls (with a front wall mostly made of polygonal masonry) initially functioned as retaining walls and were backfilled completely, while others – rather showing the *temenos*-like character of free-standing enclosing walls – had only been backfilled by and by, serving as a setting for the execution of burial rites for the particular entombment. Naturally, one wonders about the shabby impression the rear side of such *peribolos* walls together with an uneven ground level would have conveyed to the grave visitor finding himself in an interior space – but on the other hand it is difficult to challenge B.'s arguments. Consequences are far reaching, as burial rites would have been invisible to the outside and therefore almost useless in terms of representing the significance of various *oikoi*: so B. draws a line worth to be considered to the ending of certain traditions, such as the so-called 'Opferrinne' around 420 BC – which in the end would have been much too elaborate for publicly not visible activities.

B. moves on to investigate the – rather uniform – grave inventories of various burial precincts, compares them with the objects depicted on the gravestones, and comes to the definitely applicable conclusion that both had different meanings: while images of mirrors or strigils were meant to characterise the deceased by his age and sex, actual burial gifts had a definitely more personal value. In view of the 'pseudo-Attic' gravestones of Chersonesos, showing exclusively such objects, one should start to think of trying to find similar patterns in Athens as well, probably perfectly obscured by many exceptions and even more frequent reworking.³ Consequently, B. in his last chapter tries to reinvestigate the meaning of certain types of monuments: his short treatise on *lekythoi* and *loutrophoroi* (not many words are lost about the various shapes of stelai) definitely takes too narrow a view of an extremely complex topic but at least discusses for the first time, after a long period of neglecting them, exceptions such as cauldrons with griffin protomes. Even more important is the attempt to parallelise the *temenos*-like appearance of burial precincts with sacralising tendencies on Attic gravestones (pediment, architectonic framing, etc.): this might even offer an explanation for various as yet unexplained features, such as rosettes, and is again worth being considered.

In total, this is a book really worth reading, and criticism is minor: B.'s rich book yields only very short abstracts in English and Greek which could definitely have been elaborated a bit more. Apart from this, it is in fact a pity that comparable precincts outside of Attica did not attract B.'s attention as, according to reliefs and other monuments, the impact of

³ R. Posamentir (as in n. 2), 144–54

Attic burial customs must have been enormous in other places as well – instead, B.'s work remains strongly focused on Athens and Attica. Nevertheless, this is an important and extremely interesting study on Classical Attic burial art, and its appearance from a new angle. And, due to its creative approach and new insights into the structure of burial precincts, it will soon become an indispensable tool for those dealing with Greek burial customs in general.

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Richard Posamentir

R. Breitwieser, M. Frass and G. Nightingale (eds.), *Calamus. Festschrift für Herbert Graßl zum 65. Geburtstag*, Philippika 57, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2013, 673 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06856-7/ISSN 1613-5628

Herbert Graßl, der seit 1990 an der Universität Salzburg forscht und lehrt, hat am 25. März 2013 sein 65. Lebensjahr vollendet. An 'eine schöne akademische Tradition' anknüpfend und – wie es im Vorwort heißt – in dankbarer Erinnerung daran, dass er 'gemeinsam mit seiner Kollegin Sigrid Jalkotzy ... das damalige Institut wachgeküsst und erfolgreich in die internationale wissenschaftliche Gemeinde' eingebunden hat, hat ein Team aus dem dortigen Fachbereich Altertumswissenschaften eine Festschrift veranstaltet und 45 Autorinnen und Autoren gewonnen. Der Titel *Calamus* wird als Verweis auf die 'mannigfaltigen Publikationen aus der Feder Herbert Graßls' annonciert – wohl kaum eine hinreichende Erklärung. Man darf vermuten, dass zur Ehrung eines Gelehrten, dem 'die Enträtselung lebensnaher Aspekte des griechisch-römischen Altertums' ein Anliegen ist, dem Publikum ein Rätsel aufgegeben wird, das durch die Beschäftigung mit diesem Sammelwerk gelöst werden soll. Wegweisend dafür ist ein Blick auf die Publikationsliste des Jubilars am Ende des Bandes (S. 661–73): Neben zwei Monographien (*Untersuchungen zum Vierkaiserjahr 68/69 n. Chr. Ein Beitrag zur Ideologie und Sozialstruktur des frühen Prinzipats* [Wien 1973]; *Sozial-ökonomische Vorstellungen in der kaiserzeitlichen griechischen Literatur, 1. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.* [Wiesbaden 1982]) und zwei (Mit-)Herausgeberschaften umfasst sie vor allem viele Dutzend meist kürzere Aufsätze und Lexikonartikel, die sich chronologisch vollständig über die griechisch-römische Epoche, geographisch über die gesamte antike Welt mit einer erkennbaren Vorliebe für die 'Austria Romana' erstrecken und trotz ihrer thematischen Mannigfaltigkeit einen Schwerpunkt in der konkreten wechselseitigen Wahrnehmung von Menschen und den daraus resultierenden Umgangs- und Verkehrsformen finden. Methodisch ist das Œuvre weithin dadurch gekennzeichnet, dass nicht allein Texte, sondern auch Realia aller Art als Quellen zur Rekonstruktion von Lebenswirklichkeiten – bis hin zum 'Scheintod'¹ – befragt werden. Graßl behandelt neben (und zusammen mit) den großen Themen wie Krieg und Frieden, wie Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, wie Gesundheit und Krankheit, wie Mann und Frau, wie Götter und Welt zugleich Alltäglichkeiten und erschließt deren Potenzial für weiterführende Erkenntnis. Die Wertschätzung des Materiell-Konkreten mag bei der Entscheidung für *calamus* als 'Schreibrohr, -feder aus Schilf' ein Motiv gewesen sein.

Zu diesem pointillistischen Panorama passen nun die 43 Artikel der Festschrift, von denen sich nicht wenige explizit auf inhaltliche oder methodische Vorlieben des Jubilars

¹ *Grazer Beiträge* 12/13 (1985/86), 213–23.

beziehen. Sie spiegeln so dessen Interessenspektrum und nehmen oft sogar in der kurzen und pointierten Auseinandersetzung mit einem Thema oder Gegenstand dessen bevorzugte Ausdruckform auf. Die Fülle der Gegenstände, Methoden und Fragen findet so ihre Berechtigung, stellt aber den Rezensenten (jedenfalls im konkreten Fall) vor eine unlösbare Aufgabe, wenn man erwarten wollte, dass er jeden der Aufsätze angemessen würdigte: So führt etwa der Oxforder Spezialist für prähistorische Medizin Robert Arnott fünf Beispiele für 'Cranial trepanation in the Harrapan civilisation' (S. 23–34; der einzige nicht-deutschsprachige Beitrag) vor und wendet sich gegen die Ansicht, dass es damals Gehirnoperationen gegeben habe. Diese Thematik liegt aber gleich in mehrfacher Hinsicht außerhalb des üblichen altertumswissenschaftlichen Spektrums; die Lektüre weitet hier wie an vielen anderen Beiträgen den Horizont, ohne dass sich der Rezensent ein sachgerechtes Urteil über die Aussage hinaus anmaßen dürfte, dass ihn die Darlegung überzeugt hat. Anderes lässt indirekt aufscheinen, wie angenehm der kollegiale Umgang mit dem aus der Steiermark stammenden Kollegen ist, dem man – ausgehend vom Spottnamen 'Kropferte' für die Steirer – eine Untersuchung über den Kropf im Altertum (Rupert Breitwieser, S. 77–92) mit der Beobachtung widmen kann, dass das gehäufte Auftreten des Kropfes im Gebirgsraum bekannt gewesen, aber nicht wie heute mit Jodmangel, sondern mit Wasser und Luft in Verbindung gebracht worden sei. Das ist erhellend und witzig zugleich.

Angesichts solcher Kalamitäten haben sich Rezensenten oft dahin geflüchtet, das Inhaltsverzeichnis mit der einen oder anderen Bemerkung garniert zu rekapitulieren. Im Zeitalter des Internet ist damit kein Nutzen verbunden, der nicht schneller und leichter durch einige Klicks zu erreichen wäre (www.harrassowitz-verlag.de/dzo/artikel/201/004/4442_201.pdf?t=1371042123).

Natürlich könnte man auch orientiert an den eigenen Forschungsinteressen die Beiträge von Sigrd Jalkotzy ('Noch einmal mit Telemachos zu Gast bei Nestor in Pylos', S. 277–93), die ihre schon in der Dissertation getroffene Vorstellung modifiziert untermauert, dass sich in der Darstellung von Telemachs Besuch bei Nestor eine in die Bronzezeit zurückreichende Pylos-Tradition spiegele, oder von Georg Nightingale ('Vom Untergang zum Neubeginn. Von der mykenischen zur griechischen Welt', S. 323–40), der über lang- und kurzfristige Ursachen für das Ende der bronzezeitlichen Welt im östlichen Mittelmeer rasonniert, ausführlicher behandeln und das dann exemplarisch nennen. Oder man könnte Christoph Ulf's 'close reading' der Korrespondenz zwischen Cicero und Brutus in der Zeit nach Caesars Tod ('Der (imaginierte) Römer als Streitpunkt. Gedanken zur Debatte zwischen Cicero und Marcus Iunius Brutus über das richtige Handeln', S. 581–91) zum Anlass nehmen, nach den Konsequenzen mit Blick auf die Debatte über die Überlebenschancen der Römischen Republik zu fragen. Aber solche Auseinandersetzungen im Detail blieben angesichts der Fülle des Gebotenen geschmäckerlich und würden den anderen nicht gerecht.

Deswegen sei der Blick eher auf einige allgemeine Aspekte gelenkt: Angesichts der thematischen Vielfalt spricht nichts dagegen, die Beiträge alphabetisch nach den Namen der Autorinnen und Autoren aufzuführen. Auch der Verzicht auf ein Register ist plausibel. Mehr redaktionelle Arbeit hätte man sich aber an anderer Stelle gewünscht. So hat Franz Glasers Ablehnung der Interpretation, dass zwei Quaderblöcke mittelalterliche Vogelreliefs zeigten, und die Deutung der Darstellung als Danaïden ('Ein römischer Danaïdenfries aus Virunum', S. 221–32) erhebliche geschichtspolitische Konsequenzen, die in der Warnung, die 'Anbringung der Reliefabgüsse im neuen Mauerwerk der Torwange' der Karnburg

könne als 'Geschichtsklitterung' bewertet werden (S. 227), nur reichlich ängstlich anklingen. Dem mit den regionalen Verhältnissen weniger vertrauten Leser bleibt so verschlossen, dass es um die Frage geht, ob schon die Karantanen oder ob erst Kaiser Arnulf die Karnburg als Herrschaftszentrum begründet haben. Als Historiker wird man daran zweifeln dürfen, ob sich mit solchen Befunden wirklich heutige Bemühungen um Identitäten begründen lassen; man sollte aber diese Kontexte deswegen nicht verschweigen – noch mehr, wenn der wissenschaftliche Gegner selbst mit einem sehr umfangreichen Aufsatz im Sammelband vertreten ist: Heimo Dolenz, 'Die *villa rustica* in Liebenfels/Kärnten. Notbergungen in den Jahren 1959/1966 (mit einem Beitrag von Desiree Ebner)', S. 111–55. Gerade weil Herbert Graß immer die Konsequenzen der Arbeit des Historikers wichtig sind, wurde hier unverständlicher Weise die Chance vertan, einen Konflikt argumentativ auf den Punkt zu bringen – oder ihn eben ganz zu vermeiden. Ärgerlich ist es insbesondere bei kunstwissenschaftlich argumentierenden Aufsätzen, wenn wie beispielsweise bei dem von Gerda Schwarz ('Theseus und Triptolemos', S. 439–50) oder dem von Erwin Pochmarski ('Die Eroten mit Girlanden vom Sergierbogen in Pula (Pola). Fragen der Typologie und Chronologie', S. 381–91) die beigegebenen Abbildungen so klein sind, dass man kaum etwas erkennen und dann auch nicht selbst entscheiden kann, ob dort Theseus und Thetis (S. 439) oder Theseus und Amphitrite (S. 440) abgebildet sind, wie die Autorin widersprüchlich schreibt. Ekkehard Weber ('Drei Weihinschriften aus dem Balkanraum', S. 593–98) streift bei seiner Vorstellung dreier kurzer Texte 'aus dem illegalen Kunsthandel' immerhin die wissenschaftsethische Problematik und sieht sich in einer letzten Anmerkung zu *prinzipiellen* Aussagen darüber genötigt, warum er den Vorgaben der Redaktion nicht durchweg folgen will (S. 508 Anm. 16). Angesichts dessen erstaunt es sehr, dass Fotos oder wenigstens Umzeichnungen der Dokumente fehlen, die heute *prinzipiell* zu jeder Erstveröffentlichung gehören; da man auch eine Einbettung in allgemeinere Zusammenhänge weitgehend vermisst – so etwa bei der Präsentation der Inschrift eines Benefiziarers eine Einordnung mit Blick auf die einschlägigen Corpora und Untersuchungen (Schallmayer *et al.* 1990; Ott 1995; Nelis-Clément 2000) –² bleibt undeutlich, worin der Gewinn dieser problematischen Publikation zu sehen wäre. Im Katalog zu von Ingrid Weber-Hiden beigegebenen interessanten Überlegungen zum Profil von Freigelassenen in provinziellen Kontexten ('Freigelassene in Carnuntum', S. 599–610) hätte der Verweis auf 'lupa Nr.' aufgelöst werden müssen, denn die Kenntnis der Bilddatenbank www.ubi-erat-lupa.org darf wohl nicht ohne Weiteres vorausgesetzt werden; ihre Benutzung erleichtert umgekehrt die sonst mühevollen Lektüre dieses Aufsatzes entscheidend.

Dieser Band spiegelt eine hochdifferenzierte und facettenreiche Altertumswissenschaft. Im Einzelnen regt vieles zum Nachdenken und auch zum fachlichen Widerspruch an. Insgesamt ist die Beschäftigung durchaus kurzweilig. Vor allem aber ist die Festschrift eine Einladung, wie der Jubilar auch ungewöhnliche Wege der Erkenntnis zu beschreiten.

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Tassilo Schmitt

² E. Schallmayer, K. Eibl und J. Ott (Hrsg.), *Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I* (Stuttgart 1990); J. Ott, *Die Beneficiarii. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Stellung innerhalb der Rangordnung des römischen Heeres und zu ihrer Funktion* (Stuttgart 1995); J. Nelis-Clément, *Les beneficiarii. Militaires et administrateurs au service de l'Empire (Ier s. a.C.–VIe s. p.C.)* (Bordeaux 2000).

R. Casagrande-Kim (ed.), with contributions by M.C. Greuel, R.S. Bagnall, D.L. Clayman and O.A. Kaper, *When the Greeks Ruled Egypt: From Alexander the Great to Cleopatra*, Institute for the Study of the Ancient World at New York University, New York/Princeton University Press, Princeton 2014, 116 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-691-16554-7

This elegant volume is the catalogue of an exhibition mounted by New York University's Institute for the Study of the Ancient World in 2013–2014. Precious pieces were brought together from a number of important American collections to capture the diversity and complexity of Egypt under Ptolemaic rule: from the important Demotic contracts of the papyri of the Elephantine Island to the coins and statuettes which highlight new ways of interpreting the roles of the sovereigns and the gods. The catalogue is very neat and accessible; colour photographs are provided for almost all pieces. The volume is completed by five essays from experts on Ptolemaic history and culture.

The Ptolemaic kingdom was a milieu of encounters and intersections occurring between the legacy of Greece and Egypt, the world of the court and the daily life of ordinary citizens, written texts and material culture: as Jennifer Chi, the Chief Curator, says in her Foreword, the goal of the exhibition was to show how the Ptolemaic rulers manipulated Greek and Egyptian traditions to 'maintain power and inspire loyalty' (p. 14).

In this long, ambitious and difficult process, religion was to play a key role (p. 20). Religion also provides a *fil rouge* to understand the genesis of this exhibition, as brilliantly presented by Mary Greuel: it helped to define the Ptolemaic house to define the prerogatives of their rule and to strengthen their ascendancy in the country (pp. 18, 22–23), while the idea of a 'tactile afterlife' inspired the themes of visual art (p. 20).

The linguistic landscape of Ptolemaic Egypt reflected this cultural complexity and fluidity: Roger Bagnall says that under the Hellenistic rulers the Demotic and Greek languages seem to have coexisted with little, if any interaction, as though 'they had been stored in separate silos'. Recent research, however, has revealed a different picture, where areas of interplay existed between the local linguistic traditions and the codes of the Greek rulers (pp. 40–41), thus adding to a long tradition of multilingualism (pp. 32–33, 41).

Royal portraiture also reveals the attempt to define the 'values and aspirations' of the Ptolemaic house (p. 44) through a new 'visual language', combining the Egyptian and Hellenic traditions. In her chapter, Dee Clayman examines how the association with Greek goddesses was used to define the qualities of the new Hellenistic queens: Aphrodite as a model of beauty, care and power; Athena as the quintessential symbol of wisdom, which also implied an acknowledgment of the traditional values of municipal liberty; the Egyptian Isis and the Greek Demeter (pp. 48–51).

Coinage offered another vital channel to define and promote the image of the sovereigns, with all its cultural and religious ramifications. According to Roberta Casagrande-Kim, the creation of a fiscal system based on currency enabled the Ptolemies to control at the same time the economic life of the country, strengthen sovereignty and disseminate 'ideological messages' through the various sections of the population (p. 58). Again, the new associations between the royal and the divine stem from a dialogue between the traditional, cosmopolitan images of Hellenistic sovereignty and the peculiarities of Egyptian culture. In this dialogue, prominent was the role of Zeus: the quintessential Greek god,

who was also associated with the indigenous Ammon (pp. 61–62). In the final essay of the collection, a study of the triad of Isis, Osiris and Harpocrates, Olaf Kaper analyses the changing faces of Egyptian religion in both the official and domestic spheres, the importance of the royal patronage of these cults, a tradition which had begun under Alexander. Greek influence inevitably transformed the image of the Egyptian gods by offering new opportunity to create new divine association and develop new iconographies. What Kaper sees in Ptolemaic Egypt is ‘a great freedom to experiment’ (p. 85). Indeed, this is arguably the most interesting trait of Egypt under Greek rule, a trait which the exhibition and the catalogue have managed to capture very well: a constant dialogue with foreign cultures and traditions which did not undermine, but informed the country’s sense of uniqueness.

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Luca Asmonti

G. Ceserani, *Italy’s Lost Greece: Magna Graecia and the Making of Modern Archaeology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, xiv+331 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-974427-5

‘The best preserved Greek temples in the world are found not in Greece but in Italy’ is how Giovanna Ceserani’s investigation, a history of the history of Magna Graecia, opens (p. 1). Italy’s lost Greece in Italy’s lost south – the mainland part of the lost Kingdom of the Two Sicilies – still an uneasy fit, both for what it is (‘backward’, an economic burden – ‘the ‘Southern Question’, here in need of more background) and what it was (Greek, Byzantine, Norman, etc. – a hybrid – and more background required here on the millennia or so up to the early 18th century), but oft times marginalised. Once the destination of the 18th-century Grand Tourist in the era of the Neapolitan Enlightenment, then reduced to a peripheral part of that mid-19th-century political accident, ‘Italy’ (which has never quite succeeded in inventing a nation to deal with the unwanted overstretch to Piedmont caused by the private adventurism of Garibaldi). How far did the competing claims of Greeks and Italians to ‘their’ past in this region feed into the hyper-nationalism that was surely a response to the failure of Italian unification (and was a cure worse than the disease)? But how strange to be so recurrently peripheral in so many different ways – in the modern state, in various strands of modern classical scholarship (of Greece and of Italy), as a Greece outside modern Greece (the Greek mainland, the focus of too much attention), and not conforming to various ideas of modern Italy (down to the 1946 referendum), though being fitted into it. Marginal even compared with the offshore half of the Two Sicilies.

The volume is arranged as Introduction and five chapters. The prime focus is the 18th- and 19th-century exploration of the Greek remains, set into the contexts of travel and connoisseurship, antiquarianism and the rise of professional archaeology, Hellenism (whatever that might be) and modern nationalism, etc.¹ If briefly South Italy was the place to experience Greece, then its marginalisation soon began, influenced by various contemporary colonial ideas, with some return to relevance as an example of colonisation at the time

¹ See below pp. 469–71 the review of S. Samiei, *Ancient Persia in Western History*.

of American independence. We encounter, among others, J.J. Winckelmann and Paestum, John Gillies and William Mitford, in whose histories Magna Graecia had an important place, and the radical George Grote (rather stereotyped as to context; guilty, it seems, of presentism [p. 219], and whose work marked the beginning of the modern historiography of ancient Greece that definitely placed Magna Graecia on the outer). In parallel are institutional developments (in Rome especially – the Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica – but also Naples) and the creation of Classical Archaeology as such in the early 19th century, Germanic involvement and then later domination (and the establishments of other countries' institutes in Rome), set against local developments and the local milieu in Naples.

Chapter 4, 'Of Nations and Scholars', is dominated by the 'militant archaeologist' (p. 251) Paolo Orsi (1859–1935), 'the heroic figure of a new age of state-sponsored scientific archaeological research in the Italian South' (p. 194), born in the (Austrian) South Tyrol ('Archaeology and the New Italy', pp. 229–44), and the journey from Grote's *Greece* (published 1846–1856), via 'Risorgimento narratives of Greek South Italy', to the work of Ettore Pais, born in 1856 ('Pais's Magna Graecia in post-unification Italy', pp. 223–29). Chapter 5 is a consideration of fascism and Magna Graecia as reflected in the lives of Umberto Zanotti Bianco (1889–1963), who rejected it, as had his mentor Orsi, and Emanuele Ciaceri (1869–1944), who embraced it, as had his mentor Pais: 'whereas Ciaceri turned Magna Graecia into the earliest moment of a glorified Italian history that culminated in the Fascist age, Zanotti Bianco saw in the region's fate the unresolved integration of the Italian nation...' (p. 254). Then, in fewer pages than names, with a spot of Gramsci, Dinu Adamesteanu, T.J. Dunbabin's *The Western Greeks*, Jean Bérard, David Ridgway at Pithekoussai and John (*recte* Joseph) Carter at Metaponto (surely in need of a fuller account),² the volume rather fades away – the addition of both a more extended discussion of research and scholarship over the last half century and a proper concluding chapter would have strengthened and enhanced it.

What else might have been said there? A little about Sicily, perhaps, in 'compare and contrast' mode; and also the backwash from Romantic (or starry-eyed) 19th-century philhellenism with regard to Magna Graecia (supported by the same overseas devotees as Italian unification?); (much) more about Taranto (which surely should feature at the centre of any discussion of Magna Graecia?); and in light of the few lines on Dunbabin (and De Angelis and Dyson on Dunbabin), some contribution to the continuing discussion of Greek colonisation (or whatever it is now most fashionable to label it). No doubt too much for what is already a valuable and ambitious study. Instead, there is a page on the present wherein 'universalist NATO-humanism' raises its head. Thus, it ends with a whimper.

The phrase 'has long been in demise' (p. 272) does not quite hit the mark, nor does 'the German Prince of Metternich' (p. 199), presumably the Hapsburg's Chancellor. I am unsure of C.'s grasp of 19th-century Britain with regard to Grote *et al.*

Leeds, UK

James Hargrave

² See above pp. 311–12 for a review of recent Metaponto publications.

S.L. Cohen (ed.), *Excavations at Tel Zahara (2006–2009): Final Report. The Hellenistic and Roman Strata*, BAR International Series 2554, Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, xi+187 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1175-3

This volume summarises the full results of four seasons of excavations in Tel Zahara, directed out by Susan Cohen on behalf of Montana State University. The mound is a small rural site of some 25 ha situated about 5 km west of Nysa-Scythopolis, one of the main urban centres of Hellenistic and Roman Palestine. The volume publishes, in a somewhat odd order, the site's characteristics ('Introduction' Chapter 1; Cohen), stratigraphy [and architecture] (Chapter 2; Cohen), pottery (Chapter 3; R. Bar-Nathan and J. Gärtner), faunal remains (Chapter 4; L.K. Horwitz), coins (Chapter 5; E. Estrup and M. Hawari), glass (Chapter 6; C. Swan), stone (Chapter 7; J. Ebeling), metals (Chapter 8; S. Shalev and S. Shilstein), stamped amphora handles (Chapter 9; D.T. Ariel), varia (Chapter 10, incised graffiti on sherds [P. Stone], worked bone objects [J. Baker *et al.*], and other small finds [Baker]) and the later (Muslim) cemetery (Chapter 11; W. Więkowski and Cohen). The last chapter (Chapter 12; Cohen) is a historical-archaeological overview, which addresses the site in Hellenistic-Roman times, as well as its setting as a satellite rural settlement in the district of Nysa-Scythopolis. Two appendices list loci and 'material culture' (as a reference for all the small finds).

As architecture of the Late Persian(?) (Stratum IV) and Hellenistic (Stratum III) periods is more limited than that of the Roman (Stratum II), the excavator rightly refrained from labelling the type of buildings her team uncovered in the earlier strata and elaborated on the buildings ('farms') of the Roman (2nd–3rd-century AD) stratum, which she tagged as 'typical' of rural Roman architecture in Palestine and identified the site of yet another 'farmstead or estate' of that period. Stratum I is confined to pits (mostly of refuse) of later periods (notably Crusader activity) and a cemetery of the Late Ottoman/Mandatory periods (19th/mid-20th centuries) that is dealt with in Chapter 11. The pottery chapter is presented according to periods with description tables nicely arranged side by side with the respected illustrations. These tables which give reference to the stratum show that many of the sherds came from later levels (fills), hence one has to differentiate pottery from secured contexts and mixed fills. The authors provides technical discussion that is mostly confined to the technicalities of the wares and comparanda from near (the region) and far (other regions in Palestine). Pottery figures are illustrated to inconsistent scales. The faunal remains are presented according to strata and treated in detail. The reconstruction of the dietary habits of the local households (predominance of sheep and goats and consumption of pigs as an indication of a non-Jewish settlement in the Hellenistic and Roman periods) is a welcome contribution; still, the fact that the author/excavator does not provide the provenance of the studied animal bones, left one to wonder on the reliability of bones' contexts (did they originate in fills, secured archaeological layers or designated refuse?). Oddly enough, animal bones retrieved from later periods pits are treated according to their provenance. The chapter on coins provides a catalogue and discussion of ten examples, which is a relatively small number when compared with the extent of the excavations and the periods involved: one is Seleucid, three are Roman (2nd century AD), three are Ayyubid (12th–13th centuries), an additional three are identifiable. The glass too is presented according to strata, hence fragments do not always reflect the time-span of their provenance; unlike in the pottery chapter,

comparanda are limited and more often than not are from outwith the region and/or out-dated. The small assemblage of ground stone vessels is presented according to function in a satisfactory manner (as are the varia), while analysis of metal objects is mostly confined to the chemical composition of 35 objects, as attested by EDS-XRF (non-destructive) analysis, and apart from five coins these objects are not treated elsewhere in the volume. The stamped amphora handles are restricted to nine stamped Rhodian example, mostly dated to the third quarter of the 2nd century BC, and may provide evidence of the end of Hellenistic occupation of Tel Zahara, most probably in the face of the Hasmonean territorial expansion. The study of the Muslim cemetery is restricted to two inhumation burials and two groups of scattered human bones.

The last chapter relates to the site in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and discusses various aspects, among which are rural sites in Hellenistic and Roman Palestine, Scythopolis at the time, and Tel Zahara's relationship with Scythopolis. The site's abandonment in the early-middle 3rd century AD could have been studied against the so-called economic crisis in Palestine of the time, especially against its later mention in Eusebius' *Onomasticon* (16, 14, named Araba). The excavator's reconstruction of the site's independence of the regional metropolis (Scythopolis) in both Hellenistic and Roman times (an unspecified Central Place Theory) could profitably have been supplemented by data from regional surveys. References to the history of research of the site (it was studied/visited by 19th-/early 20th-century scholars such as Neubauer, Guérin, Conder and Kitchener [Survey of Western Palestine] and Abel) should not have been ignored.

All this said, the volume's contents supplements our knowledge of Hellenistic and especially pagan(?) Roman rural sites that normally lack the detailed analysis of finds provided in the current endeavour. Some editorial faults (structure, vague system of subdivisions, inconsistent use of headers, terms, scales, etc.) are offset by the volume's production quality and the relative rapidity of publication.

Tel Aviv University

Oren Tal

A.E. Cooley, *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012, xxii+531 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-84026-2

The renowned expert in the field of Latin epigraphy, Alison Cooley (University of Warwick), has composed a wide-ranging handbook. Her expertise in the subject is already evident in the valuable edition of the *Res Gestae divi Augusti* (Cambridge 2009) and in a popular sourcebook on *Pompeii and Herculaneum*.¹ Both the edition of the 'queen of inscriptions' and the collection of material from the two cities buried under the debris of Mount Vesuvius have significantly benefited from her experience as a researcher and a teacher; and this expertise once again helps to make this manual an essential resource for students who are new to the subject and for anyone teaching Latin epigraphy.

The guide is arranged in three sections which gradually introduce the reader to the epigraphic culture of the Romans and of the ancient world as a whole. C. does not pontificate

¹ A.E. Cooley and M.G.L. Cooley, *Pompeii and Herculaneum: A Sourcebook*, 2nd ed. (London/New York 2014).

in vacuo, but rather goes through the relevant topics by interpreting examples on a practical level, thereby showing the potential as well as the limits of inscriptions as source material. For this purpose, she provides 90 inscriptions in full, each supplemented by an English translation and an extensive discussion. One-hundred-and-three black-and-white photographs, although partly of poor quality, nonetheless offer a good impression of the appearance of the different kinds of inscriptions, for example milestones or late antique lettering. The lists of the figures and inscriptions at the beginning of the book facilitate the convenient finding of a particular testimony.

The first chapter, 'Epigraphic culture in the Bay of Naples' (pp. 1–116), is a case study, which focuses on the whole range of different types of writing. Instead of presenting the most famous and imposing examples from every kind of inscription, C. prefers to give an impression of the epigraphic culture of the Romans in one specific region. The sample is well chosen: the Bay of Naples is characterised by a variety of urban settlements and excavations even uncovered parts of the countryside and the villas there. The ashes of Vesuvius preserved not only many details of everyday life, but the area was in fact vital down into late antiquity, which makes this region an ideal subject for epigraphic inquiry. Here we find nearly every kind of inscription, even in different languages: civic inscriptions (for example, municipal decrees, honorific and building inscriptions, *dipinti* and boundary markers), personal inscriptions (such as pagan and Christian epitaphs, dedications, votives and extremely rare wooden writing-tablets) and *instrumenta domestica* (artist's signatures, bricks and tiles, tools of weights and measures). On the basis of this wide array of material C. illustrates the ties between this area and Rome, commercial importance, prominence as an ambition of elite families, and the ethnically diverse population. Thus, the inscriptions, their urbanistic context and their interpretations offer both an introduction into epigraphic material and a vivid picture of Roman Italy through the centuries.

The second chapter, 'Epigraphic culture in the Roman world' (pp. 117–325), introduces the reader to Roman epigraphic culture and offers insight into how to use inscriptions for historical study. For this purpose, C. discusses the difficulty of defining epigraphy and demonstrates the subject as created by convenience. The degree of overlap between the different subdisciplines, each concentrating on a particular writing-material, is clearly demonstrated by the case of the Augustean *clipeus virtutis*, evidence of which is preserved both in marble and on coins. Equally difficult is the classification of inscriptions. Therefore, the original context and other background information are more important for the analysis of an inscription than an absolute classification. C. offers her own categories of inscriptions by discussing their social function within Roman society. On the basis of her second, smaller case study, the Tripolitania, she draws attention to regional peculiarities. Here we can find a formidable range of epigraphic cultures within a relatively small area consisting of a coastal region and a pre-desert interior. The urban and rural environments as well as the army camp with their different cultures and languages provide an opportunity to examine the different goals which inscriptions serve. The different versions of bilingual inscriptions, for example, make it apparent that each language focuses on another aspect of what seems 'identical' content. Especially noteworthy is the section 'The life-cycle of inscriptions', which offers a fresh look on the material aspects of inscriptions: on production, given features, used language, reading and viewing, positioning of the monument, and on updating, destruction or reusing of inscription-bearing objects.

The last chapter, 'A technical guide to Latin epigraphy' (pp. 327–448), provides an introduction into the practical side of handling epigraphic publications and of editing new texts. C. explains how to find inscriptions, read them, combine fragments and complete inscriptions. The work of epigraphers is illustrated by instructive passages about examining inscriptions on the actual object, making photographs or documenting inscriptions. Various methods and criteria for dating inscriptions are discussed in full. The chapter ends with an illuminating example of a re-edition of an already published text.

Two appendices, one of the Consular *fasti*, the other of the imperial titles, provide a welcome apparatus for dating inscriptions. Two indexes, one of the inscriptions employed and one on general matters, complete the manual.

The book offers convenient access to Latin epigraphy, to individual inscriptions as well as to whole groups of material. Unfortunately, readers miss a list of abbreviations, which were often used in inscriptions and with which students cannot be expected to be familiar, and a systematic bibliography at the end of the book. But these are minor criticisms. The neatly arranged handbook teaches what epigraphic sources reveal, which problems they may raise, and how to deal with inscriptions. C. renders more accessible a kind of source which otherwise seems more difficult to handle than other testimonies. Among the great advantages of this book are the detailed interpretations that make the manual much more than only a reference book. This way, C. provides a useful contribution to the study of Roman antiquity and a highly recommendable tool for students and scholars alike.

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Dorothea Rohde

S. Crooks, *What are these Queer Stones? Baetyls: Epistemology of a Minoan Fetish*, BAR International Series 2511, Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, viii+79 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1129-6

Sam Crooks's *What are these Queer Stones?*... is a study that attempts to relate the iconographic evidence of baetyls with existent stones interpreted as cult stones and define their role in Minoan cult performance. The study is a relatively short one, written in a coherent and well-structured way, complemented by a number of very useful photographs and plans and by an extensive bibliography. Regrettably, there are a couple of references missing from the bibliography, and on one occasion the captions of two figures (Figs. 40 and 41) were confused.

The Introduction sets the geographical and chronological context, presents a critical overview of the research on baetyls of the Bronze Age Aegean and of the persistent influence of previous studies on their interpretation, particularly Arthur Evans's notion of a tree-and-pillar cult, and outlines the structure of the book. The next chapter, 'The Extant Baetyls', presents chronologically from the Prepalatial to the Postpalatial period the actual remains of baetyls on Minoan Crete, the majority of which are found within a palace, describes the context and the material culture associated with each baetyl and interprets its role. There becomes apparent from this examination a connection between baetyls and libation, drinking and feasting activities, with specific socio-political implications. The 'Iconographic Evidence' (Chapter 3) examines the depiction of these stones, mostly on gold sealing rings, divided in four categories (baetyls hugged or leant upon, baetyls arranged in

pairs, banded baetyls, baetyls associated with built structures), the location of the ritual acts associated with them ('The Locations of Baetyl Cult'), which unlike the evidence of extant cult stones suggests a range of settings, and the identity of the figures involved in the cult performed ('The Identities of the Figures'). Chapter 4, 'Concluding Remarks', summarises the key points of the study and presents, naturally, the conclusions regarding the interpretation of baetyls and baetyl cult on Minoan Crete. The last chapter is a catalogue of the evidence, both iconographic and actual remains of baetyls of the Bronze Age Aegean, which should have been entitled an appendix rather than a chapter.

C. examines Minoan cult stones in their own right independently from the interpretations of similar stones in the religions of other cultures. He places the emphasis on contextual analysis, supporting the diversity of meaning baetyls could convey. Moreover, he stresses the communicative dimension of baetyls, since the apparent visibility of most of them renders them a focal point. Thus, C. does not favour their interpretation as aniconic representations of the divinities but expands their symbolism and function as markers of sacral space, of a sphere of influence, protection or control by divinities, the spirits of ancestors or the ruling elite, as liminal markers, both in terms of space and of human experience and as mnemonic devices. The intrinsic ambiguity of these stones would allow a diversity of individual ritual experience, albeit within a shared communal setting, constituting a central component of their ritual value. Nevertheless, the interpretation of baetyls as abodes of deceased ancestors and the proposed association between baetyls and ancestor worship, particularly the evocation of divine epiphany via the intermediation of the ancestors, cannot in my opinion be substantiated solely by the evidence presented.

Thessaloniki, Greece

Christina Aamodt

W. Eck and P. Funke, in Verbindung mit M. Dohnicht, K. Hallof, M. Heil and M.G. Schmidt (eds.), *Öffentlichkeit – Monument – Text*, Akten XIV Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae, 27.–31. Augusti MMXII, Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Auctarium, Series Nova 4, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2014, xv+773 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-037496-4

The 14th International Congress of Greek and Roman Epigraphy, held in Berlin in 2012, brought together hundreds of epigraphists, historians, philologists and archaeologists from around the world. Two years later, the proceedings of the congress have already been published. It is satisfying to have a publication containing many valuable and up-to-date papers written by some of the leading epigraphists. Unfortunately, the great majority of papers are published as short summaries. In fact, only 16 selected papers (from about 130 presented at the congress) are published in full. This decision is understandable from the publishers' point of view – even the present volume is very substantial and the publication of all texts in full would probably have required four or five such volumes. The posters presented during the congress are presented as a short list containing the names of authors and the poster titles (pp. 761–65).

The central theme of the Berlin congress was 'Öffentlichkeit – Monument – Text'. The themes of the four plenary sessions were: public space and writing in the ancient world; encounters between different epigraphic cultures; epigraphy of the rural areas; and public entertainment. Moreover, there were 13 individual sections covering such diverse topics as

ancient harbours, the use of inscriptions in the private sphere, history of epigraphic research or the modern developments in digital epigraphy. On the whole, these contributions offer an exceptional picture of the current accomplishments and trends in Greek and Latin epigraphy. I will briefly describe the contents of the plenary papers.

In a very informative report read at the opening of the congress ('Berlin und die antike Epigraphik'), S. Rebenich gives a lengthy overview (pp. 7–75) of the history of epigraphic research in Berlin during the 19th and 20th centuries. Names familiar to any epigraphist, such as Niebuhr, Boeckh, Kirchhoff, Mommsen and von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff make their appearance, but perhaps of even greater interest are the parts dedicated to epigraphy in Berlin between the two World Wars and especially after the Second World War, when Berlin regained its position as an international centre of Greek and Latin epigraphy.

In his contribution, entitled 'Writing, Public Space and Publicity in Greek and Roman Cities', A.D. Rizakis offers some general remarks and observations on the origin and development of epigraphic habit in a public context. J. McK. Camp II examines a very similar topic ('Inscriptions and Public Space in the Agora of Athens') within a specific case study, the inscriptions of the Athenian Agora. Particular emphasis is laid on the question of the placement of inscriptions within its boundaries. C. Witschel ('Epigraphische Monumente und städtische Öffentlichkeit im Westen des Imperium Romanum') investigates the use of inscriptions in the public sphere in the cities of the Roman West, taking as case studies Segobriga and Thamugadi. C. Roueché ('Using Civic Space: Identifying the Evidence') offers a brief investigation of four topics: significance of placement, importance of public monuments themselves, public role of graffiti, and the purpose and significance of pavement and wall signs in public areas (with a detailed typology).

There are three papers in the plenary session on the exchange between Greek epigraphic culture and its eastern counterparts. P. Huyse ('The Use of Greek Language and Script in Bilingual and Trilingual Inscriptions from the Iranian World') gives an excellent overview of the use of Greek language in multilingual Iranian inscriptions (examples are encountered as late as the 3rd century AD), and of Greek alone in Iranian regions. One of Huyse's observations is especially worth mentioning: from about 160 inscriptions published in the recent corpus of Greek inscriptions from Iran,¹ over two-thirds come from Susa and Ai Khanoum – the only two Hellenistic sites east of the Tigris that were objects of systematic exploration and excavation. This nurtures hope that future investigations of Hellenistic cities in the same area will provide more Greek inscriptions. In 'The Media and Audiences of the Hebrew and Aramaic Jewish Inscriptions in Iudaea/Palestina', J. Price examines the use of the Hebrew, Greek and Aramaic languages and their respective epigraphic conventions in the Jewish inscriptions of Syria and Palestine. There seems to be no unified Jewish epigraphic culture in Palestine but a whole spectrum of regional variations, with Jewish communities often mimicking the epigraphic habits of their neighbours. S. J. Seidlmayer's paper ('Fünftausend Jahre Inschriften. Die Region des Ersten Nilkatarakts') offers a fascinating overview of epigraphic cultural exchanges in the wider region of the First Cataract of the Nile, where we find inscriptions in Egyptian language (from various periods and stages of its development) and also in Meroitic, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, Coptic and other languages. The phenomenon of visitors leaving an epigraphic record continues to this day.

¹ G. Rougemont and P. Bernard, *Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale* (Paris 2012).

The contribution of I.-X. Adiego ('Las inscripciones plurilingües en Asia Menor: hacia una clasificación tipológica y un análisis funcional') treats the important question of multilingual inscriptions in south-western Anatolia. The material is organised according to the regional principle (Lydia, Caria, Pamphylia and Lycia).

The session on rural epigraphy contains four papers, each concerned with a different area of the ancient Mediterranean. S. Mitchell ('Epigraphic Display and the Emergence of Christian Identity in the Epigraphy of Rural Asia Minor') discusses Greek inscription in the interior of Anatolia as a medium of self-expression of early Christian communities. On early Christian funerary monuments, simple images and unpretentious verbal expressions were enough to identify the deceased as a Christian. Afterwards, especially from the 4th century onwards, monuments become more elaborate and the initial simplicity is lost. P. Kovács examines rural inscriptions from the territory of Aquincum in today's Central Hungary in 'Rural Epigraphy and Its Public in Pannonia'. Numerous Latin inscriptions that can be considered as products of a rural society (some 345 in total) provide a sufficient basis for various insights and conclusions, although there are considerable variations of epigraphic habit, even within the area of Aquincum. Variations in epigraphic habit in Gallia Narbonensis are the subject of R. Haeussler's paper ('Differences in the Epigraphic Habit in the Rural Landscape of Gallia Narbonensis'). There are significant geographical patterns that can be observed. Haeussler concludes that some regional differences may be explained as the continuation of pre-Roman, Iron Age cultural traditions. The contribution of G. Labarre and M. Özsaıt ('Les inscriptions rupestres de langue grecque en Pisidie') is concerned with the rock-cut inscriptions in Pisidia, or rather with one particular inscription in Greek, found on Sülüklü Kale (territory of Adada). The inscription is used to support the hypothesis of the continuation of a specific form of cult practice, a very ancient type of divination going back to the Bronze Age Anatolia, Hellenised in later times and incorporated into the cult of Apollo.

Two papers from the plenary session on public entertainment are published in full. That by B. Le Guen ('Textes et monuments: l'argent dans l'activité théâtrale de l'époque hellénistique') studies inscriptions that provide information on the financial side of theatrical activities in the Hellenistic cities, such as building, repairing or decorating theatrical buildings, financing theatrical events, and awarding prizes and other grants to performers. The paper by T. Ritti ('Spettacoli dell'arena in età imperiale: alcune osservazioni sulle forme e la finalità della comunicazione') deals with various means used to convey public messages about gladiator performances in the Roman empire (monuments commemorating these events, monuments referring to the gladiators and other participants, etc.).

The paper that closed the congress is J. Hammerstaedt's presentation of the famous 2nd-century AD public inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda in Lycia ('Inscription und Architektur. Die philosophische Publizistik des Diogenes von Oinoanda'). The author provides information on recent research on this remarkable monument, including new fragments and the state of reconstruction, concluding his paper with a pertinent remark that we should treasure this remarkable gift as a summary of different branches of ancient philosophy and a message for future generations. Certainly a fitting way to conclude a major international congress and its published Acta.

D.B. Erciyas and E. Sökmen (eds.), *Arkeoloji'de Bölgesel Çalışmalar*, Sempozyum Bildirileri, 12-13 Mayıs 2011/*Regional Studies in Archaeology*, Symposium Proceedings, 12-13 May 2011, Ankara, Yerleşim Arkeolojisi Serisi, Sempozyum Bildirileri 4/Settlement Archaeology Series, Symposium Proceedings 4, Ege Yayınları, İstanbul 2014, ix+229 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-605-4701-33-9

This volume constitutes the bilingual proceedings of a conference that took place in Ankara in May 2011. The theme of the conference appears to have been broadly to evaluate the significance and potential of landscape studies/(systematic) surface surveys for the archaeology of Anatolia. Unfortunately, the volume lacks a real introduction into the aims of the symposium and of the publication itself. Instead, a single-page Foreword has been included, which mainly serves as a platform to thank various parties but also contains a few cryptic remarks about the aims of the event:

The idea of organizing a symposium comes from our belief in the importance of removing ourselves of the understanding resulting from handling the settlement in Anatolian archaeology for a long period of time, stripped from its dynamics and our belief in the importance of presenting new researches (p. ix).

To the reviewer, it is almost impossible to make sense of such remarks, and it is only after reading the Turkish version (p. vii), which foregrounds that settlements need to be understood diachronically and in relation to each other, as demonstrated by new studies, that this passage becomes clear.

The volume is the fourth bilingual conference proceedings in the series. While the decision to publish in both English and Turkish is a good idea in principle, in practice I found this publication problematic in many places. Nowhere is mention made of (those) who translated the various chapters to English, which is odd. There are many places where English passages are difficult or impossible to understand (for example, in the chapter by Aksoy), and it is only by reading the Turkish version that one can make sense of sentences. Elsewhere, literal translations are used from the Turkish: 'land potential' in the chapter by Koparal instead of established equivalent phrases such as 'carrying capacity'. Further, for the chapter by Mörel only an English abstract was provided, rather than the full text, and in the chapter of Barański, the Turkish chapter has an English abstract and *vice versa*. Thus, although the idea of publishing the proceedings bilingually is a good one, the actual product is not up to standard. And while on the issue of technical quality, one figure that is mentioned in the text (p. 21) is missing in the publication and another reference is to the wrong figure (p. 111). Overall, the technical quality of this volume is problematic, especially considering that it was published three years after the event.

The contents are highly variable, and can be classified as follows. First, there are regional studies that focus on particular periods and regions, such as the Palaeolithic in the southern Marmara region (Dinçer); the Aceramic Neolithic in the Urfa region (Çelik); the Ceramic Neolithic at Çatalhöyük (Barański); and Hellenistic and Roman period settlements and structures in Rough Cilicia (Mörel), and in the Black Sea region (Cumaloğlu *et al.*). While many of these studies provide important data that will be of great interest to period specialists, there is little attempt in these chapters to link up with the concerns of landscape archaeology and systematic survey.

A second set of chapters provides introduction to the developments in Mediterranean survey archaeology (Bintliff) and in Turkey (Vandeput). Both chapters are useful in setting the scene for the wider volume, but do not really provide substantial overviews. This is a missed opportunity, as such studies are few and far between. While for general Mediterranean survey method one can consult various studies (such as Banning or Alcock and Cherry),¹ for Turkey only preliminary work has been done so far.²

The third set of papers consists of a series of case studies in which young archaeologists working in Turkey endeavour to develop landscape archaeology in various ways. Belgin Aksoy tries to model the carrying capacity and land use of the Yenişehir region in the Early Bronze Age, by comparing archaeological data with Early Modern tax records. Although there are problems with such an approach, it is a useful starting point for the reconstruction of past landscapes. Elif Koparal likewise attempts to model past agricultural strategies and carrying capacities, in her case for Clazomenae in the Archaic and Classical periods. She combines historical evidence about agriculture, survey data, and ecological evidence to assess ancient agricultural practices and argues for the importance of vine and olive crops in the local economy on that basis. Coşku Kocabıyık combines archaeological survey data, GIS techniques such as digital elevation models, slope, distance to water, with historical evidence to argue for transformations in land use and agriculture in the Amasya region from the Hellenistic to the Roman period. Finally, Michele Massa reconsiders Early Bronze Age destruction layers across Anatolia in relation to earthquakes, warfare, accidents and ritual. In the end he argues that climate change prompted episodes of increased warfare which were responsible for most of the conflagrations.

These landscape archaeology chapters are by far the most interesting component in this volume, and it is these studies that make the volume worth a space on your bookshelf. These chapters are also a sad testimony to the start of interpretive survey archaeology in Turkey in recent years, which experienced a premature demise when the Turkish Ministry of Heritage and Culture decided in 2013 that no material could be collected any more in surveys, effectively eliminating the basis for this type of research.

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P. Erdkamp and K. Verboven (eds.), *Structure and Performance in the Roman Economy: Models, Methods and Case Studies*, Collection Latomus 350, Éditions Latomus, Brussels 2015, 238 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-90-429-3280-7

This volume, number 350 in the *Collection Latomus* series, is the first publication of the research network 'Structural Determinants of Economic Performance in the Roman Empire', funded by the Research Foundation Flanders, and includes papers discussed at a meeting of the group held in Brussels in 2012, together with two further invited papers. The stated aim of the network is to identify the causes and constraints of economic growth and development

¹ E.B. Banning, *Archaeological Survey* (New York 2002); S.E. Alcock and J.F. Cherry (eds.), *Side-by-Side Survey, Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World* (Oxford 2004).

² B.S. Düring, 'The Early Holocene Occupation of North-Central Anatolia between 10,000 and 6000 BC Cal: Investigating an Archaeological Terra Incognita'. *AS* 58 (2008), 15–46.

in the Roman world, and the papers explore 'theories, models and methods that enhance our ability to explain Roman economic performance'. It thus invites comparison with the methods – and jargon – of contemporary economic studies, and consideration of the extent to which these can be applied in the far more constricted world of ancient history.

Koenraad Verboven gives a general introduction on 'Models and Muddles', discussing the extent to which theories are good for ancient economic history, and expressing the hope that this book will help ancient historians assess the possibilities of some of the theories and models that are currently available for economists.

The first part of the book presents some theories and models.

Paul Erdkamp discusses structural determinants of economic performance in the Roman world and Early Modern Europe, a comparative approach, pointing out that a study of the Roman economy is hampered by a lack of data on some of the core issues in economic analysis – for example, population, division of labour, trends in wages and prices. To counter this he suggests the application of models that derive from the study of other, better recorded but in general terms economically similar societies. He discusses the crucial elements of this, the problem of finding the most relevant comparanda, but suggesting that nevertheless the method frees us from the perspectives of one source and leads to questions and approaches which might otherwise have been missed.

Koenraad Verboven's paper, 'The Knights say NIE', looks at the application the modern theory of Neo-Institutional Economics to ancient history, explaining how new technologies and 'user-friendly' computer programs facilitate data analysis. He looks at criticism of NIE (one has to get used to the jargon) and recent developments in it. He then explains other models, Behavioural Economics, Development Economics, and suggests tentative research ideas worth following in the application of this to the Roman world.

George Grantham's paper, 'A Search Equilibrium Approach to the Roman Economy', is one of the two extra invited contributions, originally written for publication elsewhere but included here because of its close ties to the preceding and following papers. It accepts that the Roman economy, following on from the Hellenistic and Punic economies, was market based, rejecting Moses Finley's claim that 'rather it promoted autarky and discouraged individual enterprise'. Equilibrium in this context implies a working balance between supply or manufacture and demand. Examples of this are discussed – the manufacture and trade of pottery, of metal working and, of course, agriculture.

Jeroen Poblome discusses the economy of the Roman world as a complex adaptive system, based on his archaeological work at Sagalassos in Asia Minor. He applies theories of economic interpretation to the actual material discoveries in the excavation, showing changes in production and purpose. Noticeable is the consequence of modern scientific methods of material analysis, showing not only origins of, for example, the storage amphorae but the range of possible changes in agricultural production.

The second section of the book contains papers relating to the application of these economic models and methods.

Wim Broekaert, in the second invited paper, applies social network analysis to the epigraphic material relating to the Italian trading community on Delos. By showing in diagrammatic form the relationships and connections between individuals and families he is able to demonstrate the significance of the groupings within them, bringing out in particular the leading families. This reveals the associations within business and religious groupings

conforming to Roman precedents of *collegia*. Of the differing religious affiliations, Apolloniastai, Hermaistai, Poseidoniastai and Competalistai, it emerges that the last of these was restricted to slaves, who were encouraged in their membership by the families that owned them. This gives an excellent answer to a long-vexed problem, but which is possible only because of the comparative abundance of epigraphic evidence relating to these families.

Dennis Kehoe writes about 'Poverty, Distribution of Wealth and Economic Growth in the Roman Empire'. General trends are discussed. The lack of accurate – and full – statistics has to be accepted here. Kehoe quotes Scheidel and Friesen's estimate of the Roman empire's Gross Domestic Product as being in the order of 20 billion sesterces per year 'plus or minus 20%', so amounting to little more than a reasonable guess. Assessing how this was distributed between different classes of the population, the different localities, the contrasts between Rome itself and the other regions is obviously hazardous. The repetition of the phrases 'is likely to', 'it seems likely' illustrates the problem and the uncertainty. The extent of intervention by 'the Imperial government' is assessed, though the level at which this was imposed in different areas is obviously variable, probably variable in the extreme. The essential conclusion is the gulf between the richest class and the different class levels below them and that a large class had means which were close to mere subsistence level, but that the government did intervene and to some extent redistributed wealth.

Annalisa Marzano discusses villas as instigators and indicators of economic growth, potentially an enormous subject but here limited rather to the establishment of a villa system in Spain, where there is evidence for the development of wine production for export, particularly to Gaul, only for the subsequent growth of wine production in the Gallic provinces to put a virtual end to this aspect of their economy.

Finally Anne Kolb discusses epigraphy as a source on ancient technology. She gives a good analysis of the inscriptions, but has to accept the paucity of information epigraphy provides.

The papers in this book put the study of the Roman economy in line with contemporary analysis of present-day economics. But how effective are these techniques, models and methods when applied to the ancient world? Clearly, in the Roman empire there was a market economy. There is evidence for the movement and sale of goods far from the areas of production, as well as extensive, more localised trade. What was the balance between local and long distance? How did it vary within the long period of the stabilised empire? One of the features of the Roman world – emphasised in this book – is urbanisation. How can we judge the effect this had on the economy? What proportion of the population lived and worked in the towns as opposed to the countryside? To what extent were they economically productive? In the present volume it is Poblome's analysis of the economy of Sagalassos which is the most convincing, allowing for the fact that it is only an overview, not the full, detailed publication of extensive research. Can this type of research, however, be carried out over the whole of the empire, rather than in just one fairly remote and still rather underdeveloped region?

A full and definitive understanding of the Roman economy is, it seems to me, impossible, given the impossibility of recovering full statistics. How much do we really know of the true wealth held in the empire? How many Mildenhall or Sveso Treasures were there of which we know, and will always know, absolutely nothing? This book does encourage and provide methods of analysis, but the final answer will always elude us.

V.P. Erlikh (ed.), *Drevnosti 'Doliny yablon'*, Katalog vystavki, Severo-Kavkazskii filial Gosudarstvennogo muzeya Vostoka, Maikop, 05 noyabrya 2014–10 yanvarya 2015 (*Antiquities of the 'Yablon Valley'*, Exhibition Catalogue, North Caucasian Branch of the State Oriental Museum, Maikop, 5 November 2014–10 January 2015), State Oriental Museum, Moscow/National Museum of the Republic of Adigei, Maikop, Moscow 2014, 144 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-5-903417-56-8

This publication is a catalogue of the exhibition 'Antiquities of the Valley of the Apple Trees' mounted by the North Caucasus Branch of the State Oriental Museum of the Russian Federation (Moscow) in the city of Maikop (Adygea) from 5 November 2014 to 10 January 2015.

It begins with a brief history of archaeological research in the vicinity of Maikop, in which several periods spanning the second half of the 19th century to the beginning of the 21st century are singled out. The materials presented in the exhibition are from those found during the most recent investigations (2011–2013) by the North Caucasian expedition of the State Oriental Museum and the Cultural Heritage Company, Ltd.

The Bronze Age is represented by finds from the Novosvobodnenskaya stage of the Maikop culture dated to the 4th millennium BC, and from the North Caucasian cultural-historical entity) (3rd millennium BC) from Mounds 1 and 2 of the Siniukha burial ground, as well as Mound 1 of the Psenafa archaeological complex. The second Siniukha mound is notable for the interesting details of the funeral ritual of both major burials (eight young bulls on the wooden cover of the burial pit; the grave pit is shaped like a bath with a pebble coating). In the fill of this mound a burial with a flag-shaped arrowhead, characteristic of Maikop culture, has been found, which suggests the parallel existence of the two cultures at some point. A spherical stone mace unique for the region was found in one of the male burials of the Psenafa complex, as too was a single-loop silver temple ring, indicating the status of the deceased as a chief or commander. In other tombs of the same complex a variety of jewellery made of silver, bronze and fish bones was found. The Late Bronze Age exhibits originate from the settlement of Demetra (end of the 2nd–beginning of the 1st millennium BC). These large clay vessels are an important characteristic of this culture, which was the basis for the formation of the Protomaeotian Kuban culture of the Early Iron Age.

Maeotian archaeological culture is represented in the catalogue by the Psenafa settlement finds. It is interesting due to the elements of its infrastructure (a drainage trench serving as a storm sewer and a well/cistern). The various artefacts (ceramic loom-weights, spindle-whorls, iron knives, an awl, grinding stones) and the osteological material (of cattle and small ruminants, horses, pigs, an antler and bone of a deer) indicate the economic activities and crafts of the ancient inhabitants. Fragments of amphorae make it possible to define the date of the settlement – 4th century BC–2nd century AD. The abovementioned Mound 1 of the Psenafa complex was still in use in Maeotian times. In the upper fill of the mound more than 250 sacrificial complexes were discovered. They included animal remains – horses with bridle accessories (bits, psalia) and bulls; specially broken vessels for ritual libations; deliberately broken weapons: spears, javelins, swords and daggers; parts of armour (helmet); mirrors, spindles, beads and pendants. The top of the mound was free from offerings and was probably the sacred centre of the Psenafa settlement. This sanctuary functioned from the 4th century BC to the end of the 1st century AD. A cemetery of

the Maeotian period located on the periphery of the burial mound was also studied. The deceased were mostly oriented towards the south, lying in an elongated position, and came with the burials of horses. The grave inventory included local Maeotian handmade ceramics; imported vessels (an amphora and unguentarium, glass skyphos); bronze utensils (vessels, fragments of a cauldron and an Italic pan with a handle ending with a ram's head); armaments (spearheads and more than 100 javelins, swords and daggers, a bronze helmet); bronze and iron bits and psalia; bronze mirrors of different types; gold, silver and bronze jewellery (necklaces, bracelets, head wreath, earrings, temporal pendants, fibulae-brooches, etc.). Among these special attention should be paid to a wire brooch of La Tène origin, lion's head gold earrings dating back to the Hellenistic period and a Ptolemaic bronze ring with the image of Arsinoe III. The cemetery yielded an extensive collection of beads, pendants, amulets etc., made of glass, carnelian, jet, amber, rock crystal, Egyptian faience and gold.

Objects of both funerary and ritual character were found in the Demetra II cemetery. Material shows the Sarmatisation of the local population (the latitudinal orientation of the buried, the absence of specific types of Maeotian grey-clay pottery, the presence of imported Sarmatian vessels). The earliest possible date of the burial is the second half of the 4th century BC; the latest is the end of 3rd–beginning of the 4th century AD.

The 'Moldavanka' burial ground from the Belorechenskaya culture of 14th–15th centuries, identified as an Adygean one, was also studied. It belongs to the common people, who buried their deceased in shallow pits. The fragments of tombstones found there – plate with a cross – indicate elements of the Christian faith of the Adygeans (Circassians) recorded by Western written sources of that time (Johannes de Galonifontibus, Johannes Schiltberger, Giorgio Interiano). The graves contained iron flints, sheep shears, knives, arrowheads, men's belt sets, women's jewellery (carnelian beads and bronze gold-plated earrings with filigree).

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J. Fejfer, M. Moltesen and A. Rathje (eds.), *Tradition: Transmission of Culture in the Ancient World*, Acta Hyperborea 14, Danish Studies in Classical Archaeology, Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen 2015, 493 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-87-635-4258-6/ISSN 0904-2067

Virtually every new archaeological or historical publication has perforce to deal with tradition as well as change and novelty. Even the purely descriptive have to consider novelty and identity. The title here, by requiring 'transmission of culture', necessarily involves all these concepts, and this gives the authors a fairly free choice for subject and approach. The result is an engaging series of 18 very different studies, which only incidentally, if at all, dwell on means of transmission rather than its effect. They are papers delivered at a conference on Tradition held in Copenhagen in 2012. Several are on rather neglected subjects and will catch the eye and interest of many readers.

Brøns turns to temple inventories for an account of dedications of textiles, a subject easily disregarded but a major if lost source of iconography, regularly forgotten. Fejfer wonders about the use of Greek models for the creation of Roman female portraiture. Hansen uncovers a type for a powerful mortal in some Bronze Age female 'goddesses', again looking

to textile decoration. Isager wonders whether a long list of priests of Poseidon at Halicarnassos is a bid to establish a link with Troizen in the homeland. Van Kampen considers the role of two Roman statues set to greet visitors to the town of Formello, after the Renaissance. Karivieri explores how neo-Platonism may have adjusted some local oriental cults. Krasilnikoff finds the Athenian Acropolis developing as a centre for the display of further religious innovation. Mortensen believes that the meaning of *ktistes* could extend beyond literal 'founder' to being a general honorific title for important citizens. Mühlenbock finds a west Sicilian town adjusting its pottery decoration to imported styles. Nielsen detects the survival of Etruscan habits on the decoration of Roman funerary urns at Volterra. Petersen finds a ritual rather than cosmetic use for fans in Central Italy. Raja detects the local traits in Palmyrene funerary portraits. Sackjaer and Jacobsen investigate the Greek decoration on a native Italic *trozella*. Sørensen looks for the source of hybrid creatures shown on Archaic Cypriot pottery. Videbach explores the habit of collecting sculptures in late antiquity. Wintther-Jacobsen discovers the duplication of grave-goods in tombs near Paphos and the possible Ptolemaic connections.

While many of these subjects are familiar and revealing archaeological fodder, in sum they do draw attention to a historical dimension in our interpretation of artefacts which can easily be forgotten, misunderstood or ignored.

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R. Garland, *Wandering Greeks: The Ancient Greek Diaspora from the Age of Homer to the Death of Alexander the Great*, Princeton University Press, Princeton 2014, xxiv+319 pp. Illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-16105-1

The main objective of the book is to classify and examine through written sources the various known cases of displacement of people in the ancient Greek world (from *ca.* 800 BC to the death of Alexander the Great), though the author acknowledges the difficulties of the task because the phenomenon was neither quantified nor, in many cases, described by the ancient tradition.

Robert Garland starts by suggesting the various possibilities that may explain these movements, from migration in a broad sense to political conflict (*stasis*) within cities, population growth, armed conflict, traffic in human beings as a result of piracy and war, etc.

G. begins his analysis from Chapter 2, grouping different types of population movement that can be detected in the Greek world, starting with 'The Wanderer', a figure that he seeks through the literary tradition. He addresses in this section, for instance, the different perceptions that Dorian migration raises. In Chapter 3, 'The Settler', G. adheres to the idea advanced years ago by Robin Osborne, who refused to consider what he describes as 'settlement abroad' as 'colonisation'. Such a perspective makes this chapter quite disappointing, because in the end G. fails in systematising the possible causes of departure, stating only that 'each community had its own specific mix of reasons for sending pioneers abroad', which, although certainly true, throws overboard more than a century of fruitful discussions of Greek colonisation, a process that undoubtedly existed, even though we agree that the term 'colony' may be inappropriate. In the rest of the chapter, G. deals with the size and composition of the settlement, the appointment of *oikists*, the identification of the site to be occupied, the mechanisms for selecting those whom G. insistently calls

'pioneers' to avoid terms such as 'settlers', 'colonists' or the like, the departure, the foundation, relations with the natives, the issue of women, successes and failures of the enterprise, as well as references to the Athenian case and to Alexander.

Chapter 4, 'The Portable *Polis*', relates to cases in which the entire *polis* leaves the place in which it is established and moves to another, a much more common phenomenon than at first sight it might seem, as the selected cases show: the Phocaeans, plans to relocate all the Ionians in the West, the threat of Themistocles to transfer all Athenians to Siris, the synoecism of Olinthus, the fleet of Athens acting as *demos* in exile, the programme of massive settlements of Dionysius I of Syracuse, the restoration of Syracuse by Timoleon, large-scale resettlements in the Peloponnese in the 4th century BC, and synoecism at Halicarnassos.

In Chapter 5, 'The Deportee', he deals with cases where part or all of the population is forced to leave its city by the action of political opponents, external enemies or tyrants, and how the life of the deportees developed in the host communities.

Chapter 6, 'The Evacuee', presents the problems raised by the civilian population in case of war and how to deal with it to guarantee safety. Another type of 'wanderer' is 'The Asylum-Seeker', to which is dedicated Chapter 7. As a sacred obligation, asylum should be offered to anyone who asked for it, regardless of their socio-economic status, political affiliation, ethnicity or other conditions. It is not known to what percentage of asylum-seekers it was granted. G. addresses in this chapter the cases of *xenia* and *proxenia*, because he considers them to be special types of asylum, although governed by more developed rules.

Chapter 8, 'The Fugitive', starts by treating some Homeric cases of murderers or killers who have to leave their communities (Bellerophon, Tlepolemus, Phoenix). Some *poleis* punished with exile those who committed certain crimes, the Athenian ostracism being one of the best known and most unusual cases.

'The Economic Migrant' discussed in Chapter 9 could have been just as enterprising, dynamic and willing to take risks as in the modern world but the problem remains, again, that we hardly have any information on the reasons that might impel each individual in this category to migrate; also addressed in the chapter is the subject of the Athenian metics, their legal status, rights and obligations, etc.

Chapter 10, 'The Itinerant', differentiates between itinerants and economic migrants through the limited time the former remained in each place. Known for the first time in the *Odyssey*, they are reputable professionals whose services are in demand everywhere. Also these itinerant demiurges are well attested in ancient Greece, either seers (*manteis*), rhapsodes, sophists and philosophers, playwrights, sculptors and other artists, long-distance merchants and pirates, mercenaries and, on the lower level, beggars and seekers of odd jobs.

'Repatriation' (Chapter 11) refers to the return of those who have left and the complications of all kinds raised by their return to their former communities.

In 'Conclusions', G. takes an idea that has been present in more-or-less subtle form throughout the book, namely that withal, 'migration, displacement, and relocation, both forced and voluntary, were central to the survival, viability, and (it necessarily follows) phenomenal success of Greek societies'.

In an 'Envoi' G. lists 24 questions that he would have liked to answer but that must remain unanswered due to a lack of data.

The book does not contain references in the text, probably because it is intended to address a broader public than the specialist, but relevant ancient sources are cited for each

of the topics, which makes it useful as a tool for teaching. In addition, a 'Further Reading' section, conveniently grouped by major topics covered in each chapter, makes it easy for the reader to obtain additional information to that included in the chapters.

The text is supplemented by several appendices: one dedicated to the terminology of the diaspora; another to a catalogue of Athenian colonies and cleruchies. Others are useful listings of deportees grouped chronologically, of exiles grouped alphabetically, of the enslaved, again in chronological order. The volume is completed with the usual indexes (glossary, bibliography, personal names, place names, sources and general).

Undoubtedly, this is a work of great interest and usefulness, and collects a wide range of information, which is well analysed and criticised, showing, indeed, the wide variety of movements that made the Greeks. Regrettably, in my view, the colonial phenomenon, although it has been claimed that it was not to mark the tone of the work, has been treated in a heavily biased way, caused by a reductionist methodological position that also, not least thanks to the reactions against it, has led to recent and fruitful thoughts that enrich the debate on the Greek diaspora.

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H.-J. Gehrke, *Geschichte als Element antiker Kultur: Die Griechen und ihre Geschichte(n)*, Münchner Vorlesungen zu Antiken Welt 2, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2014, viii+150 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-035050-0/ISSN 2198-966

As early as 1994, Hans-Joachim Gehrke, the Freiburg-based, now Emeritus Professor of Ancient History defined the term 'intentional history' as notions of the past which make people think of themselves as a social or cultural group. In this book he summarises his since then following studies on this topic.¹ The main basic conclusion is: dealing with the past meant not to reconstruct facts, instead it was construed by 'the Greeks' as a 'space' determined to meet the needs of the present. Following an introduction, G. describes the processes connected with this kind of construction of the past in four chapters, where he responds to two core questions: what are the tools by which the space of the past was construed?; and was Greek historiography also affected by intention? Two chapters are devoted to each of these questions.

The first two chapters deal with the place of intentional history in the life of the Greeks: with the social groups to which the intention refers, its producers and the media used. Thus G. attempts to clarify how, by reference to the past, the Greek tradition was created, destined to keep 'Greek culture' together. He equates tradition to 'mythistory', which was constantly present and presented the rules of Greek society. He points at the *mnemones* ('reminders') to explain how the tradition was handed down in the course of time. To highlight the tradition's character he adopts terms like 'Rezeptwissen' or 'archives vivantes'; to characterise the voices of the tradition he falls back on the term 'maitres de verité' coined by Marcel Detienne. Though there was always competition between the *mnemones*, the rules transmitted by mythistory did not become neutralised. Rather they were strengthened,

¹ 'Mythos – Geschichte – Politik – antik und modern'. *Saeculum* 45 (1994), 239–64 (English translation in J. Marincola [ed.], *Greek and Roman Historiography* [Oxford 2011], 40–71).

since the presence of different voices was characteristic of the Greek culture – significant for the freely unfolding of its ‘subsystems’. Since the past was related to the present it could also serve to determine the future. From this circular relationship necessarily derives that dealing with the past must have been intentional. When tradition turned from oral to written, the poets began to create founding stories, not contradicting each another but as variants of the inherited tradition, revolving around the chronological cornerstone of the Trojan War, reaching from the present back to the beginning of the cosmos.

This line of argument is developed through examples taken from texts, the Archaic lyric, the Homeric epics, from the rhetoric of the 5th and 4th centuries, honorary inscriptions or charter myths of Hellenistic towns, but also from other forms of the culture of memory. Particularly the (sacral) *lieux de mémoire* and thus art and architecture were based on the same aesthetic principles and therefore expressions of intentional history.

With the development of historiography, the question arose of what kind of truth it is that mythistory seeks to provide and on which the coherence of the Greek past and culture is based. The fourth and fifth chapters are devoted to the differentiation between delusion and truth. This problem, known from the *Odyssey* onwards, came now to the fore. Ionic philosophy dealt with this subject and led to the development of the term *historie*. In this process the variants of Greek tradition became competing texts and the traditional way of keeping memory was questioned. Forensic rhetoric was taken as example and became central to the dialogue between the authors. Even if to think of the past from the viewpoint of the present did not change, the testimony of the witness was now proclaimed to be the means for proving the truth. At the same time, it was claimed not to forget what was of worth. This meant also to preserve the myth, i.e. at least parts of the old intentional mythistories. From Herodotus onwards, and immediately reaching its peak with Thucydides, the search for truth brought forth a stream of authors who were in competitive dialogues with their forerunners until the Byzantine period.

Particularly with regard to the rhetoric, G. explains how problematic the tools for discovering truth were. Using Gorgias’ *Encomium of Helen* and the *Dissoi Logoi*, he argues repeatedly that the newly developed historiography faced a problem similar to mythistory: its stories, only pretending to be true, wanted to be relished and persuade the audience and their readers. The solution to this problem would be the premise that only the truth, or at least what is probable, can persuade people, as G. shows in analysing, for example, the speeches of Isocrates. But it is mythistory that pleases and persuades people. In conclusion, historiography cannot do without the kind of stories which mythistory tells us. This was the comeback of the ‘old’ intentional history in the ‘tragic’ historiography in Hellenism, triggered by the attempt to describe the incomparable greatness of Alexander the Macedon. Resuming and looking forward, in ‘Ausblick, a short chapter at the end of the book, G. states that narrative and truth are not necessarily contradictions. On the contrary, they belong together. If historiography wants to reach (and persuade) people, it must narrate. To open a door leading to the truth is all that historians can achieve.

This book is a challenging read and prompts the reader to keep thinking about why different intentions were connected with the use of the past in the Greek world at different places and periods of time. To find answers to this question, G. has paved a promising path to follow.

K. Geus and M. Rathmann (eds.), *Vermessung der Oikumene*, Topoi: Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 14, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2013, vi+409 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-029092-9/ISSN 2191-5806

This volume includes the proceedings of a conference held on 28 October 2010 in Berlin, extended with papers by Alexander Podossinov, Klaus Grewe, Ekaterina Ilyushechkina, Silke Diederich and Francis Breyer. In his introduction, Klaus Geus, the co-editor, gives an explanation for the title of this volume (based on the novel *Die Vermessung der Welt* from Daniel Kehlmann) and discusses the meaning of the word *oikumene*, also the first central theme of this volume. In his view, this word can be traced back to Xenophanes from Colophon and means the inhabited world connected to the discovery of the world as a globe in which two areas were inhabited, one in the northern and one in the southern hemisphere. This idea was expanded by the conquests of Alexander the Great and the rise of the Roman empire. The climax of the idea can be found in the work of Claudius Ptolemy in the 2nd century AD. A second theme of the present volume is the mathematical fundamentals of the calculation for the dimensions of the earth, traced back to the 4th century BC.

The first paper is by Podossinov and deals with the geographical orientation in ancient Greek texts, based on Herodotus and Ptolemy. He concludes that they are based on a universal principle, in fact on coasts, seas and rivers. The very interesting paper of Konstantin Boshnakov is a study of the *logos* in Herodotus regarding the description of the Thracian and Scythian world of his days: Herodotus tried to obtain for himself information from traders and colonists to correct Hecataeus of Miletus, whose ideas regarding this matter were, in his eyes, incorrect. Veronica Bucciantini examines Nearchus' report on the distances from Arrian's *Indiké*, while Serena Bianchetti in the next paper (also written in Italian) describes the way of working in the books of Eratosthenes, for instance the positioning of India in his work. Johannes Engels discusses Strabo's *Geography* with regard to the work of earlier geographers. Silvia Panichi makes a comparison between Artemidorus and Eratosthenes, concluding that Artemidorus calculated though itineraries and not geography. Anne Kolb proves again that the Romans, regarding the charting of their empire, focused on the practical infrastructure instead of mathematical and theoretical geography. Grewe's paper is on the instruments used to measure systems in the Roman world, especially for the construction of aqueducts and roads. Ekaterina Ilyushechkina analyses the world-view in the poem *Orbis terrae descriptio* by Dionysius Periegetes, reaching the conclusion that he is providing an ethnographical sketch of the *oikumene* without an intention of making a geographical map of the known world. Richard Talbert discusses in his paper the world-view of the low class Roman auxiliary troops and seamen, concluding that they had a 'mental map' of their own position and that of their people. The joint paper of the volume editor with Irina Tupikova traces the methods for measuring the earth in antiquity, by for instance Eratosthenes and Ptolemy, back to Hipparchus of Nicaea. Kai Brodersen tries to rehabilitate the work of the late antique author Gaius Ilius Solinus, who was an important source for a thousand years, but who was since the Renaissance simply seen as a copyist of Pliny the Elder. Brodersen, however, places him as an innovator who translated the *periploi* of Pomponius Mela and Pliny the Elder into an overview of the mentioned area. Michael Rathmann in his very interesting paper tries to prove that the design of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* did not have an early Roman but an earlier Hellenistic origin. Jan Stenger argues that the description of the Holy Land by Eusebius was not meant for practical use but more

as a scriptural exegesis. Ulrich Huttner uses the hagiographical tradition in his paper for the measurement of distances between Christian sacral places. Diederich describes the *Etymologiae* of the Dark Age churchman Isidore of Seville, and argues that the geographical information in this work was meant to preserve the fast-diminishing knowledge about the ancient world in his times. Kurt Guckelsberger and Florian Mittenhuber in their paper try to visualise the 8th-century AD Cosmography of Ravenna. Breyer analyses some ancient and mediaeval ship logs to locate the legendary site of Punt. Finally, Wolfgang Crom gives an overview of the long history of cartographical manifestations and the different intentions of the authors through time, concluding that each map should be judged according to the original intention for which it was made.

As can be concluded from this short summary of the contents, it is a collection of papers which encompasses the geography of the known world from the Archaic period till the Middle Ages and in which almost every aspect is treated. The papers make it clear that geography in antiquity could be used for different purposes, philosophical, political, practical and religious. Most contributions to this volume (13 of 19) are in German and another two are in Italian, which unluckily will result in less attention in the English-speaking world than they definitely deserve. Anyway, this collection has an extremely high scholarly value and is definite enrichment to our interpretation of ancient geography.

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V. Grieb, K. Nawotka and A. Wojciechowska (eds.), *Alexander the Great and Egypt: History, Art, Tradition*, Wrocław/Breslau 18./19. Nov. 2011, Philippika 74, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2014, 458 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10270-4/ISSN 1613-5628

In late 332 BC, the last Persian satrap of Egypt surrendered his satrapy to Alexander. Alexander's stay in Egypt was brief, lasting only until the spring of 331 BC, when he left to continue his campaign against Darius III. Despite its brevity, however, Alexander's time in Egypt was critical for the future of Egypt, marking the transition from native to Macedonian rule. Until recently, scholars have devoted little attention to Alexander's reign in Egypt. *Alexander the Great and Egypt: History, Art, Tradition* is welcome evidence of growing interest in this period of Alexander's reign.

The volume contains the proceedings of a conference held at Wrocław in Poland on 18–19 November 2011. After a general introduction laying out the general themes of the conference, the 22 papers in the volume fall into five broad groups: historical background, Alexander in Egypt with emphasis on his role as Pharaoh, Alexander's building programme, society and culture, and Alexander in the Mediaeval romance tradition.

The first group, which contains two papers, opens with a persuasive study by Burkhard Meißner, arguing for continuity between Alexander's plans for Egypt as reported by Arrian and 4th-century Greek strategic ideas concerning Egypt. In the second, Krzysztof Ulanowski argues that, while there were similarities in the use of divination by Esarhaddon and Alexander during their conquests of Egypt, the attitudes of the two kings toward their omens differed, the former focusing on their significance for Assyrian imperial goals and the latter for the success of his future activities.

The first four of the seven papers in the second group focus on efforts to legitimise Alexander's role as Pharaoh, and to that end they assume that he underwent coronation at Memphis as reported in the *Alexander Romance*. Angniezka Wojciechowska and Krzysztof Nawotka propose a new chronology of Alexander's actions in Egypt, arguing, on the basis of the *Alexander Romance*, that he founded Alexandria and was crowned Pharaoh after his return from Siwah. Francisco Bosch-Puche analyses Alexander's royal names in the bark shrine at Luxor Temple, suggesting that the priests intended to incorporate him into the cult of the royal *ka*, thereby, affirming his legitimacy as Pharaoh. Stefan Pfeifer reviews the evidence for Alexander's legitimisation, maintaining that, while reliable evidence for his coronation is lacking, it is clear that he was concerned about establishing his legitimacy as Pharaoh. In the final paper of this group, Nicholas Sekunda argues that the oracle of Apollo at Didyma and not that of Amon at Siwah was critical for the recognition of Alexander's divine parentage.

The final three papers in this group treat a variety of topics related to Alexander's position as Pharaoh. Agnieszka Fulińska reviews the evidence for the origin of the portrait of Alexander with ram horns, connecting it with the Ptolemaic tradition of the Libyan Dionysus. In their second paper, Wojciechowska and Nawotka argue for an Egyptian origin of the title *kosmokrator* assigned to Alexander in the *Alexander Romance*. In the final paper of this group, Donata Schäfer contends that Alexander's actual actions in Egypt did not merit the title 'great' and, more important, that from the point of view of the Egyptian elite his primary significance was that he was the first foreign ruler in centuries to make Egypt a priority.

The ten papers in the third group deal with a variety of miscellaneous topics. Volker Grieb and Ivan Ladynin consider early Macedonian building programmes in Egypt, the former placing the foundation of Alexandria in the context of the history of urbanism in the south-east Mediterranean and the latter treating continuities between the building activities of Alexander and his immediate successors and the final native Egyptian dynasties. Ian Moje identifies religious continuities with Egyptian tradition in Demotic private documents dated to Alexander's reign. Gościwit Malinowski suggests that Alexander sent a mission into Nubia in the winter of 332/1 BC, but denies that it contributed to the solution of the puzzle of the cause of the Nile flood as suggested by late sources. Micah Ross argues that the evidence of early Greek *paraepgmata* combined with an anecdote in Simplicius' commentary on Aristotle's *De Caelo* indicates that Alexander was instrumental in the introduction of the zodiac into Greece and Egypt from Babylon. Adam Łukaszewicz and Philippe Matthey make useful contributions to the problem of Alexander's tomb, the former establishing that there is no evidence for it being in the area of Kom el-Dikka and the latter reconstructing the history of the tradition connecting the sarcophagus of Nectanebo II with Alexander. Gunnar Dumke demonstrates in an illuminating paper that the Ptolemies did not exploit Alexander in legitimising their rule with their Egyptian subjects, while Elizabeth Brophy in an equally enlightening study demonstrates that the location of royal statues in Ptolemaic Egypt was not random but carefully planned, statues portraying Ptolemies as Pharaohs being placed in Egyptian temples and Greek portrayals in Hellenic contexts. In the final paper of this group, Artem Anokhim argues that Ptolemaic themes concerning Zeus and Alexander were used on the coins of Antiochus IV to legitimise his policy during the Sixth Syrian War.

The final three papers in the volume shift focus to the *Alexander Romance*. In the first paper, Dan-Tudor Ionescu analyses the origin of the Nectanebo episode of the *Alexander Romance* and its influence on Islamic traditions concerning Alexander. Aleksandra Szalc identifies a mixture of Aithiopian and Indian elements in the Candace episode typical of the confusion of Africa and India in Late Roman imperial texts. Aleksandra Klęczar closes the volume with a survey of ancient and mediaeval Jewish accounts of the founding of Alexandria, pointing out that the portrayal of Alexander in these accounts is generally positive.

All volumes of conference proceedings are uneven, reflecting gaps in the conference programme that gave birth to them, and *Alexander the Great and Egypt* is no exception. As the focus of the conference was primarily cultural, the treatment of the political and social history of Egypt during the reign of Alexander is inadequate. Also largely absent is consideration of the relationship between early Macedonian Egypt and Persian Egypt. Despite these gaps, however, the papers bring interesting new perspectives to the problems they treat, and the volume as a whole is a valuable contribution to the literature concerning Alexander in Egypt.

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S. Groh, H. Sedlmayer and C. Virág Zalka, with a contribution by U. Schachinger, *Die Straßenstationen von Nemescsó und Sorokpolány an der Bernsteinstraße (Pannonien, Ungarn): Grabungen, geophysikalische Prospektionen und Surveys 1980–1982 und 2009–2012*, Zentraleuropäische Archäologie 3, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna 2013, 223 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-900305-67-3/ISSN 2218-6433

This study reports on two staging posts on the Roman road from the North Adriatic (Aquileia) to the Danube frontier base and town of Carnuntum (with a branch to Vindobona, Vienna) and which incorporated an older trade route from the amber producing regions of the Baltic. The staging posts of Nemescsó and Sorokpolány are located to the north and south, respectively, of the Roman town of Savaria (Szombathely) at distances of 13 and 13.7 km. This stretch of the Roman road is entirely within modern-day Hungary, but beyond this the road crosses and recrosses the present boundary with Austria. The report is published under the auspices of the Austrian Archaeological Institute in its newly established series *Zentraleuropäische Archäologie*. It is concerned with excavations conducted in 1980–1982 at Sorokpolány by the Hungarian archaeologists V. Csérményi and E. Tóth of the Savaria Museum (described here by Csenge Virág Zalka), and at Nemescsó by Tóth and C. Vajk, which were followed up by geophysical and surface survey and some supplementary excavations conducted by the Austrian Archaeological Institute in 2009–2011, the account of these surveys being given by Stefan Groh and Helga Sedlmayer. This forms, therefore, a general co-operation between the Austrians and the Hungarians in studying the ‘Amber Road’. The result is a definitive study of these staging posts, and a model piece of research. It is an excellent example of the way geophysical and surface investigation can extend the results of actual excavation. It gives a fully detailed account of the finds, and puts the archaeology of this section of the Roman road on a very firm footing.

From the Roman point of view this was a road of considerable strategic importance, a direct link from Italy and the Adriatic to the crucial Danube frontier, to an area with

established legionary bases, with a need for the infrastructure of communications discussed by Michael Speidel in the Zurich colloquium report *Infrastruktur und Herrschaftsorganisation*.¹

The excavation at Nemescsó produced evidence for an early period of the staging post, a timber structure, replaced by a more substantial building with stone foundations. The first period building is dated to the late 1st or earlier part of the 2nd century AD, replaced in the AD 160s by the second phase and that finally abandoned in the third quarter of the 3rd century AD. The 2nd-century consolidation presumably followed as a consequence of the Marcomannic War and incursion into Pannonia – there is also a destruction level at Sorokpolány – and emphasises the significance of this route.

The structures themselves are assessed as *stabula*, the smallest of the building types found in connection with road communications. They would have provided stabling for horses for the Imperial Post, with some accommodation and, to judge from the forms of the pottery found in the excavations, provision of food. Both Nemescsó and Sorokpolány comprise square courtyard buildings, the courtyard at Nemescsó measuring 13 × 14.5 m., with four posts supporting a roof round all four sides, fronted by a portico and flanked by corner rooms, single at Nemescsó, double at Sorokpolány, to which the term ‘corner risalits’ is applied. They may have been two-storied, with the appearance of towers.

The finds include the inevitable local pottery fragments, all described here and with colour illustrations, but there are also examples of terra sigillata imported from the Central Gaulish potteries and also material from the Rhine provinces and Raetian ware. Coin finds are described in a chapter by Ursula Schachinger.

Most importantly, these two staging posts are put into the wider context of the Amber road in the concluding section of the book, by Sedlmayer, who discusses the epigraphic sources for the development and history of this road. These comprise milestones, ranging in date from Trajan to Valens, and dedications by individuals, with a date range from Trajan at least to the end of the 3rd century AD. What emerges from this is a detailed appreciation of the route taken by this Roman road, its importance to the control and protection of the empire in these Central European regions with a realisation of its route, settlements and structures in much greater detail than can be found, for example, in the *Barrington Atlas*... published in 2000.

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L.-M. Günther (ed.), *Migration und Bürgerrecht in der hellenistischen Welt*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012, 174 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-06791-1

Im März 2011 veranstaltete das Althistorische Institut der Universität Bochum eine zweitägige Tagung zum Thema “Neue Männer Braucht das Land...” – Metöken und Neubürger in hellenistischen Poleis’. Die Tagungsbeiträge konnten von Linda-Marie Günther erfreulicherweise bereits im darauffolgenden Jahr in einem Sammelband mit dem Titel

¹ A. Kolb (ed.), *Infrastruktur und Herrschaftsorganisation im Imperium Romanum* (Berlin 2014). Reviewed in *AWE* 14 (2015), 401–02.

Migration und Bürgerrecht in der hellenistischen Welt veröffentlicht werden. Die einzelnen Beiträge konzentrieren sich naturgemäß jedoch auf das Thema der Tagung und streifen insbesondere das weite Problemfeld der Migration nur am Rand. Zu bedauern ist in diesem Zusammenhang insbesondere das Fehlen eines Einleitungskapitels. Lediglich eine halbe Seite widmet die Herausgeberin im Rahmen der allgemeinen Vorbemerkungen (S. 7–8) einem kurzen und oberflächlichen Abriss über die Migrationsforschung von der aktuellen Tagespolitik bis in die Antike. Eine Einleitung oder eine abschließende Schlussbemerkung hätte den im Inhalt disparaten Beiträgen des Sammelbandes zudem einen gemeinsamen Rahmen gegeben und die einzelnen Ergebnisse in Zusammenhang mit den Fragen nach Migration und Bürgerrecht setzen können.

Die Herausgeberin publiziert stattdessen zusätzlich zu ihrem eigenen Tagungsbeitrag zum 'Kolonisationsprogramm' des Timoleon auf Sizilien (S. 9–19) zwei in anderen Kontexten entstandene Aufsätze zu karischen Kleinstädten im Einzugsbereich von Milet (S. 73–82) sowie zu den Milesierinnen in Athen (S. 127–45). Mit dem Beitrag zur Kolonisation im spätklassischen Sizilien bietet die Autorin eine Neuinterpretation der literarischen Quellen zur Neubesiedlung von Syrakus unter Timoleon und kann den angeblichen Bevölkerungsmangel als spätere Erfindung der antiken Historiographen erweisen. Der zweite Beitrag widmet sich auf Basis der epigraphischen Zeugnisse den karischen Städtchen im Umfeld der großen Polis Milet und stellt ausgehend von den milesischen Neubürgerlisten die Frage nach dem Umfang der Zuwanderung von Karern. Der durch die Analyse gewonnene Eindruck der 'Landflucht' lässt sich durch den Befund jedoch – wie die Autorin selbst betont (S. 82) – nicht zweifelsfrei belegen. Der dritte Beitrag bietet eine prosopographische Untersuchung zu den vornehmlich durch Grabinschriften bezeugten und in einem Gesamtverzeichnis erfassten Milesierinnen im hellenistischen Athen. Ausgehend von der Beobachtung der stetigen Zunahme an milesischen Bürgerinnen zeichnet die Autorin das Bild eines interaktiven und insbesondere im ökonomischen Sektor aktiven Milieus an ansässigen Fremden. Armen wie Reichen wird der Erwerb des Bürgerrechts stets ein erstrebenswertes Ziel geblieben sein. Zahlreiche Milesierinnen scheinen zudem in athenische Familien eingeheiratet zu haben. Hilmar Klinkott untersucht in seinem Beitrag die Möglichkeiten des sozialen Aufstiegs in der Polis Alexandria bis zum Erwerb des Bürgerrechts (S. 21–40). Durch eine überzeugende Analyse insbesondere der papyrologischen Quellen gelingt es dem Autor, ein idealtypisches und prinzipiell allen Fremden offenstehendes System des stufenweisen Erwerbs des Bürgerrechts herauszuarbeiten und gleichzeitig das auffällige Fehlen von Metöken in Alexandria zu erklären. Die Untersuchung von Lara Sophie Köcke bietet demographische Überlegungen zur Aufnahme von Neubürgern im hellenistischen Milet als Reaktion auf eine allmähliche Bevölkerungsabnahme (S. 41–49). Auf Grund der problematischen Quellenlage müssen bereits die als Ausgangsbasis für die demographischen Überlegungen getroffenen Annahmen in vielen Fällen spekulativ bleiben. In der Folge stehen freilich auch die Ergebnisse der 'indizienbasierten Argumentation' (S. 49) – so etwa der vermutete Bevölkerungsrückgang seit der Mitte des 3. Jh. v. Chr. – auf unsicherem Boden. Daniel Kah widmet sich in seinem Beitrag auf Basis der epigraphischen Quellen dem Verhältnis zwischen den Bürgern der Polis Priene und den ansässigen Nichtbürgern (S. 51–71). Nach Konflikten der Bürger mit der umwohnenden Landbevölkerung im frühen Hellenismus scheinen insbesondere die als *παροικοί* und *κατοικοί* bezeichneten Bevölkerungsgruppen im Späthellenismus

zunehmend in die Bürgerschaft integriert worden zu sein und hatten sogar Zugang zur Ephebie. Daneben bietet die Untersuchung interessante Überlegungen zu einzelnen Inschriften und bespricht mit den Ehrendekreten für A. Aemilius Zosimos aus dem 1. Jh. v. Chr. ein konkretes Beispiel für die Integration eines römischen Neubürgers. Der Beitrag von Klaus Freitag beschränkt sich auf einen umfassenden Forschungsüberblick zu Fragen und Problemen im Bezug auf die Bürgerrechtsverleihungen durch griechische Bundesstaaten (S. 83–95). In der Diskussion stehen insbesondere das Verhältnis von Bundesbürgerrecht und Bürgerrecht in der einzelnen Polis sowie die Frage nach dem Status des Metöken innerhalb eines Bundes. Für aufschlussreiche Ergebnisse bedürfte es zunächst jedoch der Aufarbeitung und Revision des vorhandenen Quellenmaterials. Klaus Scherberich untersucht den durch eine Inschrift (*IG IX 2, 517*) gut bezeugten Einzelfall der Ansiedlung von Neubürgern in Larisa durch Philipp V. und diskutiert dabei insbesondere die Neuinterpretation des Befundes durch Roland Oetjen (S. 97–105). Die Aufnahme der Neubürger scheint eine spontane Reaktion auf einen kriegsbedingten Bevölkerungsschwund zur militärischen Stärkung der Polis gewesen zu sein. Im Einklang mit der bisherigen Forschung sieht der Autor in den Neubürgern ansässige Metöken und – entgegen dem Vorschlag von Roland Oetjen – keine Soldaten des Phillip V. Die Neugründung der arkadischen Polis Megalopolis in den Jahren nach 371 v. Chr. sowie die demographische Entwicklung der Stadt bis ins 2. Jh. v. Chr. stehen im Zentrum des Beitrags von Volker Grieb (S. 107–26). Die Untersuchung versucht dabei stets auch die Fragen nach Zusammensetzung und Konstituierung der Bürgerschaft zu beantworten. Insbesondere die permanenten Bedrohungen durch äußere Feinde werden das schnelle Zusammenwachsen der Bürgerschaft begünstigt haben. Mit der Zeit bewirkten die Konflikte einen Rückgang der Bevölkerung und zwangen die Stadt zur Aufnahme von zahlreichen Neubürgern. Erst der Wegfall der militärischen Bedrohungen im späten Hellenismus erlaubte eine Reduzierung der Einwohnerzahl und führte mit der Zeit zur Verkleinerung der Bürgerschaft.

Insgesamt thematisieren die einzelnen Beiträge des Sammelbands ein breites Spektrum an interessanten Beispielen für die Vergabe von Bürgerrecht sowie die Aufnahme von Neubürgern in den hellenistischen Stadtstaaten und geben in Anlehnung an das ursprüngliche Thema des Kolloquiums insbesondere Einblick in das Verhältnis der Städte zu Metöken und Neubürgern. Als Basis für weiterführende Überlegungen zu den Auswirkungen von Migration auf die hellenistische Staatenwelt sowie zu den Folgen der Aufnahme von Neubürgern auf die Gesellschaft der einzelnen Städte ist der Sammelband von großem Wert – auch wenn die erzielten Ergebnisse auf Grund der problematischen Quellenlage in einzelnen Fällen unbefriedigend bleiben müssen. Antworten auf die in den Vorbemerkungen angerissenen Fragen zu Ausmaß und Bedeutung von Migrationsprozessen im Hellenismus oder zu den Folgen der zahlreichen Städteneugründungen außerhalb des griechischen Kerngebiets geben die Beiträge jedoch nicht. Positiv hervorzuheben bleibt nicht zuletzt die schnelle Publikation der zahlreichen Einzelergebnisse der Tagung zu wichtigen Problemfeldern von Bürgerrechtsverleihung und Bevölkerungszusammensetzung in den hellenistischen Städten. Bei einzelnen Beiträgen wäre lediglich eine stärkere Überarbeitung der Vortragsfassung im Hinblick auf die Publikation wünschenswert gewesen.

L.-M. Günther, with a contribution by L.S. Köcke, *Bürgerinnen und ihre Familien im hellenistischen Milet: Untersuchungen zur Rolle von Frauen und Mädchen in der Polis-Öffentlichkeit*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2014, vi+337 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10020-5

In this book, Linda-Marie Günther offers us a rich source of epigraphic information from Miletus in the Hellenistic era, of particular interest to scholars working on the prosopography and population history of Miletus from the 4th to the 1st century BC. The vast collection of prosopographical data assembled over many years by her husband Wolfgang Günther forms the empirical basis for this study, but the particular focus lies on female citizens, women and girls attested in the epigraphical material from both Miletus itself and the wider Milesian Peninsula.

After a short introduction outlining the origins of the project, the book is organised into thematic chapters: Milesian women as money lenders (Chapter 1), those mentioned in relation to donations for statues (Chapter 2), in relation to donations to sanctuaries (Chapter 3), in cultic contexts and as priestesses (Chapter 4), in funerary contexts (Chapter 5), as naturalised *nothai* (Chapter 6) and as new citizens of the city (Chapter 7, contributed by L.S. Köcke). Each chapter begins with an alphabetical list of names and/or fathers' names, dates and list of epigraphic attestations, is followed by a detailed discussion of individual cases in chronological order and ends with a short summary.

A total of 397 Milesian women appear in the corpus. Of this more than half, 219 females, are new citizens (*Neubürgerinnen*) who had recently obtained citizenship. The second largest group is the 74 women and girls mentioned in funerary inscriptions, three of whom are also known to have served as priestesses. The total number of priestesses known by name is 42. Approximately 69% of all the inscriptions studied can be dated to the 3rd century, while only 13 women are attested from sources dated between the 6th and 4th centuries – all of which are from funerary or dedicational contexts, though interestingly none seem to date to the 5th century (pp. 6 and 303). G. acknowledges that not every Milesian female attested outside Miletus may be included in her study (p. 8). Nonetheless, a considerable and perhaps representative number have found their way into the text (pp. 39, 107, 167).

Though the book attempts to address the female side of Milesian history, the nature of the data (particularly the need to rely on fathers' names) means that few things can be said without looking at entire families, of course. For every *stemmata* G. gives very valuable if often hypothetical suggestions for family relations. This obvious insolubility conflicts with the aim of the book insofar as further conclusions are inevitably based on sometimes rather weak grounds.

The short end-of-chapter summaries are accordingly equivocal in their wording: G. highlights the fact that women of high status families (*Honoratioren*) sometimes controlled a considerable amount of money, which they used 'responsibly' (*sic*) for themselves or their sons (p. 44). Women who provided money toward honorary statues appear to have placed themselves, at least indirectly, in the collective memory of the *polis* through dedicatory inscriptions (p. 68). Another field of increased visibility of the female citizen is in dedications to gods, predominantly female. According to G., one explanation for this phenomenon is that ambitious women had greater freedom and scope for public presentation (and perhaps self-aggrandisement) in a cultic context than in profane or political settings such as the erection of honorary statues (p. 110). The prosopographical evidence of

women in cultic contexts and as priestesses seems to indicate that only very few high-status families could afford to have a daughter in the function of a priestess. Being a *hydrophore*, a priestess of Artemis, was a very prestigious position and connected with a high level of public visibility for her family. G. characterises this position as being reserved for the extreme upper class (pp. 172–73). By contrast, as G. highlights, the most representative source for a wider range of social backgrounds is the 172 Milesian women mentioned in funerary inscriptions. One of her conclusions from this section is that most of the women in these inscriptions are not from long established Milesian families, i.e. they cannot be traced back for many generations (pp. 246–48).

For the last chapter of the book, Köcke presents the results of her Magister thesis which compiled those women mentioned within documents listing new citizens. Two major naturalisation events involving Cretans are attested, and another event involving a large group of people from Myous and numerous others from a range of other places. The main feature of these few texts is that here we see recorded a legal act by the state, as opposed to self-presentation by wealthy individuals or families. Unlike in earlier chapters by G., K.'s focus lies not on the individual women but on case studies and overall observations. She concludes rightly that these inscriptions provide us with a remarkable insight onto social structure, mixed marriages and mobility during the Hellenistic period (pp. 300–02).

In her final résumé, G. emphasises the importance endogamy played within the strategies of networking within the local elites (pp. 303–07). Beside women from wealthy families recorded as dedicants or benefactors, only one other group, the new citizen, appears in the ancient record. As G. acknowledges, robust information on the role of women during the 6th and 4th centuries is missing. Very rarely can a family be traced back more than a few generations. One of the few sources to connect names of the Hellenistic period with those from earlier periods is the list of (male) *Stephanephoroi* which itself is, in most parts, a product of the Hellenistic period. In this context, G.'s observation of a renaissance during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC of prestigious names dating back to the 6th century is of special interest and should be further investigated.

If the conclusions to be drawn are somewhat tentative and equivocal, this is the result of a cautious handling of and awareness of the limitations of the data. Nonetheless G. (and K.) have presented an impressive set of data and allied interpretations, which will provide a valuable reference point for specialist studies of the female world of the Milesian Peninsula and perhaps those wishing to make comparisons in familial relations and the status of women with other cities in the ancient world.

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J.D. Harke, *Die Rechtspositionen am Sklaven, 2: Ansprüche aus Delikten am Sklaven*, Corpus der römischen Rechtsquellen zur antiken Sklaverei (CRRS) III, Forschungen zur antiken Sklaverei Beiheft 3, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2013, xii+219 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-10144-8

The selection of legal sources under review is part of a large ongoing series initiated in 1999 by the Academy of Sciences and Literature in Mainz. The project was conceived as a complete collection of Roman legal texts on slavery, with a full commentary. If and when it is brought to a successful closure, the series will encompass 36 volumes. The

current volume is the sixth published so far, though, up to this point, the intended order of books has not been observed (the publication plan is given on pp. 221–22). It includes 362 passages from various Roman or Roman-based legal sources that deal with third-party offences against slaves and the legal mechanisms that may be applied against the offenders by the slave owners or others. The excerpts from legal sources are preceded by a lengthy introductory study.

The introduction is obviously aimed at non-specialist readers, i.e. those that are not profoundly familiar with the finesses of Roman law or with the particular question of offences against other people's slaves. Rather than being an all-encompassing overview that refers to every single aspect of this large question, the introduction deals with several selected topics (a short sketch of such overview is given at the very beginning of the volume). It starts off by praising classical Roman legal theory as a unique phenomenon in the ancient world, due to its 'art of fine distinction' (*die Kunst der feinen Unterscheidung*). The basic line of separation in Roman criminal law, namely, the one between the private and public lawsuits, is observed throughout the introductory text. Most of the essay is dedicated to the legislation on private lawsuits (pp. 2–20), while public offences receive only a very concise treatment (pp. 20–22). The imbalance is justified by the fact that Roman jurists in this case dealt with the private sphere much more extensively than with public offences. This section is divided into four parts, each one dedicated to a specific law or legal document, and each one following the same (somewhat artificial) structure: a) the question of who was authorised to raise a legal action against third-party offenders; b) valid grounds upon which a legal action could be initiated; c) actual contents of the particular legislation; and d) alternative legal mechanisms that could be used with or instead of legal action. The four pieces of legislation treated in this way are: the *Lex Aquilia* (287–286? BC), a law (strictly speaking, a plebiscite) dealing with unlawfully inflicting damage upon someone's property; *actio servi corrupti*, a praetorian edict dealing with those who 'corrupt' slaves – encourage them to be disobedient or commit other unlawful acts; *actio furti*, concerned with the 'theft' (kidnapping) of slaves; and *actio iniuriarum*, concerned with assaults (both physical and verbal) on slaves. The rather compact section dedicated to public criminal proceedings is divided in two parts: one treating the penalties for homicide and violence, the other handling the penalties for kidnapping.

The supplied bibliography in German is extensive though by no means comprehensive (while works in English, French and Italian make only an occasional appearance); most of these are comparatively fresh publications, although there are some that are very dated. In short, the introductory study will be of great use to readers of this volume.

The greater (and more important) part of the book is taken up by the legal excerpts themselves. For each one there is the original Latin text, supplemented with a German translation and a brief legal commentary. This section (II. 'Texte mit Übersetzungen und Kommentaren', pp. 25–211) is divided into seven parts arranged according to the chronological sequence of the legal sources. The first one contains only two short phrases from the Laws of the Twelve Tables. Excerpts in the second part (nos. 3–13) are taken from the *Institutiones* of Gaius. The third part contains excerpts from the *Digestae* and, not surprisingly, this section is the largest by far (nos. 14–282, pp. 34–177). The fourth part draws on the late (*nachklassische*) collections of private law (nos. 283–303). The fifth includes excerpts (nos. 304–316) from the early Germanic legal texts (mostly the *Edictum Theodorici* and the *Lex Romana Burgundionum*). The *Codex Justinianus* is the source for the penultimate

section (nos. 317–341), and, finally, there are 21 excerpts (nos. 342–362) from the *Institutiones Justiniani*.

Die Rechtspositionen am Sklaven 2... is an abundant collection of legal sources, one that is both logically and rationally organised, and clearly presented. I see two obvious groups of scholars that will be interested in it. Legal historians and other experts on the Roman law are, of course, obvious users of this type of corpus, but it is also of great interest for any classical scholar or ancient historian concerned with the slavery in the ancient world. These two groups will undoubtedly approach the corpus with different goals in mind. Jurists, as a rule, will be interested in the texts *per se*. Classical scholars, on the other hand, will probably utilise them as sources for social history. But, as is always the case when legal texts are used as sources, there is the recurrent question of just how truthfully they reflect the social reality and real-life conditions of ancient slaves? This question is briefly touched upon in the introductory essay. The editor concludes that there is only a limited correlation between the evolution of Roman law and the development of Roman society. Changes in attitudes towards slaves, such as can be seen in the legal texts, are slight and only piecemeal. Apart from some very late tendencies, Roman law never saw slaves as anything but objects in the possession of their masters.

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M. Harlow, C. Michel and M.-L. Nosch (eds.), *Prehistoric, Ancient Near Eastern and Aegean Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology*, Ancient Textiles Series 18, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Philadelphia 2014, xi+308 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78297-719-3

This volume complements *Greek and Roman Textiles and Dress: An Interdisciplinary Anthology* from the same series. There are 13 contributions. It opens with Paula Mazare, 'Investigating Neolithic and Copper Age Textile Production in Transylvania (Romania). Applied Methods and Results' (pp. 1–42), primarily a technically oriented chapter, examining textile pottery imprints and archaeological textile tools. Woven and twined textile structures are identified and analysed by their various parameters, accompanied by elaborate diagrams. Spindle-whorls, loom-weights and spools are systematically identified, catalogued and inventoried. Diagrams, graphs, charts and photographs are in abundance. Additional topics include clothing depicted on figurines, textile raw materials and social connotations of textile production. Vakirtzi, Koukouli-Chryssanthaki and Papadopoulos consider 'Spindle Whorls from Two Prehistoric Settlements on Thassos, North Aegean' (pp. 43–56). The hypothesis of this paper is that relatively small and light spindle-whorls are suitable for spinning soft and short fibres, and produce a fine yarn, whereas large and heavy ones are for harder and longer fibres, producing a coarser yarn. Thus, categorisation and inventory of whorls from a given site will indicate what yarn was produced there. Comparison of the prevalent sizes and weights at Aghios Ioannis and the later period Skala Sotiros indicates that softer fibres had then become available.

Richard Firth, in 'Textiles Texts of the Lagash II Period' (pp. 57–73), utilises cuneiform clay tablets to investigate Lagaš II (east of Uruk, ca. 2200 BC) textiles. The tablets record administration of the textile industry (management of raw materials, i.e. wool and flax, listing of textiles according to various parameters, fulling and finishing), terms describing

textile quality (bearing striking similarity to the list of the Diocletian Price Edict) and the names of specific textiles that were in use at the time. In 'Searching for Lost Costumes. A Few Remarks about the Royal Costume in Ancient Mesopotamia Focusing on the Amorite Kingdom of Mari' (Ariane Thomas, pp. 74–96) the garments ('costume') themselves take centre stage. The use of iconographic and epigraphic sources is examined. Royal garments and hats, their manufacture and characteristics are described. In addition, the use of accessories such as jewels, beads, shoes, baldrics and weapons, and insignia is discussed. The author includes hair styles and the use of cosmetics and perfume as components of dress, a concept originally established by Mary Ellen Roach.¹

Vigo, Baccelli and Bellucci ('Elements for a Comparative Study of Textile Production and Consumption in the Hittite Anatolia and Its Neighbour', pp. 97–142) address in great scope and detail the challenges of research on ancient textiles using a multidisciplinary approach. Archaeological finds mentioned include spindle-whorls, loom-weights and textile remains. Literary sources describe the production and use of textiles and garments. Iconographic images illustrate distaffs and spindles, or perhaps yarn put up on spools, as well as regal and military garments. Eleni Konstantinidi-Syvridi, with 'Buttons, Pins, Clips and Belts.... "Inconspicuous" Dress Accessories from the Burial Context of the Mycenaean Period (16th–12th cent. BC)' (pp. 143–57), faces a familiar challenge to archaeological textile research: the corroboration between pictorial sources such as frescoes and figurines and archaeological finds (domestic and burial). Her paper focuses on clothing ornaments, such as roundels, buttons of various shapes and styles, bands, beads (glass and faience), pins, tubes and tassels. Suggested uses include selvedge and sleeve decoration, pleat-weights, belt-fasteners and hair decoration.

The linguistic relationships between Mycenaean and Greek, and Semitic or *Wanderwörten* origin terminology are examined in Valentina Gasbarra, 'Textile Semitic Loanwords in Mycenaean as Wanderwörter' (pp. 158–66). An overview of the Mycenaean textile industry and its development is presented, indicating the appearance of new terminology due to the necessity to name improved products. A Mycenaean textile term, *ki-to* (Greek *Χιτῶν*, Akkadian *kitû*), and two Greek terms, *σινδών* and *βύσσος*, which meet the above criteria are identified.

Agnès Garcia-Ventura, 'Constructing Masculinities through Textile Production in the Ancient Near East' (pp. 167–83), employs affirmative action against the backdrop of the over-emphasis on women and femininity in textile production found in Gender Studies. Within the Ancient Near Eastern *chaîne opératoire* of textile production, spinning is generally considered a characteristically female occupation, whilst fabric finishing (cropping, scouring, bleaching, laundering and fulling) is man's work. She examines the masculine predominantly negative aspects of spinning, and conversely, finishing – which almost exclusively bears positive connotations as a male activity.

Caroline Sauvage, 'Spindles and Distaffs: Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Eastern Mediterranean Use of Solid and Tapered Ivory/Bone Shafts' (pp. 184–226), is a review of the techniques of spinning and the possible permutations of various types of spindles and whorls (their shape, size and position on the shaft), use of fibres and resultant yarns, before shifting focus to ivory and bone spindles (shafts or rods), with or without knobs or (possible) whorls from various sites and their respective (albeit hypothetical) textile uses.

¹ M.E. Roach-Higgins, J.B. Eicher and K.K.P. Johnson (eds.), *Dress and Identity* (London 1995).

After many years of Assyrian garment research based exclusively on textual and iconographic sources, the recent discovery of the tombs of queens in Kalḫu enables encompassing interdisciplinary research of their golden decorations. Salvatore Gaspa's 'Golden Decorations in Assyrian Textiles: An Interdisciplinary Approach' (pp. 227–44) presents a detailed linguistic analysis of the literary sources, and a survey of the relevant palace wall panel reliefs, bronze friezes and stelai. These elements are then compared with the burial finds – rosettes, stars and triangles. In addition, possible methods of attaching these ornaments to the garments are suggested.

Tina Boloti presents 'E-ri-ta's Dress: Contribution to the Study of the Mycenaean Priestesses' Attire' (pp. 245–70). The identification of priestesses' (or goddesses') attire, including headdress and jewellery etc. requires very judicious and precise interpretation of contemporary iconographic sources – wall paintings, glyptic, frescoes and the Hagia Triada sarcophagus. Both a long robe with vertical band, and a flounced skirt are suggested. For headdress, a type of diadem and *polos* (a flat cylindrical hat with an attached plume) are candidates. Additional accessories may include *insignia dignitatus* such as a sceptre, signet rings and bracelets.

In Louise Quillien's 'Flax and Linen in the First Millennium Babylonia BCE: Origins, Craft Industry and Uses of a Remarkable Textile' (pp. 271–96), literary sources of various types – poetry, temple documents, administrative texts and contracts – provide information about the cultivation, processing, manufacture, trade and use of flax in this region and era. Many stages of the *chaîne opératoire* are described, and the remaining data can be supplied thanks to the global consistency of this industry. The scope of locally grown raw material is unclear, as is the component of foreign imports. Two common professions are linen weavers and linen bleachers. Much of the fabric production was used in various temple and priestly applications.

Orit Shamir encounters 'Two Special Traditions in Jewish Garments and the Rarity of Mixing Wool and Linen Threads in the Same Textile in the Jewish Tradition' (pp. 297–308). Biblical Jewish law regulates garments in two contexts: 1) sheep's wool and flax-linen are prohibited to be mixed in any fashion in a single garment (*sha'atnez*), and 2) men who desire to don a rectangular garment made of wool or linen, must affix to its corners 'show-threads' (*tzitzit*). Textiles found in the Land of Israel, as a rule support the observation of the former prohibition – the few exceptions can be attributed to temple priests who are obliged to wear this mixture. Conversely, there is no certain find of *tzitzit* – which is indeed a mystery.

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S.R. Hauser, *Status, Tod und Ritual: Stadt- und Sozialstruktur Assurs in neuassyrischer Zeit*, Abhandlungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 26, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012, xix+452 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06252-7

'What could be more universal than death?' With this quotation Stephan Hauser begins his impressive study of the social structure in the Neo-Assyrian city of Assur, a study based on the burials found there during the German excavations which took place more than one hundred years ago, between 1903 and 1914. H.'s main goals are, first, a study of the relationship between the inhabitants of Assur and death and the physical remains of their

deceased relatives; second, the analysis of the archaeological material in order to reconstruct the performed rituals. Burials are conceived as the results of a complex decision process, and the keeping as well as the deviation from the norms gives valuable information about the social status of the individual and the group who are concerned. In this way, burials can be linked to the social structure of the living and allow, as a third goal of the study, a different approach to the history of the city.

The first three chapters have an introductory character. Chapter A deals with the burial rituals and afterlife beliefs in Neo-Assyrian Assur, principally according to the written sources. Physical death was not the definitive end of life but rather the passage to a different form of participation in the family life. In order for the spirit of the dead (*eṭemmu*) to reach the afterworld, it was not only necessary to bury the dead body in the family house following certain rules, but also to provide him continuously with food and drink. The burial rituals lasted for three days and it was not until then that the dead body was buried. Accompanying a seven-day period necessary for the *eṭemmu* to reach the afterworld, the kinsmen retired from the community. The deceased was physically dead but not socially, as from then on he would be venerated with offerings and libations.

Chapter B describes in detail the development of the city of Assur during the 1st millennium BC. Contrary to the widespread assumption that the city was neglected and the palace abandoned after Assurnasirpal II moved the capital to Kalhu/Nimrud, H. – thanks to a new approach to the archaeological material – presents Assur as a living and even expanding city. The palace was not abandoned but still in use: the king dwelt there when he was in the city for the festivities that required his presence. Furthermore, the Assyrian kings were buried there and their burials needed permanent care. The Assyrian kings (Shalmaneser III and Sennacherib among others) built or renovated temples in Assur. They also built and maintained the city and quay walls (for instance Shalmaneser III), and the residential area was even expanded. Neo-Assyrian houses were discovered by the excavators all over the urban area; new residential areas were added in the early 7th century BC between the inner and outer city walls, in the *Außenhaken*, and on the terrace of Tukulti-Ninurta's I 'new palace'.

Concerning the archaeological data, H. had to manage an extremely difficult situation as no catalogue of the burials existed (nor does one exist yet), the original documentation was in some cases incomplete and in others contradictory, and the publication in catalogue form of 1103 burials by Arndt von Haller (*Gräber und Gräfte von Assur* [Berlin 1954]) was, in spite of its pioneering character, far from reliable, as its critical treatment by H. in Chapter C shows. For the present study, H. had at his disposal the available original documentation, which he thoroughly analysed and compared against von Haller's catalogue and typology (especially pp. 142–72). As the number of erroneously described burials exceeded 40%, a new analysis of the dating and a new typology of the burials were unavoidable. Some of them were discarded as not being Neo-Assyrian, others were newly dated or added to the corpus, that, according to Hauser, now comprises 612 graves and 51 crypts, in all 663 burials (against 435 Neo-Assyrian burials considered by von Haller). The processed data – the basis for the study of the burials – are presented as Appendix 2 in an attached CD both as an Access database and an Excel file. Appendix 1 lists the burials related to the archives in Assur.

In Chapter D, H. offers a new typology based on the complex decision process related to the burial of a deceased family member. Among others, questions that need to be

answered include whether the deceased should be buried in a single or a multiple burial, whether a new multiple burial is necessary or desirable, where should the corpse be buried and whether in a vessel or not, and in which kind of vessel, etc., etc. (see Fig. D-30 on p. 203). According to this chain of decisions the burials are classified in five categories ordered after the increase of work involved: 1) burials in which the bodies were laid down without any special cover (7%); 2) burials, in which the bodies were covered by half a vessel or a layer of big potsherds or bricks (27%); 3) burials, where the grave-pit was lined with bricks or potsherds (8%), i.e. the erection of grave walls that define a burial space without the use of burial vessels; 4) burials in vessels (pots, double pots, sarcophagi, or a combination of them, 50%); and finally 5) crypts, that is subterranean vaulted rooms (8%).

The burials and the dead individuals are analysed in Chapter D from the point of view of the decisions that needed to be taken by the family in case of a death, considering, in particular, the positioning of the body in relation to the different burial types. H.'s study shows that the decision process following upon the death of a family member observed certain socially accepted norms: 99.4% of the burials attest that inhumation was the rule. Cremation is attested in very few cases and may be explained by a particular fate or provenance. People were buried in the family house, and – as far as determinable – under the floor of the innermost room. Children were, with few exceptions, not buried in crypts but in graves covered by two potsherds, or in short sarcophagi (*Hockersarkophage*). The great majority of the adults were buried in collective burials; as far as the sex could be ascertained, double graves contain a man and a woman. Removal of the dead is attested in sarcophagi and crypts. In two-thirds of the cases, the corpse lay outstretched in the supine position; no cardinal direction was preferred. Furthermore, comparison studies show that the size of the house, the type of burial and the grave furniture were directly related. Chapter H summarises the results.

These are only a few of the important results of H.'s study, originally a qualification work in the frame of his Habilitation at the University of Halle in 2007. H. has mastered a complicated and risky situation concerning data obtained and registered more than a century ago. The enormous effort behind these pages has resulted in a masterpiece of scholarship that enlarges our knowledge not only about burial practices in Assur, but also about the life of this unique city in the 1st millennium. A must for any Assyriological library.

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K. Hering, *Schatzhäuser in griechischen Heiligtümern*, Tübinger Archäologische Forschungen 19, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2015, 268 pp., 82 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-999-1/ISSN 1862-348

Though the focus of a Greek sanctuary was always the temple with its cult image of the god and facing the altar, its functioning also tended to involve other structures. Stoa provided shelter in a general sense, and there might be specialised buildings in which at least a privileged section of the worshippers could consume their share of the meat of the animal sacrifices which were not simply burnt as an offering to the god. While the temples might contain the more valuable or fragile of gifts dedicated to the gods there could also be

separate structures which acted as storerooms for such offerings, those which it would not be appropriate to leave in the open (unlike statues). These buildings are referred to in the ancient literature as *θησαυροί*, the *schatzhauser* of Katrin Hering's study: other terms used for such buildings are *οἶκοι* and *οἰκήματα*, *ναός* and *ναίσχοι*.

The present study, a revised version of her doctoral thesis for Tübingen University, lists some 101 examples of such buildings. Of these, the largest number, 31, are in the two sanctuaries at Delphi (all except two in the sanctuary of Apollo). There are some 15 at Olympia. There were a number on the Acropolis at Athens, destroyed at the Persian occupation, while other sanctuaries had only a few each. Thus they are found mostly in the traditional panhellenic sanctuaries. In comparison, there are none in the relatively late developed sanctuary at Epidauros.

The buildings discussed in this book are not mere store places. They tend to be architecturally pretentious, generally distyle in antis and therefore take the form of miniature temples, often with lavish sculptural decoration. They did not contain cult images as such, but were themselves offerings to the god of the sanctuary, along with the other offerings they contained.

The greater part of this book comprises a detailed descriptive catalogue of all the 101 identifiable Treasury buildings, together with a few epigraphic examples which refer to treasury type buildings including the *hekatompodon* inscription from the Acropolis of Athens with its reference to *οἰκήματα*. Each catalogue entry lists, where applicable, the ancient sources of information about it, the modern accounts, a full description of the actual remains, particularly of any sculptural decoration, and identification and chronology. Illustrations are taken from published accounts, supplemented from the photographic collections of the foreign archaeological schools or institutes. (There are no original photographs.)

This catalogue is followed by short sections on the chronology of Treasuries in general; the terminology (in epigraphic and written sources); Treasuries in the written tradition; their architecture and sculpture; the identification of the donors (tyrants, cities, aristocratic families); the occasions and reasons for dedication; their contents and function; changes behind their consecration and their political supporting groups; and a final summary.

The result is a very full account which will serve as a major reference for this aspect of Greek religious buildings. H. points out the importance of these Treasuries as gifts to the sanctuaries and their deities. Obviously, apart from city states only particularly powerful or wealthy individuals could afford the donation of a building. H. does not mention the dedication of building models like those found at Perachora or the Argive Heraion as antecedents for this, though it is noticeable that the earliest Treasuries seem to be those dedicated by the tyrants of Corinth and Sicyon, Kypselos and Myron.

It is unfortunate that most of the Treasuries are very badly preserved, often with nothing more than foundations and scattered (and occasional) fragments of superstructure. This makes it difficult to compile a comparative analysis of their architecture, and particularly the extent to which this is determined by the forms customary to the donor, whether tyrant or city state. The Treasury of the Athenians, exceptional in the degree of its (reconstructed) preservation is a case in point. Notoriously, the date of its dedication has been disputed, either late 6th century (Kleisthenes) or early 5th as a thank offering for the victory at Marathon. It is doubtful whether such a relatively slight difference in date can be attested by

development in the form of Athenian Doric. H. settles for a beginning in the 6th century and completion after Marathon, but this hardly depends on architectural form.

Another interesting example of the influence of the architectural forms practised in the dedicating city is the Treasury of Cyrene at Delphi. H. reports the half columns engaged against the inner sides of the antae but does not realise the significance of this as a distinctive feature of 4th-century BC and later Doric architecture at Cyrene itself. It is unfortunate that nothing remains of the superstructure form of the much earlier Treasury of Cyrene at Olympia, dated by H. to the first half of the 6th century BC which would determine whether any of these architectural features were already part of the Cyrenaican tradition.

H. mentions the possibility of less durable storage buildings, perhaps wooden, in the sanctuaries. I suggested that there was such a structure above the so-called 'Sacred Pool' at Perachora which probably housed the phialai mesomphaloi used in the feasting and which was cast down by the late 6th-century earthquake, precipitating the phialai into the pool. Such structures were more utilitarian and did not have the same cachet for dedication as the formal *θησαυροί*, for which this book is a definitive account.

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J.A. Hill, P. Jones and A.J. Morales (eds.), *Experiencing Power, Generating Authority: Cosmos, Politics, and the Ideology of Kingship in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia*, Penn Museum International Research Conferences 6, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia 2013, xxx+448 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-934536-64-3

Cosmos, politics and landscape are the three main topics in which this splendid book is structured. It is not an organic work with a single scope but rather a singular compilation of mastered individual essays from 13 contributors, glued together by an extensive and comprehensive introductory chapter written by the editors of the book: Jane Hill, Philip Jones and Antonio Morales. This 'Introduction' is in itself a review of the book and this humble reviewer cannot avoid driving the attention of any potential reader to the excellent job performed by the editors when analysing the content of their own edited volume. I have hardly seen before such a dedicated labour in any other compilation of scholarly approaches to a series of related topics with an apparent common nexus.

Consequently, in this short review, I will try to adopt a different approach, concentrating on the 'specific'. Thus, I shall primarily show points in the various contributions that have caught my attention, either for their singularity, novelty or straightforward interest, or even for the anecdotal aspect of the ideas expressed. I seek to avoid being biased by my specialisation (ancient Egyptian sky-lore and its extension to chronology, architecture, landscape, religion and epigraphy) and have made an effort to follow in detail those contributions on Mesopotamian politics and world-view whose content has been new for me on many occasions. An important point in this respect is the accident of preservation of sources between Egypt and Mesopotamia: the latter's extensive archives that allow burrowing into

the very details; the former's outstanding preservation of monumental 'written' architecture which permits a thorough but certainly different approach.

The first contribution is that of Ellen Morris, who show how the iconography established in the very first moments of Egyptian history, among a context of propaganda and performance – such as the one represented in the palette of Narmer and other proto-dynastic 'monuments' – would be 'adopted by virtually all subsequent kings' and repeated with scarcely any change throughout Pharaonic history. This is followed by Dominique Charpin's approach to solar aspects of royal power in ancient Mesopotamia, stressing that one of the cosmological and divine dimensions of the power of the king as a delegate of the Sun God Shamash has been underestimated by Middle Eastern specialists. This links with the next essay, by Eckart Frahm, which analyses Varro's three dimensions of divinity – cosmos, mythology and politics – and their relation to kingship, applying it to certain examples, both in Egypt and Mesopotamia: in a sense, Aten and Ashur were exceptional deities where only one of these dimensions, cosmological and political respectively, was manifested. Going to the anecdotal it is curious how the downfall of an Assyrian king related to his cosmic aspect could be wrongly reinterpreted in the badly translated Christian Bible as the fall of Lucifer 'taking the form of a comedy of errors'. Ludwig Morenz's contribution is a most interesting speculative exercise on the early stages of Egyptian culture where 'semio-phores' (certain pictorial elements interpreted as signs in proto-writing) are scrutinised, resulting in the identification of two hitherto unknown kings of pre-dynastic Hierakonpolis, 'Ostrich' and 'Ibis', in a parallelism with several proto-dynastic kings of Egypt who owned animal names such as 'Scorpion' or Djet. Finally, Joann Scurlock tries to answer a series of comprehensive questions about kingship and divinity, and she finds an answer, and a contrast, in the ancient myth of Dumuzi.

Juan Carlos Moreno's essay is the first dealing with 'politics' where, among many other interesting items, he introduces a new paradigm, proposing that instead of a number of Upper Egyptian states competing for unification, there was just one, born in pre-dynastic Hierakonpolis *ca.* 3700 BC, that would have progressively moved north, first to a new capital in the Abydos region and finally, with Horus Aha, to Memphis. Moving to Mesopotamia, Walther Sallaberger demonstrates how useful clay-tablet archives can be to offer detailed information on palace economic management, even out of the 'capital' of well-established states such as Ur III and the Assyrian empires. This is followed by Miroslav Barta's observations, who sees the Egyptian pyramids as 'some of the more impressive human manipulation of natural landscape', and, notably, Fourth Dynasty ones as abnormal – indeed impressive – phenomena prefiguring the 'standard state phase' of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties. A person originally trained in astronomy, such as this reviewer, will be particularly impressed by Beate Pongratz-Leiden's analysis of the relevant role of astrologers in the Assyrian society, reaching the point that they were able to 'define the seat of the national god Ashur as the nexus of authority, even when political power was settled elsewhere', as in the case of Kalhu or Niniveh. Bruce Dickson has produced a fascinating essay in which the integration and conflict theories for state formation are discussed, comparing the modern 'kleptocracy' of Zimbabwe (the 'best kept African secret' not so long ago), a society 'with deep internal social conflict and competition over scarce resources' with that creating the big burial pits at the great royal cemetery at Ur.

Landscape is the last theme analysed in the book, starting by Michael Roaf's detailed and impressive essay on royal Mesopotamian architecture, as 'the most obvious way to indicate the enduring power of a ruler'. A complete review would be needed to analyse this contribution in full. This is followed by Alan Lloyd's very specific work on how ancient Egyptians identified certain physical features of the landscape as manifestations of divine forces emanating from local topography (the Valley of the Kings or Amarna, for example), virtually applying this idea to the Wadi Hammanat. The volume ends with Mehmet-Ali Ataç's contribution on 'imaginal' landscapes in Assyrian and Egyptian monuments, where we learn of the contrast between the Mesopotamian and Egyptian central territories and the distant lands, such as Magan and Punt, sources of exotic and valuable products.

If I found something missing it would be the absence of illustrations in some of the contributions (seven out of thirteen, all of them surprisingly centred in Mesopotamia) and the need for a few more in others where they would have helped our understanding of the work. It is clear that many contributors have considered that their essays will basically be read by other scholars who will necessarily be familiar with the research under discussion and would easily understand the content of the text, the related geography or the appropriate iconography. In this sense, *Experiencing...* is mostly a book for the specialists, who will certainly learn about a battery of creative topics, and not so much for the layman who, in many chapters, may have certain problems in handling the details of the discussion.

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Juan Antonio Belmonte

C. Hinker, with contributions by G. Christandl and U. Schachinger, *Ein Brandhorizont aus der Zeit der Markomannenkriege im südostnорischen Munizipium Flavia Solva*, Zentral-europäische Archäologie 4, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna 2014, 341 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-900305-70-3/ISSN 2218-6433

The Roman town of Flavia Solva is situated in the south-east of the province of Noricum, in modern-day Austria half way between Graz and the frontier with Slovenia, on the right bank of the River Mur. It was first excavated in 1877–1878 and then, by Walter Schmid, between 1911 and 1918. There were further excavations from 1959 onwards. The present volume is concerned with finds made during rescue excavations conducted in 1989–1990 by Alexandra Puhm and in 1991–1992 by Stefan Groh, published by Groh in a monograph in 1996¹ which also took into account earlier excavations in the same block, Insula XLI, of the ancient town.

The town was built on a normal grid plan. Insula XLI is situated in the western part, away from the river, which appears to have been one of the less well-to-do areas. Hinker's study is devoted to an in-depth appraisal of the finds from a layer of burnt material, designated period II/II+ by Groh which he dates securely to around AD 170. A burnt horizon had been noted previously by Schmid in his excavations, of similar date and interpreted by him as evidence for a violent destruction of the town by the Marcomanni, in the

¹ *Die Insula XLI von Flavia Solva: Ergebnisse der Grabungen 1952 und 1989 bis 1992* (Vienna).

Marcommanic War of Marcus Aurelius. The present study is essentially a reassessment of this interpretation for the burnt layer of Insula XLI and, further, for the dating of similar evidence of burning in this frontier region of the Empire to the incursion of the German tribes of the Marcomanni and the Quadi.

H. gives a very full and precise account of the material in this layer, pottery, metal, glass, slag and stone, organic material such as bone and horn, including worked examples, with a full catalogue that indicates the precise find-spots within the six separate buildings of the insula, Houses I to VI, and generally assigning them to particular rooms. This makes possible a useful reassessment of the nature of the buildings and the function of the various rooms. They were ordinary houses of timber framed construction. There was no trace of tiles, so the assumption must be that they were roofed with some form of thatch or other perishable material. The rooms were used for normal domestic purposes – there is clear evidence for cooking and eating, based on the pottery found and the presence of hearths. But also for metal working, manufacture of bone implements and textile weaving, and that these functions, room to room, were interchangeable with the domestic side. The picture all this creates is of a rather simple rural existence, but one able to import quality pottery from as far afield as the Central Gaulish potteries, comfortable, perhaps, but not particularly well off and altogether not very valuable as a source of plunder.

Thus the central theme of this study is H.'s challenge of the general assumption of a 'Marcomannic' wave of destruction over this part of the empire as the result of a Germanic incursion in AD 170. He sets out carefully the literary historical evidence (Ammianus Marcellinus, Dio Cassius, the *Historia Augusta* and Lucian), all of it relatively brief and cursory. H. contends that this has led to a general assumption that destruction levels – particularly by fire – found in archaeological sites in Raetia, Noricum or Pannonia are automatically assigned to the depredations of the Marcomanni as a historical given and used as a criterion for dating without looking critically at the individual examples.

The burnt level in Insula XLI at Flavia Solva can be precisely dated to 170 on internal evidence and so to the time of the Marcomanni incursion but without any evidence at all that it was actually the work of the Marcomanni. H. points to the highly inflammable nature of the construction of the buildings of the insula, with their wooden frames and vegetable roofing. This, combined with the existence of ovens and hearths and 'industrial' processes within the rooms, together with the total absence of massacred human remains or military objects which could be assigned to the Marcomanni, suggests that the fire which destroyed the buildings of Insula XLI could have been purely accidental.

Sensibly, H. does not come to a firm conclusion on this, though he prefers the explanation of the fire as accidental: the important point, he argues, is that the Marcomannic destruction automatically applied to evidence of fire needs to be investigated case by case rather than taken as a proved fact. This is a warning that deserves to be heeded seriously.

Can we then discard the whole idea of a Marcomannic destruction? The fact that buildings are wooden and roofed with thatch does not automatically lead to an excessive risk of destruction by accidental fire. There are plenty of buildings in England with wooden frames and thatched roofs which have stood for centuries without burning to the ground. Although Flavia Solva is on the route from Graz to Maribor which (in Iron Curtain days certainly) was the preferred route for tourists travelling from Austria and West Germany overland to Greece and Turkey (with long delays at the then Yugoslav frontier, as I well remember) that

was facilitated by modern motorways and tunnels and is not the geographically obvious route: the valley of the Mur runs up into the Alps and the direct route is rather the 'Amber Road' then blocked by the frequent crossing of the border between Austria and Hungary, and where the destruction by fire of the staging posts at Nemescsó and Sorokpolány might well have been the work of the Marcomanni. Flavia Solva might well have been sidelined in any Germanic invasion.

So the uncertainty remains. The lesson of this book, which is a most valuable one, is that each instance of destruction by fire in the second half of the 2nd-century AD needs to be examined separately rather than blindly attributed to the Marcomanni and this then used to establish a precise date, without any independent evidence for that date.

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H. Jackson, *Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates*, vol. 4: *The Housing Insula*, Mediterranean Archaeology Suppl. 9, Sydney 2014, xxix+646 pp., illustrations, 4 plans in back pocket + CD. Cased. ISBN 978-0-9580265-5-0

Jebel Khalid is one of the cities founded by Seleucus Nicator for the organisation of the kingdom he had established for himself out of the fighting following the death of Alexander the Great. Situated in Syria on a hill overlooking the Euphrates from the west it was developed from a military post into a town based on a grid plan. The grid was laid out, obviously by professional surveyors, on a precise north–south alignment. Traces of it are visible on the present-day ground surface.

The present study is of a single insula, excavated by the Australian expedition from 1988 to 2008. The insula is situated on the northern part of the site, near the summit of the northern hill and facing south towards the southern hill which was surmounted by the substantial acropolis palace. The excavation was conducted with exemplary thoroughness, resulting in the present full, detailed and outstanding publication by Heather Jackson. The particular importance of the site derives from its history: founded as a city in the earlier part of the 3rd century BC it was abandoned some two hundred years later. It therefore provides a site which is purely Hellenistic in its development, without any subsequent Roman or post-Roman occupation.

The insula measures some 90 m north to south by 35 m east to west, and so slightly narrower than the usual Macedonian/Hellenistic grid proportion of 2:1. It is divided in two by a transverse alley, but not into equal halves, the southern section being some 10 m longer than the northern.

Within this eight distinct houses were constructed. Their plans and lay out do not have the same precision that can be attested for the overall creation of the city grid. The northern section has four houses, all originally of approximately the same size, covering respectively 327, 349, 324 and 342 m². Those of the southern half are more variable, 772, 528 (the text gives this as 50 but this is clearly a misprint), 264 and 152 m². There is clear evidence of houses, particularly the largest one, appropriating rooms from one or other of its neighbours, but even allowing for this it is obvious there was no originally equal subdivision of this section of the insula, and the first builders seem to have been given a completely free hand, with no formal allotment of a development plot.

Walls are made of unworked field stone, mortared with earth or clay. They are not always bonded into each other, particularly when alterations to the original plan were involved. Some worked blocks are employed for thresholds and door jambs, perhaps left-overs from the more monumental buildings on the acropolis. Plans are extremely variable, even in the (probable) original plans of the four equal size near square houses in the northern half of the insula. Doorways from the exterior lead into an anteroom rather than directly to the courtyard which forms the heart of the house. To the side (generally the far side) of the courtyard is the most substantial and formal room, referred to by J. as the *oikos*. It is this room which gives its name to the 'House of the Painted Frieze', from the abundant survival of its painted stucco wall decoration, in the widespread Hellenistic architectural or masonry style which is the antecedent for the Pompeian First Style. Only one house, North West House 2, has definite evidence, the lower part of a staircase, for an upper floor. Fragments of tile, not at all abundant (in contrast to the acropolis buildings, particularly the temple) suggest but do not really prove the existence of tiled roofs, and flat roofs are more likely. Surprisingly only two houses, the House of the Painted Frieze and North West House 2, have cisterns which could have been filled with rain water collected on the roofs. Floors were generally of packed clay over pebbles and bedrock, with three types of surface, hard-packed clay, crushed limestone and powdered limestone which formed a kind of cement. There are no cobbled floors and certainly no floors with properly laid mosaic pavements, as J. points out with surprise in the case of splendidly decorated main room in the House with the Painted Frieze.

Because the site was deliberately abandoned at a given point about 70 BC it is likely that the houses were stripped not only of their contents but also of their fittings, doorways and other wooden elements. What was left to be found was the scattered debris of some two centuries of continuous habitation, rubbish and articles lost rather than valued possessions. Coins help with the dating of the structures and their phases (labelled A, B and B+) and the floors which went with them numbered in the sequence in which they were uncovered, so floor 3 goes with phase A (the earliest), 2 with B and 1 with B+. Helpful with the dating of the final phase is the introduction then of Eastern Sigillata A pottery.

The great strength of the excavation and this publication is the full and meticulous recording of the material found in each house, room by room and space by space, together with the analysis of chronological sequences, changes of plan and related additions. The evidence, J. points out, 'is thus synthesized for an overview of the activities within the house, again with caution' since one loom-weight or spindle-whorl does not make a weaving area. She creates a methodology, therefore, for analysis and discussion of individual areas, including evidence for possible activities based on the architecture, artefacts and features. The problem is that this does not amount to all that much. Loom-weights suggest weaving, cooking pots suggest food preparation, but beyond this real evidence is lacking. The principal *oikos* room, which in the House with the Painted Frieze had the splendid wall decoration, obviously served as a reception room, but beyond that vague indications of 'probable use' are not particularly informative. There is no formal architectural evidence (off-centre doorways, dimensions of rooms, low plinths round the walls) which mark in Mainland Greek houses the formal *andrones*, suggesting, perhaps, the less easily recognised triclinium system. Equally, J. states that it is not possible to identify restricted women's quarters, the *gynaikonitis*, but then this is not something which is generally recognisable outside the

pages of Vitruvius. J. comments on the total absence of peristyle colonnades to the courtyards, but again this is not exceptional.

Other aspects of the arrangements are problematic. J. points out the absence of latrine systems or recognisable bathrooms. The fact that only two of the houses have cisterns for water storage is surprising, perhaps a consequence of flat rather than tiled roofs, so making the collection of rain water difficult. If the river was the obvious and principal source of water its delivery to the houses would have been at the very least an arduous up-hill chore. J. refuses to speculate, in the absence of evidence, on the presence of slaves living in the houses. Perhaps delivery on animals is the solution, but again there is no evidence for the housing of animals within the house and the doorways were too narrow to admit carts. This raises the further question of the wider economic basis of the households: if there was agricultural support from property allotments on the surrounding plain, this was kept separately there and did not intrude into the houses here studied.

It is a pity that only this single insula in the housing area of Jebel Khalid has been excavated. The inconsistency between the two halves, regularly sized houses in the northern part, widely different in the southern, leads one to wonder which was the more typical. Was there an original intention of identical plot sizes that failed to be fully developed? If, as J. suggests, the very large House of the Painted Frieze belonged to an officer of the Seleucid army, why was his house placed among those of (presumably) lower rank? Given the present disastrous political situation in both Syria and Iraq, further work on the site must be regarded as impossible but it would be interesting to know if geophysical prospection might widen our understanding of the Jebel Khalid houses, if the fallen rubble of the fieldstone walls of the houses did not make that impracticable.

The city was surrounded, except on the steep flank to the river, by a carefully constructed city wall with entrance gateways. These walls, it was suggested to me, were built on the system I had proposed as the type definition of Vitruvius' 'Greek Emplekton' masonry, and I found this very likely. Thus the stronghold and the developing city had their architectural and constructional origins in the early Hellenistic Greek world. That the houses discussed in this volume do not have exact parallels in the Aegean area, in points of form and the contents here meticulously described suggests an amalgamation with local traditions. It is in this that the importance of the site must be placed, and it is good that in this volume it receives such a splendidly full and convincing account.

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U. Janßen, *Gesellschaften im Wandel: Funerärer Aufwand und soziale Wirklichkeit im früh-staatlichen Mesopotamien und Ägypten anhand von Grabbefunden aus Ur und Kafr Tarkhan*, Schriften zur Vordasiatischen Archäologie 10, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2015, 308 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10376-3/ISSN 2196-7199

Das vorliegende Werk ist die für den Druck bearbeitete Dissertationsschrift der Autorin, die im Jahr 2013 am Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie der Universität Bern verteidigt wurde. Die Untersuchung ist als eine vergleichende Studie der Bestattungssitten im früh-dynastischen Südmesopotamien und im frühdynastischen Ägypten am Übergang vom

4. zum 3. Jahrtausend v. Chr. angelegt. Exemplarisch werden hier die Gräberfelder zweier bedeutender Fundorte untersucht, die jeweils ausreichend Datenmengen erbrachten um eine entsprechende Fragestellung überhaupt beantworten zu können, d.h. die von Ur/Tell el-Muqayyar in Südmesopotamien (insg. 370 Gräber) und Kafr Tarkhan (deutsch: Tarchan) im nördlichen Mittelägypten (insg. 2065 Gräber). Der Vergleich zwischen sozialen Aspekten, die sich in den Gräbern bzw. ihren Inventaren widerspiegeln ist schon allein deswegen von Interesse, da sich im behandelten Zeitraum in beiden Kulturregionen nahezu gleichzeitig eine Entwicklung in sämtlichen gesellschaftlichen Bereichen vollzieht, die in ihrer Struktur ähnlich erscheint, doch letztendlich in ganz unterschiedliche Staatssysteme – d.h. zentralisierter Flächenstaat (Ägypten) vs. konkurrierende Stadtstaaten (Mesopotamien) – mündet.

Nach einer kurzen Einleitung und Erläuterung der Fragestellung (Kapitel 1), die in die Thematik einführt, wird zunächst die Methodik erläutert auf der die Untersuchung gründet (Kapitel 2). Dabei handelt es sich einerseits um quantitative Analysen, d.h. insbesondere die der Korrespondenzanalyse und der Seriation, beides multivariate statistische Analyseverfahren, die schwer überschaubare Datenmengen nach Ähnlichkeiten ordnen und so Regelmäßigkeiten und Abfolgen im Fundmaterial aufdecken können, andererseits um qualitative Analysemethoden, die den sozialen Aspekt der Befunde verdeutlichen. Diese bestehen aus theoretischen und soziologischen Interpretationsmodellen. Insbesondere die hier durchgeführten quantitativen Analysen stellen in der Ägyptologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie immer noch Randerscheinungen dar, deren volles Potential beide Fachrichtungen bisher nicht erkannt haben.

In den nachfolgenden Kapiteln werden beide Fundstätten detaillierter vorgestellt, ihre Forschungsgeschichte und die Ausgangsdaten vorgestellt und entsprechend der Analysemethoden untersucht (Kapitel 3–4). Für beide Gräberfelder wird dabei zunächst jeweils eine neue Relativchronologie erstellt, anschließend die soziale Stratifizierung innerhalb der einzelnen Gräberfelder eingehender untersucht. Die Analysen beruhen auf der Datenmenge sämtlich bekannter Funde und Befunde in ihren spezifischen Kontexten. Eine Schwierigkeit bei beiden Gräberfeldern ist – und damit gleichzeitig auch die Herausforderung –, dass diese vor rund einhundert Jahren freigelegt wurden, die Grabungsdokumentation in beiden Fällen daher wissenschaftlich veraltet und mit entsprechenden Mängeln behaftet ist, sowie darüber hinaus selbst auch nur noch in fragmentarischem Zustand vorliegt. Die statistische Auswertung der vorhandenen Datenmengen in ihrer Gesamtheit ermöglicht dabei jedoch spezifische Aussagen und Ergebnisse, die anders vermutlich nicht zu treffen wären.

Der direkte Vergleich der Ergebnisse der Analyse beider Gräberfelder zeigt eindringlich, dass diese sich in mehrfacher Hinsicht beträchtlich unterscheiden (Kapitel 5). Während in Ur nur eine geringe soziale Stratifizierung – hinsichtlich der Gefäßanzahl und des Grabvolumens – innerhalb der Gräber abzulesen ist, ist in Tarchan eine steigende Ungleichheit dieser Faktoren konstatierbar. Auch die Verteilung der Gräber innerhalb der jeweiligen Gräberfelder ist unterschiedlich, denn während in Ur die Verteilung primär chronologisch bedingt zu sein scheint, so ist sie in Tarchan offenbar hauptsächlich dem sozialen Status geschuldet. Ausprägungen der sozialen Stratifizierung zeigt sich in Tarchan auch in der repräsentativen Anzahl von Kindergräbern, die auf eine starke hierarchische Gliederung der Gesellschaft mit Erbrecht (prädefinierter bzw. ererbter Status) hinweisen, in Ur hingegen so gut wie keine Kinderbestattungen vorliegen (erworbener Status). Während die Grabausrichtung in Ur sehr heterogen ist, zeigt sich in Tarchan, dass die Orientierung an den

Himmelsrichtungen zu diesem Zeitpunkt bereits obligatorische Bedeutung erlangt hat. Die Ursachen für diese Unterschiede 'dürften in den unterschiedlichen Staats- und damit Gesellschaftsformen und den damit verbundenen unterschiedlichen Erfordernissen sozialer Organisation und Kommunikation zu suchen' sein, so Ursula Janßen, denn 'in den süd-mesopotamischen Stadtstaaten der Frühdynastisch-I-Zeit war die Macht der jeweiligen Herrscher geringer, in Ägypten jedoch galt bereits das Machtmonopol des Herrschers.' Die mesopotamischen Stadtstaaten und der Flächenstaat Ägypten scheinen somit zumindest im Zeitraum der anfänglichen Staatswerdung unterschiedliche Wege in Bezug auf die gesellschaftliche Entwicklung gegangen zu sein. Nur kurze Zeit später jedoch – aber nicht mehr in der vorliegenden Untersuchung behandelt – wird im Mesopotamien der Frühdynastisch-III-Zeit und dem Ägypten der 1. und 2. Dynastie die dynastische bzw. politische Legitimation durch eine 'prunkvolle Monumentalisierung' demonstriert, so wie sie sich in den bekannten Königsgräbern von Ur in Mesopotamien und denen von Abydos und Sakkara in Ägypten eindrucksvoll nachweisen lässt (S. 137–40). Selbstredend muss hier natürlich generell die Frage gestellt werden, inwiefern die beiden Gräberfelder für die jeweilige Kulturregion allgemein aussagekräftig sind bzw. sich diese miteinander uneingeschränkt vergleichen lassen können. Denn während für Ägypten im behandelten Zeitraum zahlreiche Gräberfelder – chronologisch unmittelbar früher als auch später datierende – bekannt sind, so ist das Gräberfeld in Ur – mit der Ausnahme eines bisher nur wenig bekannten und erforschten Gräberfeldes in der Region von Umma (Umm el-'Ağārib) – bisher singulär. Sicherlich müssen in Mesopotamien aber mehr Gräberfelder existiert haben, die Aussagekraft des für diesen Zeitraum bisher einzig bekannten Gräberfeldes von Ur für die Region Mesopotamiens könnte demnach zumindest in Frage gestellt werden.

Zum Abschluss, nach einem kurz gehaltenen Nachwort (Kapitel 6,) widmet sich die Autorin kurz dem heutigen Erhaltungszustands der beiden Gräberfelder, von denen jenes von Tarchan, sowie zahlreiche andere archäologische Fundstätten Ägyptens auch, sehr stark von illegaler Bauaktivität und Raubgrabungen gefährdet ist (Kapitel 7). Die Ruinenstätte von Ur hingegen wurde weniger in Mitleidenschaft gezogen, da sie bis zum Jahr 2011 Teil des abgesicherten Bereiches eines US-amerikanischen Luftwaffenstützpunktes gewesen ist. Eine Bibliografie, ein umfangreicher Appendix bestehend aus Tabellen und Tafeln der behandelten Gräber beider Fundorte, sowie Indices beschließen den Band (Kapitel 8–9).

Es wäre für das Verständnis teilweise vorteilhafter gewesen, einen Teil der Tabellen und Grafiken wesentlich größer abzubilden und die Beschriftungen innerhalb dieser lesbarer und ausführlicher zu gestalten. Nicht immer erschließt sich die Aussage der komplexen Abbildungen hier problemlos. Dies ist sicher nicht zuletzt dem Faktor Druckkosten geschuldet, doch hätte man hier eventuell auf sog. 'hybride Publikationsformen' zurückgreifen können, die Teile – d.h. häufig Farabbildungen, Tafelteile oder Pläne mit komplexen Darstellungen – einer Arbeit online zugänglich machen und hohe Druckkosten so durchaus effektiv minimieren können. Inhaltliche Erklärungen zum besseren Verständnis der Lesbarkeit der jeweiligen Tabellen und Grafiken wären, für den Nichtspezialisten, ebenfalls wünschenswert gewesen. Teilweise hätte man sich zudem gewünscht, dass die Ergebnisse der Untersuchung auch mit dem aktuellen Forschungsstand anderer Aspekte und Themenbereiche innerhalb der jeweiligen Regionen abgeglichen worden wären, so wie J. dies im Nachwort selbst auch vorschlägt (S. 142). Daneben sind an mehreren Stellen der Arbeit kleinere typografische Fehler zu konstatieren, die den Inhalt der Arbeit zwar nicht schwächen, aber durch ein sorgfältigeres Lektorat hätten verhindert werden können.

Insgesamt betrachtet stellt die besprochene Arbeit eine wertvolle Ergänzung zu herkömmlichen Untersuchungen der materiellen Kultur innerhalb der Ägyptologie als auch der Vorderasiatischen Archäologie dar und insbesondere der interdisziplinäre Ansatz ist hier positiv hervorzuheben. J.s Arbeit zeigt zudem, dass mit quantitativen Analysen und Verfahren der Kombinationsstatistik durchaus Ergebnisse erzielt werden können, die sonst mitunter nicht erkannt würden. Zudem beweist die Untersuchung, dass auch ältere bzw. bereits bekannte Befunde mit neuen Analysemethoden und unter verändertem Blickwinkel neue Erkenntnisse liefern können. Zukünftige Untersuchungen an Datenmengen anderer Gräberfelder in beiden Regionen werden mitunter die vorgelegten Ergebnisse verifizieren können und zeigen, ob sich diese auch auf andere Perioden übertragen lassen können bzw. inwieweit sich diese unterscheiden.

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A.C. King, *Coins and Samian Ware: A study of the Dating of Coin-Loss and the Deposition of Samian Ware (Terra Sigillata), with a Discussion of the Decline of Samian Ware Manufacture in the NW Provinces of the Roman Empire, late 2nd to mid 3rd Centuries AD*, BAR International Series 2573, Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, vi+322 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1194-4

This book, as Anthony King himself states, arose out of a PhD thesis completed in 1985. Since that time not only has a lot of new material appeared, but 'nearly all background issues that originally led to the research project ... are still in place' (p. 1). These are the two prime reasons for what K. describes as the second revised edition of his doctorate, as represented by this work.

The two essential questions discussed in detail in the book, as its title clearly indicates, are 1) what is the basis for dating late Samian ware, and 2) why did manufacture of Samian ware fall into decline in the northern provinces during late 2nd–middle of the 3rd century AD? To answer these K. makes wide use of statistical methods for analysis and for representing the relevant information regarding archaeological finds of coins and pottery. Impressive amounts of data are squeezed into ten appendices and a gazetteer of archaeological deposits with coins and Samian ware. These form the second part of the book and are, in essence, its whole basis, providing what might be considered as model example for supplying such material in a scholarly work.

The analytical part of the book comprises seven chapters. Along with the rather traditional Chapters 1 ('Introduction: a "historical" problem') and 2 ('The Methodology and Theory of Samian Ware Chronology'), which give an overview of the methodological and theoretical problems connected with the chronology of Samian ware, this part provides in its remaining chapters a thorough study of the relevant numismatic and ceramic materials. The main concern of the author is archaeological deposits with joint finds of the coins and Samian ware or so-called coin-associated deposits. K. quite rightly remarks that dating by means of such complexes offers the best hope of establishing a more broadly based chronology for the ceramics in question. Many problems then arise and, in particular, that of distinction between the time of production of the coins and the Samian ware and their subsequent deposition in the archaeological complex. In Chapter 3 ('Coin-Life and

Coin-Loss in the Late Second and Early Third Centuries'), based mainly on the evidence of coin hoards, K. calculates that the average period between coin production and its loss could have reached 50–60 years. These figures, naturally, might vary subject to some additional factors such as coin denomination, state of wear, etc. Furthermore, local peculiarities of coin supply and coin circulation could have defined regional patterns in the hoarding and deposition of the coins in the archaeological layers.

The next two chapters (Chapter 4, 'Associated Groups of Samian Ware: compiling a database'; Chapter 5, 'Coin-associated groups of Samian ware') form in fact the core of the book, dealing with specific questions directly regarding chronology of Samian ware. Chapter 4 might be considered as expanded commentary to the placed at the end of the book alongside the 'Gazetteer of Deposits' containing Samian ware, inasmuch as it describes in detail various types of deposit and assesses their reliability for dating. Chapter 5 offers, mainly in the form of graphs, dendrograms and matrices, the results of establishing a chronology for the main groups of Samian ware. This chronology derives from the estimated dates-of-loss of the coins found along with this sort of ceramic. Apart from this, patterns of the association of potters with one another in assemblages, as well as internal stylistic associations and sequences of potters have been taken into consideration, thus allowing the traditional relative chronology of Samian ware to be checked with the help of numismatic data, deployed for this purpose in quite an elaborate way. As K. rightly notes, the chronology presented is a tentative one, but in return I should underline that it is based on much broader and more solid foundations than earlier chronological schemes and thus represents an undoubted step forward.

The last two chapters, as indicated by the same title ('The Decline of Samian Ware Manufacture') represent two sides of the same coin ('Part I: A Review of Production and Distribution'; 'Part II: Factors of Decline'). In analysing the distribution patterns of the kiln-centres producing Samian ware in Part I, K. states that these patterns were not limited to such factors as the availability of raw materials, existence of a network of convenient trade routes and closeness to consumption centres. He demonstrates that land might have been a major factor for positioning kiln-centres in the provinces concerned, namely, its ownership, (opportunity) cost and requirements for other purposes. In Part II thorough study of the possible reasons for the decline of the manufacture of Samian ware are suggested. As is clear from this study, a combination of factors could have led to such an outcome: the breakdown of the distribution network, political intervention and various disruptive events, as well as possible changes in consumer groups and preferences.

I should admit that K.'s book is not easy reading for someone with a background in the humanities. As a rich example of an interdisciplinary approach to the problem, it combines mathematical/statistical methodologies with special analysis of data of coin hoards and mass archaeological material as well as that of the stratigraphy of archaeological sites of various types. A considerable part of the huge amount of evidence collected by K. is presented in the form of graphs, figures and plates, which, in turn, demand attentive judgment. At the same time, it becomes clear that this book sets a new high level and standards for the subsequent research in the field of mass Roman pottery investigation, and this aspect will certainly not be ignored by scholars.

M. Kleibrink, M. Fasanella Masci and L. Barresi, *Excavations at Francavilla Marittima 1991–2004: Matt-Painted Pottery from the Timpone della Motta*, vol. 2: *The Crossed-Hatched Bands Style*, BAR International Series 2553, Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, iii+202 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1174-6

Matt-painted pottery is one of the most characteristic artefact types from Iron Age South Italy, with its regional styles being of great value to archaeologists for dating purposes and for the mapping of interregional interaction and the growing level of contact and influence from imported and colonial Greek ceramics. The broad class of pottery first came to prominence in the later 19th century with the discovery of the Borgo Nuovo deposit at Taranto. The first attempt to define the regional styles of Apulia was made by Maximilian Mayer in his seminal *Apulien vor und während der Hellenisierung* (Leipzig 1914). It was not until the 1960s that the characteristic styles of Lucania began to be clearly defined, with excavations at Sala Consilina and Satriano being especially important in this regard. When Douwe Yntema published his survey of every matt-painted style in 1985, two regions received only summary treatment due to the level of knowledge at the time.¹ These were Molise, where the local style seems to be closely related to that from the neighbouring Tavoliere (or North Daunian) region, and the Crati basin in northern Calabria, where Francavilla Marittima is located.

The present volume is the second of a series of four that will publish every find of matt-painted pottery from the 1991–2004 excavations at the Timpone della Motta, Francavilla Marittima. The comprehensive nature of the publication can only be described as exemplary and reminds us of the tremendous service to the discipline that is provided by the BAR series. Few, if any, more commercially driven publishers would have considered such a specialised series of volumes.

In keeping with the nature of the volume, the treatment of each individual sherd is characterised by thoroughness. The decoration is extensively described and similar attention is devoted to the fabric and to manufacturing marks, where they exist. This is a level of detail that one rarely finds in pottery reports from excavations. Comparanda, too, are explored exhaustively. Interestingly, most of the parallels from outside of northern Calabria are to be found in the material from the Salento Peninsula. The authors suggest, with good reason, that these influences were carried by sea across the Gulf of Taranto rather than overland through territory in which the Bradano and West Lucanian styles flourished. Not all of their interpretations seem so well founded, however. For example, on p. 50 they argue, on the grounds of scarcity, that unusually well-painted examples of vessels imitating Salentine products in the local fabric are more likely to be work of a Calabrian potter with an atypically careful approach than to be that of a Salentine potter living and working in northern Calabria. However, rarity of such vessels may suggest the opposite: that they are the work of a south-east Italian potter, who spent a comparatively short period in or near Francavilla Marittima, as opposed to being the output of a careful local potter, who might be expected to have spent the bulk of a working life in the region.

¹ D. Yntema, *The Matt-Painted Pottery of Southern Italy. A General Survey of the Matt-Painted Pottery Styles of Southern Italy during the Final Bronze Age and the Iron Age* (Utrecht 1985).

One other feature of the style is worthy of comment, namely the motifs that are schematically anthropomorphic and zoomorphic. Such features are rare in the contemporary matt-painted styles from other regions, mostly being restricted to stylised birds. By contrast, the finds from Francavilla Marittima show a range of human, including a strange composite figure that may be intended to represent a group of people (on catalogue no. 177), and animal figures. Some of the identifications may be questioned. To this reader's eyes, the animal identified as a dog on catalogue no. 166 appears more likely to be feline. Similarly, on the same sherd, the creature identified tentatively as a wolf could just as easily be a fantastical or mythological beast. These small quibbles aside, this is a feature of the local style that makes it attractive, distinctive and worthy of further stylistic investigation.

Together with material from Broglio di Trebisacce and Torre del Mordillo, the finds from Francavilla Marittima will be fundamental in establishing the core characteristics of the matt-painted pottery from northern Calabria. The authors of the volume under review contend on p. 2 that there are seven local styles evident among the finds from these sites. Whether it is meaningful to discuss an overarching style from the region remains an open question and one that would, perhaps, have been easier to address if the finds from the Timpone della Motta had been surveyed in a single volume. That notwithstanding, there can be no doubt that this series of volumes will be transformative for our knowledge of the ceramics of the region.

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Edward Herring

W.A. Koelsch, *Geography and the Classical World: Unearthing Historical Geography's Forgotten Past*, Tauris Historical Geography 8, I.B. Tauris, London/New York 2013, xxii+453 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78076-064-3

The history and historiography of Historical Geography is what William Koelsch promises to unearth, though he does so with few illustrations and little non-Anglophone scholarship, leaving the what, when and where to North America and Great Britain. Moreover, though he explains his own preferences and reasoning (p. xxi), and this volume is personal and thus slightly idiosyncratic, the 'classical world' is essentially Greek not Roman. K.'s approach is resolutely one of telling it as he sees it, unburdened by any overarching theory or grand design; and he relishes his task, designed for a readership of geographers, historians and classicists. He spent most of his life as a hybrid within a School of Geography, and this sets some of the parameters and self-imposed limits of the study; and he is aware of the difficulties of working in the Marches of three (or more) disciplines (see the end of his 'Epilogue: Where Do We Go From Here?', pp. 360–61), once far better integrated (a theme of loss and lost opportunities permeates the work).

The Introduction, 'The Search for a Source', plays with the problem of identifying that of the Danube to lead into that of ancient/classical geography. Ten chapters journey through 200 years from 'The Society of Dilettanti and the Recovery of Ancient Geography' (organising scientific expeditions as well as being a dining club; hedonism jostling with accidental scholarship), via 'Classical Geography in the American Colonial and Post-Revolutionary College' and Classical Geography in Thomas Jefferson's University' (including xenophobic 'laddishness' by the young gentlemen of Charlottesville, to the ultimate benefit

of Gower Street) to 'James Rennell and Henry Fanshawe Tozer: From the Age of Enlightenment to the Age of Professionalization' (Tozer, not least as stylist, narrator and scholarly travel-writer). Then follow 'William E. Gladstone and the Reconstruction of Bronze Age Geography' (when politics was a vocation and not a purported profession, parliaments sat less, and there was time to do something useful and rewarding – Homeric studies – and have a rounded life) and 'British Historians, Classicists and Classical Geography' (starting with John Linton Myres, Wykeham Professor of Ancient History at Oxford, but previously and appropriately Gladstone Professor of Greek and Lecturer in Ancient Geography at Liverpool, active from the 1890s to the 1950s, and Halford Mackinder, Andrew Herbertson and Arnold Toynbee, all to reappear later; but stretching to personnel in Aberdeen and Aberystwyth, and the fraying of links as Geography sought independent status as it lurched towards science),¹ before journeying to 'Classics, History and Geography in Nineteenth-Century Harvard' and returning to 'Classical Geography in the Oxford School of Geography, 1899–1915' (Mackinder, Herbertson and Toynbee, G.B. Grundy, Raymond Beazley; and, cut off from Modern History, a decline into the backwaters under H.O. Beckitt in the 1920s, and beyond). 'Classical Geography in the Nineteenth-Century Classroom' considers Britain, including North Britain, and the United States, and the decline, first of Greek then Latin, in the state schools in those jurisdictions, and of a gentlemanly tradition);² 'Classical Geography in the New American Universities, 1865–1932' brings up the rear: California, Chicago, Cornell, Johns Hopkins and Stanford, but not least K.'s home institution, Clark, for which he shows considerable affection (how many current academics can say that of the degree-mills that employ them?). Overall, an account of and commentary upon what types of geography were taught, how and by whom, and the works of these practitioners.

The Epilogue considers briefly geographical perspectives in classical studies (not Classical Studies), recent work of classical geographers, and 'Geographers and the "New Archaeology"' (especially John Bintliff, but also John Cherry, Barry Cunliffe, Colin Renfrew, etc.).

Here is someone who, like Tozer, can write – which, as he observes (p. 140), cannot be said of many geographers – and he has written to good purpose. But there is that recurrent wistful note: a lament to displacement – of the link (of one sort) of the subject/discipline with History and Classics; of a subject once aligned to the humanities adrift in its search for pseudo-scientific validation; of the classical tradition in education – and of the treatment of ancient geography not just by other evolving Schools of Geography but by recent historical geographers and historians of geography! Hence the forgotten past of the subtitle, which here K. strives valiantly and successfully to resurrect.

Lengthy, informative, rather discursive endnotes (75 pp.), but, alas, no consolidated bibliography. The Revd W. Hoskins Abrall (p. 202 with n. 67) in Aberystwyth is indeed Hoskyns-Abrahall, but probably John.

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James Hargrave

¹ See below pp. 469–71 the review of S. Samiei, *Ancient Persia in Western History*.

² Evelyn Waugh's novella *Scott-King's Modern Europe* (London 1947) springs to mind.

E. Laflı and E. Christof, with a contribution by M. Metcalfe, *Hadrianopolis I: Inschriften aus Paphlagonia*, BAR International Series 2366, Archaeopress, Oxford 2012, viii+142 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-0953-8

Dans la tradition cultivée depuis quelque temps par la série *Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*, les deux auteurs, qui dédient leur ouvrage à l'amitié et à la collaboration turco-autrichiennes dans le domaine des sciences de l'antiquité, produisent un corpus commenté des inscriptions trouvées à Hadrianopolis de Paphlagonie et dans son territoire. Le corpus est introduit par un large chapitre historique et géographique, avec présentation de la *chôra* de la cité et passage en revue des principales étapes dans l'histoire des recherches archéologiques et des *surveys* épigraphiques. Le corpus est divisé sur la foi d'un critère topographique: inscriptions de la ville (nos. 1–21) et du territoire (nos. 22–68). S'ajoutent une section consacrée aux marques d'assemblage (*Versatzmarken*) identifiées dans le territoire (nos. 69–96) et une autre recensant les inscriptions sur des objets mineurs (nos. 97–101). Tout cela est complété par neuf inscriptions d'Amastris et de son territoire (nos. 102–110) et 5 inscriptions de Tieion (nos. 111–115). Ces deux derniers compléments sont en principe bienvenus: n'auraient-ils pourtant pas trouvé leur place comme deux articles à part publiés dans une revue de circulation (par exemple, *Epigraphica Anatolica*) plutôt que dans un volume qui se veut consacré à Hadrianopolis?

Les commentaires sont sobres et disent l'essentiel sur les inscriptions publiées (ou republiées), d'ailleurs assez modestes comme importance historique. Il manque, malheureusement, un index, à l'exception de celui des anthroponymes (p. 95–97). Il existe, en revanche, un très utile tableau de concordances avec les publications antérieures, dû à M. Metcalfe (p. 99–100). La qualité des illustrations est globalement satisfaisante, le lecteur intéressé pouvant aisément vérifier, dans la plupart des cas, les lectures proposées par les éditeurs.

Le principal intérêt de cet ouvrage est suscité par les inscriptions inédites, plus d'un tiers sur l'ensemble des entrées. Nous retenons notamment les poésies funéraires du territoire d'Hadrianopolis (nos. 25, 26, 28–30), une nouvelle dédicace à Zeus *Brontôn* (no. 22) et un monument honorifique pour un personnage ayant organisé un ἀγῶνα τὸν Συργάστιον, c'est-à-dire des jeux consacrés à Zeus *Syrgast(i)os/Syrgastès* (no. 24). Ce dieu est attesté, toujours en Paphlagonie, à Tieion, et grâce à des colons en provenance de Paphlagonie, à Apulum, en Dacie supérieure (*IDR* III.5 706). Il aurait peut-être fallu ajouter une autre attestation à Brixia/Brescia (*ILS* 4078: *Surgasteo Magno Pat(a)ro*). Mentionnons aussi quelques noms intéressants: Δηϊόταρος, nom royal chez les Galates (no. 35), Κοῦια (nos. 35 et 58, auxquels s'ajoute une autre inscription de la même région de Kimisténè, C. Marek, *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia* [Tübingen 1993] H 33), Νομότας (no. 44).

Les inscriptions inédites sont annoncées comme faisant l'objet d'une étude à part basée sur une communication au colloque sur l'Asie Mineure de Besançon (novembre 2010). Cette contribution a été publiée entre-temps: 'Neue Transkriptions- und Übersetzungsvorschläge zu 43 Inschriften aus Hadrianopolis und seiner Chora in Paphlagonien'.¹ Pour les éditions des textes, cette dernière publication est peut-être à préférer, car dans le volume

¹ Dans H. Bru et G. Labarre (éd.), *L'Anatolie des peuples, des cités et des cultures (IIe millénaire av. J.-C.–Ve siècle ap. J.-C.) II: Approches locales et régionales* (Besançon 2013), 127–70.

qui retient notre attention on tombe trop souvent sur des fautes d'impression, des accents fautifs, etc.

Ce volume complète de manière heureuse les contributions de Christian Marek et, pour Sinope, de David French à la connaissance des inscriptions de Paphlagonie. Plusieurs projets internationaux sont en cours d'exécution dans cette région et l'on peut attendre très prochainement des résultats des plus importants. Quoi qu'il en soit, pour la région d'Hadrianopolis on peut toujours compter sur l'infatigable Ergün Laflı.

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Alexandru Avram

N. Lahiri, *Ashoka in Ancient India*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA/London 2015, 385 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-0-674-05777-7

The book is composed of a Prelude, twelve chapters, an Epilogue, appendix, notes, bibliography and index; 17 figures and 3 maps are integrated into the text.

Many books have been written in the recent past on Aśoka/Ashoka, and the first question one may ask is why do we need another book on this subject? The aims of the present book are, as Nayanjot Lahiri explains in the Prelude, first of all to use the archaeological resonances of ancient life in India in reconstructing the early life of Aśoka as a prince, and then to study 'the shifting of Ashoka's mental horizons expressed in the public arena of his epigraphs', because she believes that they were insufficiently studied, and finally 'to weave the places and landscapes into a narrative of the contexts in which Ashoka's life was lived'. In order to demark her methodology from others, L. has gone beyond the traditional methods of historiography to achieve these targets.

Chapters are arranged in a chronological order: for example, Chapter 1 deals with the childhood of Aśoka, the second with the princely life of the protagonist in Pataliputra and the third with the period as viceroy in Taxila, etc. Like most historians, L. has had to depend on the limited literary sources. In the first chapter, the *Aśokavadana* is used extensively to narrate the early life of the prince. Aśoka's life in Pataliputra is discussed in Chapter 2, its reasoning based on the *Arthaśāstra* and on the limited results obtained mainly by L.A. Waddell from the excavations at Patna (ancient Pataliputra). These excavations were launched by him in 1892, seeking the fabulous and prestigious city of Chandragupta described by the Greek envoy of the Seleucids, Megasthenes, who resided there for a considerable time and who noted that the Indian emperor built himself palaces directly modelled on Persepolis. Waddell's excavations did not yield much. The excavations conducted by John Marshall in Taxila were more encouraging than those conducted at Pataliputra. L.'s attempt to reconstruct the ancient life in India as well as the early life of Aśoka as a prince using the reverberations of archaeological evidence is admirable. However, one has to bear in mind that the excavation methods used by Waddell in Pataliputra and Marshall at Taxila were not as well developed as today's scientific investigations, and one has to be very careful when interpreting these data. Marshall's excavations do not enable us to get a clear chronological pattern of the successive layers, and it is very difficult to identify the plan of the city with certitude at the time of Aśoka. One would further conclude that the city plan as exposed by Marshall did not undergo major changes with the lapse of time.

Following the same chronological order, L. discusses Aśoka's romantic relationship with Devi, the daughter of a merchant from Vidisha. As the author has well emphasised, much importance is given to this episode in the Pāli chronicles, the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvāṃsa*. The Buddhist monks who wrote these Pāli chronicles were first and foremost interested in the legitimacy of this affair, because it was Devi's son who introduced Buddhism to the island. L. has shown great maturity in using these accounts to reconstruct the various episodes leading prince Aśoka to the kingship. The fifth chapter deals with Aśoka's succession following the death of his father, Bindusara, and his territorial conquests. This chapter deserves much attention as L. (p. 111) has convincingly hypothesised the line of conduct of Aśoka, the conqueror. As she points out, these conquests had been an economic and strategic necessity. In the early years of reign, Aśoka followed the notion of ideal kingship set forth in the *Arthaśāstra*. Chapter 6 deals with the monarch's message of rule of law followed by the bloody war waged against Kalinga. Here we see L.'s other objective for her book: to study 'the shifting of Ashoka's mental horizons'. The author takes into consideration the symbolism of the inscriptions set up by the emperor in various landscapes. Concerning the epigraphs placed on inaccessible hilltops, L. explains their *raison d'être* by arguing that the landscape is likely to have had a 'symbolic spiritual dominance in the lived world of ancient communities within this area'.

Chapter 7, devoted to 'Extending the arc of communication to Afghanistan', suffers from the ignorance of recent publications. In the discussion of Aśoka's Greek and Aramaic inscription in Kandahar in present-day Afghanistan, L. uses the outdated translations, and the most recent studies by Georges Rougemont and Paul Bernard, who made a critical analysis of the edict, are not cited.¹ Recent discoveries of Aramaic documents in Afghanistan have brought to light a great amount of unprecedented data.² The studies by G.M. Bongard-Levin on Kambojas in Arachosia are not cited either.³

The five remaining chapters (8–12) deal with the expansive imperial articulation; the message in the landscape; building beliefs into edifices, an ageing emperor's interventions and finally the emperor's death. L. argues what the emperor's message, communicated through his inscriptions, was not to boast about his material possessions, but to convert his subjects to good law and 'to transform state governance from a system based on force to one anchored in morality'. The last five chapters thus constitute the originality of her analysis.

In the Epilogue, L. examines how the memory of Aśoka prevailed in India. An admirable attempt has been made to recapitulate how the monarch appears posthumously in Indian art. Not only the carvings of Sanchi stūpa, but also those in recently excavated Kanaganahalli stūpa are taken into account. K.P. Poonacha, who excavated and published this important site, has made a great contribution, but some of the readings of inscriptions were revisited by M. Nakanishi and O. von Hinüber.⁴ Their readings and commentary give

¹ See *Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale* (London 2012), 167–73.

² See J. Naveh and S. Shaked, *Aramaic Documents from Ancient Bactria* (*Studies in the Khalili Collection*) (London 2012).

³ G.M. Bongard-Levin: *Drevni Vostok* (Moscow 1975), 237–87; *Indiya: Indolingvisticheskaya istoriya, politico-social'naya struktura, pis'mennoe nasledie i kul'tura* (Moscow 2003).

⁴ M. Nakanishi and O. von Hinüber, *Kanaganahalli Inscriptions* (Tokyo 2014).

us very precious information on the names of missionaries who were sent by emperor Aśoka after the third council to the Himālyas (Himavat): Kassapagotta, Majjhima, Dundubhissara, etc. As these names were only attested in the Pāli chronicles, these epigraphic references give a certain credibility to what has been narrated in the Pāli chronicles about Aśoka.

The quality of the three maps leaves a great deal to be desired. The economy of India under the first monarch of a large empire is not discussed satisfactorily; the importance of thousands of coins struck during Aśoka's reign and circulated not only in the areas under his control but also outside his territories, showing the impact of his great empire, are not mentioned. However, the way the arguments are laid out in this book is quite convincing. The book is written elegantly and with sincerity. It is certainly a welcome contribution to the studies on Aśoka.

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Osmund Bopearachchi

G.B. Lanfranchi, D. Morandi Bonacossi, C. Pappi and S. Ponchia (eds.), *Leggo! Studies Presented to Frederick Mario Fales on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, Leipziger Altorientalistische Studien 2, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012, 891 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06659-4

This is an impressive *Festschrift* for one of this generation's leading Near Eastern scholars: Frederick Mario Fales. This weighty volume comprises 55 essays on a wide variety of topics and represents well the honouree's influence in the field. The essays cover a wide variety of topics across Near Eastern history, archaeology and philology. However, because of limited space for this review, and given the gravity of Prof. Fales's contributions to our understanding of the Neo-Assyrian empire, I shall limit my review to the papers on this topic.¹

A number of essays are geo-political studies of particular Neo-Assyrian regions. Lorenzo D'Alfonso (pp. 173–94) and Giovanni Lanfranchi (pp. 399–432) study Neo-Assyrian interaction with important western states: Tabal and Damascus, respectively. D'Alfonso examines changing descriptions of Tabal in the Assyria royal inscriptions from a small region of Melid (Shalmaneser III), to a canton state that was connected to Muški (Tiglathpileser III to Sargon II) and in the late Neo-Assyrian period a scantily attested state linked again with Melid. One suspects that the reason for Tabal's seemingly vague treatment in Assyrian inscriptions from Sennacherib's reign on is a consequence of the death of Sargon II in the region and Sennacherib's subsequent inability to re-establish Assyrian authority in the region. Lanfranchi explores the possible reasons behind the Assyrian exonym for Damascus, *Ša-emarīšu/Ša-imerīšu* literally 'Of his donkey(s)' *vs* the endonym, *Dimašqa*. Lanfranchi presents a case that this exonym is derisive and relates to the ancient Syrian practice of sacrificing a donkey when forming a treaty.

Maria Grazia Masetti-Rouault and Olivier Rouault (pp. 459–75) provide a summary of their archaeological work in the lower Middle Euphrates region at the sites of Terqa, Tell Masaikh and Bir el-Haddad, and outline how much further developed the early Neo-Assyrian province of Rasappa was than previously thought. Cinzia Pappi (pp. 597–611)

¹ A full table of contents can be found at <http://www.uni-leipzig.de/altorient/Open%20files/laos2.pdf>.

surveys the archaeological and textual evidence for the Assyrian presence on the Lower Zab during Middle- and Neo-Assyrian times and finds that by the Early Iron Age Assyrian material culture is far more extant, especially in the upper valley. Ran Zadok (pp. 875–91) attempts to locate the site of Kannu' in a characteristically detailed prosopographical study and suggests that it should be located near Adian in northern Mesopotamia.

Essays looking at life within the Neo-Assyrian empire are mostly confined to the elite. Karen Radner (pp. 687–98) and Simo Parpola (pp. 613–26) provide insights into the lives of royal women. Radner confirms an existing Assyriological observation that in iconography, the Assyrian queens were represented by a scorpion. Her focus is on the seal of Sennacherib's queen, Tašmetum-šarrat, yet importantly Radner goes on to highlight the artefact's importance for reconstructing the events leading up to Sennacherib's assassination in 681 BC. Parpola's study of the Neo-Assyrian harem looks at the experiences of the women who lived there. Noteworthy conclusions are that the Assyrian king had more than one harem and that these women had an important administrative function in the empire. It is interesting that Parpola has not made use of the recent studies of Saana Svärd who provides some different views on these topics.²

Three papers consider the scribes of the Assyrian empire. Salvatore Gaspa (pp. 307–24) investigates how scribes acquired the numeracy needed for record-keeping, in particular training methods used and the scribes' formatting and arrangement of data. Julian Reade (pp. 699–717) examines the visual representations of Assyrian scribes. Reade presents a catalogue of 17 images of Assyrian reliefs depicting scribes from which he deduces information about the development of their appearance and writing materials, as well as the scribes' relative status and practices. Reade importantly re-opens the debate regarding whether scribal activities included sketching drafts for palatial art. Greta Van Buylaere (pp. 853–63) provides a translation of STT 400 with commentary. The focus of the commentary is on the light the tablet sheds on certain subjects the scribes considered secret lore, such as esoteric lists of gods, *Asakku*-demons, birds, distinct winds, days of the month and stages of human life.

A *Festschrift* for Mario Fales must examine Assyrian royal ideology, and indeed five papers cover various aspects on the expression and imagery of the kings. Paolo Matthiae (pp. 477–97) examines Sargon II's reliefs from Khorsabad and identifies a number of innovations in palatial art that aimed at celebrating the status of Assyrian officials and the unity of the rather diverse empire by means of Assyrian culture. Sargon II is also the focus of Barbara Porter (pp. 669–75) who argues that the intended audience of the stele erected in Cyprus was primarily the gods and secondly Sargon's successors. This interpretation is quite a departure from her previous work on Esarhaddon's stelai that saw the intended audience was the king's contemporaries.³ Davide Nadali (pp. 583–95) examines textual

² S. Teppo [= Svärd], 'The Role and Duties of the Neo-Assyrian *šakintu* in the Light of Archival Evidence'. *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin* 16 (2007), 257–72; S. Svärd, and M. Luukko, 'Who Were The "Ladies of the House" in the Assyrian Empire?'. In M. Luukko, S. Svärd and R. Mattila (eds.), *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars. Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo* (Helsinki 2009), 279–94.

³ B.N. Porter, *Images, Power, and Politics: Figurative Aspects of Esarhaddon's Babylonian Policy* (Philadelphia 1993); 'The Importance of Place: Esarhaddon's Stelae at Til Barsip and Sam'al'. In

and visual sources that provide insights into the finer nuances of the Akkadian word *šalmu*. Nadali argues that it was more common for *šalmu* to mean immaterial, idealised images and less often a physical picture. Simonetta Ponchia (pp. 653–67) investigates the ideological ramifications the deaths of Sargon II and Sennacherib had on the Assyrian court and its scholars. Ponchia suggests that an ideological wrestle with death, violence and royal error emerges in literature and royal inscriptions which aimed to protect the crown prince. Finally, Monica Rigo (pp. 719–24) looks at the stylistic aspects of the Assyrian royal dress and argues that throughout the Neo-Assyrian period royal attire communicated power and authority.

A minor quibble the reviewer has with this book is the decision to arrange the papers according to the authors' surnames rather than by theme or topic. With no index, such an arrangement is a detraction from the high quality of the book.

Leggo! contains a number of important essays, not only for Neo-Assyrian studies, but the ancient Near East in general. Scholars will gain much from reading the papers contained in this volume, many of which will certainly become required reading for the respective disciplines.

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Luis Siddall

E. Lipiński, *Peuples de la Mer, Phéniciens, Puniques: Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire méditerranéenne*, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 237, *Studia Phoenicia* 21, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2015, xv+369 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-3161-9

La série *Studia Phoenicia*, que Edward Lipiński a fondée, à l'intérieur des *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, vient s'enrichir d'un nouveau volume réunissant une série d'études de cet auteur, dont le dernier travail concernait le dieu Reshef. L. se concentre cette fois-ci sur deux sujets principaux, comme le titre le montre bien. D'un côté il se penche sur les 'Peuples de la Mer', auxquels il n'avait jamais dédié un travail spécifique; de l'autre il s'occupe encore une fois de Phéniciens et Puniques essentiellement du point de vue épigraphique.

Les recherches sur les Peuples de la Mer qui occupent le Chapitre I ('Du Péloponnèse au Badistion. Les "Peuples de la Mer" et leurs origines', p. 1–61), dérivent essentiellement d'une étude des inscriptions louvites du temple de l'Orage à Alep (Avant-propos, p. IX) et de leur contexte historique. Le chapitre est partagé en huit parties et précédé par un résumé en Anglais et des mots-clés. Ce même système est suivi dans les chapitres suivants, ce qui naturellement facilite la lecture et donne l'idée de l'ampleur du sujet traité. La signification d'ensemble et l'intérêt général du volume sont clairement exposés dans une 'Postface' (p. 337): l'exposition qui suit va donc présenter de manière plus spécifique certaines parties du travail. Les études sur les Peuples de la Mer sont de nos jours particulièrement nombreuses, grâce aussi aux nouvelles découvertes archéologiques et épigraphiques, et

T. Abusch, P.-A. Beaulieu, J. Huehnergard, P. Machinist, and P. Steinkeller (eds.), *Proceedings of the XLVe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Part 1: Historiography in the Cuneiform World* (Bethesda, MD 2001), 373–90. Cf. recent discussions in N.K. Weeks, 'Assyrian Imperialism and the Walls of Uruk'. In J. Azize, and N.K. Weeks (eds.), *Gilgameš and the World of Assyria* (Leuven 2007), 79–90; and L.R. Siddall, *The Reign of Adad-nirārī III: An Historical and Ideological Analysis of an Assyrian King and His Times* (Leiden 2013), 134–49.

rendent donc la première partie de l'ouvrage d'un intérêt particulier, en bonne partie grâce aux vues originales de L., qui se basent le plus souvent sur un travail de caractère philologique. Après une présentation d'ensemble concernant la question de l'établissement au Levant des Peuples de la Mer et une section sur la date de la sédentarisation des Philistins (vers 1130 av. J.-C. qui se fonde en particulier sur le papyrus du Louvre N 3136), L. dédie une série d'analyses à l'origine des Philistins: sur la base d'étymologies ingénieuses – en particulier le nom de la déesse qui apparaît dans l'inscription d'Ékron sous l'orthographe PTGYH équivaldrait au nom grec Pélagia, une Aphrodite marine –, en outre, d'un examen onomastique et iconographique, L. parvient à la conclusion que ce peuple est d'origine grecque (mycénienne) et semble pouvoir être parti du Péloponnèse. L'étude des autres groupes appartenant aux Peuples de la Mer nommés dans les sources égyptiennes vient appuyer et nuancer ses déductions. Il s'agit des Sikiléens, des Shékélesh, Danuna et Weshesh, des Tursha, des Sherdana et Lukka (sous-chapitres 3–6). Tandis que le nom Tursha pourrait correspondre à celui de la ville de Tarse, que les Sherdana seraient un groupe de rescapés, ayant ensuite ou bien servi comme mercenaires, ou bien continué à mener une vie errante (en s'établissant en partie en Sardaigne), les Lukka doivent provenir de Cilicie. Quant aux Sikiléens, ils auraient été des marins d'origine mycénienne et leur nom pourrait être à l'origine de celui de la ville philistine de Šiqlag. Shékélesh, Danuna et Weshesh sont tous liés à l'Anatolie. En traitant des Danuna, L. reprend la question des Hijawa (Achéens), de Mopsos et des noms Awarku et Urikki, dont il propose une origine indépendante.¹ Sous le n. 7 est abordée la question de l'origine du nom du royaume appelé *Pa-li-sà-ti-ni* (ou *Wa-li-sà-ti-ni*), dont la capitale est l'actuelle Tell-Ta'yinat, ancienne Kinalua. Par des comparaisons et des étymologies L. parvient à faire remonter les toponymes analysés au monde égéen de langue grecque, et reconstruit l'existence d'une branche des peuples dits de la mer liée à la 'Terre ferme', établie en Anatolie. L'étude sur ces populations se termine par un examen des villes de la Pentapole philistine, avec la présentation des sites d'Ashqelôn, Ashdod, Gath (Tell aş-Şafi), Ekron (Khirbet el-Muqanna'/Tel Mique) et Gaza. L. retrace tant l'histoire de la recherche archéologique que celle des sites eux-mêmes, en particulier à l'époque des Philistins, dont l'identité semble disparaître à partir de l'époque perse. L'ensemble se lit indubitablement avec intérêt, mais bien de reconstructions demeurent des hypothèses: un exemple en est la correspondance instituée entre le nom de Patina et celui de la plaine appelée Badiston.

Le Chapitre II est dédié à la déesse Tanit, dont le culte se diffuse surtout à Carthage ('Tanit-pane-Baal', p. 63–94). Il est partagé en six sections qui en examinent différents aspects. La dérivation du nom de la déesse, autrefois proposée par L., d'une racine qui la désignerait comme 'pleureuse cultuelle' (*Tnt pn b'l* serait la 'prêtresse qui se lamente en face de Baal'), est à présent abandonnée en faveur d'une autre qui rattache le nom Tanit à la racine *nt'* (signifiant, entre autres, 'mettre bas') ayant produit le substantif *tanti* 'rejeton' (*tnt pn b'l* signifierait 'sperme du Phallus de Baal', dans le sens de rejeton du dieu Ba'al). Les explications de L. sont comme toujours érudites et habiles, toutefois, il ne semble pas que cette dernière interprétation du nom et de l'appellation de la déesse puisse être acceptée sans réserves: il faudra suivre les nombreuses données et les parallèles fournis par L., à partir des attestations accadiennes jusqu'aux exemples d'Ugarit et aux

¹ Une question que L. a déjà traitée dans *Itineraria Phoenicia* (Leuven 2004), 116–30.

attestations venant du monde phénicien et punique pour pouvoir la juger de manière objective. Cette section de l'ouvrage présente aussi les différentes variantes possibles du nom de la déesse, à partir de *Tante*, la forme qui serait originaire (la déesse est attestée en Orient du moins à partir du VIIe s. av. J.-C.), jusqu'à *Thinnit*, *Thenneit* (en lettres grecques) attestées à El-Hofra (Constantine, Algérie, IIe s. av. J.-C.). Sont examinés ensuite la diffusion du culte de Tanit en Orient et en Occident, ainsi que le problème de sa présence à Serabit el-Khadem (Sinaï, IIe millénaire av. J.-C.); enfin l'étude de cette figure divine s'élargit en recherchant tant les possibles identifications ou rapports de Tanit avec d'autres déesses que l'origine du 'signe de Tanit', qui est rattaché à l'*ankh* égyptien, suivant l'explication qui est sans doute la plus convaincante. L. analyse, ensuite, un bon nombre de témoignages épigraphiques concernant Tanit, dont il a une connaissance sans pareil. L'interprétation de ces textes est parfois discutable: ainsi il me semble qu'il faudrait exclure le cas des tessères des témoignages de Tanit, et qu'on devrait y lire non pas le nom de la déesse mais les adjectifs *tmt* et *mtm* (*hnt tmt* et *hnt mtm* 'gratuité complète' et 'gratuité pour toujours').

Les chapitres suivants complètent la présentation du monde phénicien et punique de deux points de vue spécifiques: les Phéniciens vus par Hérodote (III. 'Les Phéniciens chez Hérodote', p. 85–106) et les institutions phéniciennes sur la base de survivances dans les sources plus tardives (IV. 'Vestiges et survivances du droit phénico-punique', p. 107–29); l'intérêt de cette partie ne réside pas tant dans l'énumération rapide des différents traités connus entre Phéniciens, Carthaginois et autres peuple ou villes, mais dans la présentation des fameuses Tablettes Albertini, qui présentent des survivances certaines de coutumes juridiques d'origine proche-orientale.

La lecture et l'interprétation de nombreuses inscriptions phéniciennes, puniques et néopuniques occupent le reste de l'ouvrage (V. 'Phéniciens à Ibiza', p. 131–60; VI. 'Inscriptions de Phénicie', p. 161–78; VII. 'Inscriptions puniques', p. 179–241; VIII. 'Inscriptions néopuniques de Tunisie', p. 243–302; IX. 'Inscriptions néopuniques de Tripolitaine, Algérie et Sardaigne', p. 303–36). Il s'agit d'un recueil de textes parfois célèbres, parfois moins connus, qui sont lus et expliqués en parvenant souvent à proposer des interprétations nouvelles d'aspects de la culture phénicienne et punique surtout du point de vue de la religion. Les lectures et explications de L. sont généralement accompagnées de bonnes reproductions photographiques et graphiques des textes discutés. L. propose ou bien des lectures nouvelles ou bien des partages de mots qui portent à des interprétations originales mais qui sont difficiles à démontrer, surtout parce que les expressions identifiées sont souvent dépourvues de comparaisons à l'intérieur de l'épigraphie phénicienne et punique, qui se caractérise en général par des formulaires stéréotypés. En conséquence, dans le cas de formules ou expressions différentes par rapport à ce qui est connu, on reste dans le doute concernant le choix de l'explication la plus correcte. Il faudra donc ici recommander la lecture de cette partie bien riche de l'ouvrage à des experts qui pourront dans chaque cas juger de la vraisemblance des interprétations proposées, d'autant que celles-ci sont dans la plupart des cas présentées comme certaines, en étant, au contraire, souvent hypothétiques.

Comme dans tous les ouvrages de L., le volume est suivi d'une série très utile et complète d'index (1. Inscriptions étudiées, 2. Anthroponymes analysés, 3. Personnages historiques et légendaires (sélection), 4. Divinités et figures mythiques, 5. Noms géographiques et ethniques, 6. Glossaire des mots étudiés, 7. Autres sujets, 8. Auteurs cités). La liste des crédits photographiques termine le volume.

En conclusion, il s'agit, encore une fois, d'un ouvrage riche, intéressant et utile, qui poursuit la série de travaux que L. dédie, entre autres, au monde phénicien et punique dont il est un des plus profonds connaisseurs et un interprète érudit, qui offre toujours au lecteur une documentation nouvellement travaillée et une abondante matière pour des réflexions ultérieures.

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J. McNerney (ed.), *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Wiley-Blackwell, Malden, MA/Oxford/Chichester 2014, xv+579 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4443-3734-1

Within the series of 'companions' that some well-known publishers devote to various aspects of the ancient world, it seemed necessary to have one dealing with the issue of 'ethnicity', a subject analysed by historians of antiquity with increasing frequency. Throughout 37 chapters many issues related to various ancient cultures are raised without, apparently, a desire for completeness or a systematic character, but, rather, wishing to present concrete discussions about some of the aspects dealing with the issue of ethnicity.

As usual in this type of work, neither the prospects nor the methodology employed by the different authors are similar and, therefore, the picture presented shows, above all, only part of the problems and issues raised by the matter of ethnicity; but all of them are of great interest.

Jeremy McNerney's 'Ethnicity. An Introduction' serves, as might be expected, as a general introduction to the work and in it he addresses the major current debates about the various concepts used to characterise identities, including ethnicity. The relationship he establishes between ethnicity and power is interesting. McNerney also makes a brief presentation of the different chapters of the book.

Harald Haarmann ('Ethnicity and Language in the Ancient Mediterranean') reflects on the role of language as a marker of ethnicity and insists on the differences between the picture that language shows and the image that anyone wants to give of himself.

In his chapter 'Mediterranean Archaeology and Ethnicity', Bernard Knapp also underlines how ethnicity is often invoked to legitimise political structures or economic systems and discusses the difficulties in distinguishing different ethnic groups in the archaeological record, although there are some elements that have greater significance than others in defining identities. However, material evidence is usually insufficient to detect various identities.

Thomas Hall ('Ethnicity and World-Systems Analysis') summarises what currently is proposed by World-Systems Analysis and takes a tour of recent studies in which this is applied to the ancient world. Some opportunities to study the development and production of ethnic identities can be afforded by the ways in which peripheries are incorporated into cores.

Johannes Siapkis's chapter, 'Ancient Ethnicity and Modern Identity', looks at how modern ideas and discourses on ethnicity have influenced our conceptualisation of classical antiquity. It provides an interesting historiographical study that shows how recent views that see ethnicity as socially constructed have replaced the essentialist ideas that carried great weight in previous decades.

Kristian Kristiansen, in 'Bronze Age Identities. From Social to Cultural and Ethnic Identity', raises the risky idea that the ethnic traditions that are perceived in European

history could already be detected during the Bronze Age. Similarly, he attempts to link archaeological data of that period with known languages of the Iron Age.

Anna Collar ('Networks and Ethnogenesis') proposes to consider ethnogenesis as a process that works through social networks by means of three case studies: the coming into being of the Greeks in the Archaic period; the re-creation of Jewish ethnicity during the Roman empire; and the debate on the ethnic identity of the Germans during late antiquity.

Gary Reger ('Ethnic Identities, Borderlands and Hybridity') combines these three concepts and concludes that in the Graeco-Roman world there existed hybrid ethnic identities, that multiple identities emerged at different times for different purposes, and warns that concepts such as hybridity and middle-ground can be misleading.

The chapters so far reviewed have had a more theoretical and methodological character, although sometimes they have addressed specific case studies. From Trevor Bryce's chapter ('Anatolian Hittites and Ethnic Diversity') onwards the book proceeds to specific analysis of different cultures. In his study, Bryce analyses the different ethnic and linguistic components of the Hittite kingdom and how this complex mix is projected, with the addition of new elements, in the 1st millennium BC.

Ann Killebrew ('Hybridity, Hapiru, and the Archaeology of Ethnicity in Western Asia Second Millennium BCE') rejects the equation usually established between *hapiru* and Hebrew and also investigates the Aramaeans, who are distinguished from the Amorites. Similarly, the Canaanites do not appear to have been a cohesive ethnic group despite sharing the same language.

In 'Ethnicity and Empire. Assyrians and Others', Geoff Emberling reflects on how empires built an imperial ethnic identity; subject groups could be integrated into it or remain distinct from it by their geographical separation or social segregation. These processes are studied in respect of the Assyrian empire, in which the author notes a greater interest in political control than in the development of a cultural identity that affected the whole empire.

Jennifer Gates-Foster ('Achaemenids, Royal Power, and Persian Ethnicity') shows how ethnic and cultural variation were an important aspect of the Achaemenid empire; likewise she shows how it seems to have been Darius I who insisted on the Achaemenid characterisation of the Persian empire. However, the empire was pleased to present the diversity of subject peoples and their multilingualism.

Stuart Tyson Smith ('Nubian and Egyptian Ethnicity') addresses the problem of creating an ethnic Other as a legitimating element of their own ethnicity in the case of the Nubians and Egyptians. Through the study of Nubia at different times the author observes how the Nubians were showing a double allegiance, both internally and externally, in this case using the mechanisms developed by the Egyptians. It is a long process with surprising results, since the Pharaohs of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, who were Nubians, just looked more Egyptian than the Egyptians themselves.

With Nino Luraghi's chapter, 'The Study of Greek Ethnic Identities', we enter the classical world. He emphasises how the Greeks actively maintained the 'us' and 'them' opposition and notes the importance of the contexts to see how these definitions were produced, highlighting the need for collaboration between History and Archaeology, combining their data to have conclusive evidence on the configuration of ethnic identity.

Angela Ganter, in 'Ethnicity and Local Myth', approaches the analysis of foundation myths as a way of understanding better who the Greeks were and, above all, who they

pretended to be. This applies to the Boeotian *ethnos*, examining both the internal and external perspective. The foundation myths played an important role in the definition and constitution of an *ethnos*.

James Roy ('Autochthony in Ancient Greece') shows autochthony as an alternative to mythical genealogies related to migratory processes as crucial to the creation of ethnicity. The most prominent case is that of Athens, where interest in autochthony seems to be a phenomenon of the 5th century BC, and the author emphasises the shift that it meant in relation to Ionia with which, hitherto, the Athenians seemed to have wanted to share an ethnic identity. In the Arcadian case, also addressed by the author, autochthony should be interpreted as a claim to territory.

Efi Papadodima, in 'Ethnicity and the Stage', shows how the conceptualisation of the 'barbarian' in the theatre is created through the vices attributed to them (despotic regimes, slavishness, luxury, effeminacy, savagery, etc.), reinforcing the Greek identity as opposed to all of these.

Emily Mackil ('Ethnos and Koinon') begins her chapter by marking the differences between the old, primordialist view about *ethne* and the current constructivist perception. On the other hand, she draws a difference between *ethnos* and *koinon*, stressing the true political configuration of the latter even when it originally derives from the former. An ethnic identity may have facilitated the creation of the *koinon*, but in it political character prevails over the identitary. However, in later times, *koinon* and *ethnos* tend to be used in the same sense, which according to Mackil is 'a testament to the success of the ethnic argument for participation in a *koinon*'.

Alexander Thein ('Messenia, Ethnic Identity, and Contingency') notes that Messenia did not have a specific cultural identity under Spartan dominion and, before then, it was a heterogeneous geographical space. However, memories of 'old Messene' were fundamental in the creation of Messenian identity during the 5th and 4th centuries BC as opposed to the status of helots of the inhabitants of Messenia. The Ithome/Third Messenian War might have started as a helot revolt and then evolved into an ethnic uprising.

In 'Ethnicity and Geography', Philip Kaplan addresses the issue of the relationship of ethnicity to the existence of a territory that could be considered as a 'sacred homeland', something more important in some cultures than in others. In the Greek case, genealogies link individuals and locations and facilitate the identification between the two. But at the time, mobility was also an important element in their perception of ethnicity.

In the next chapter, 'Black Sea Ethnicities', Gocha Tsetsckhladze examines the different ethnic groups in the Black Sea (Thracians, Scythians and Greeks) and their economic and cultural exchanges. To these components were added the Achaemenids, especially in the eastern part of the region. They had to find ways of accommodation.

Corinne Bonnet ('Greeks and Phoenicians in the Western Mediterranean') begins by examining how Greek and Roman authors provided insights into the ethnicity of the Phoenicians in the West. Centuries of contact favoured cultural permeability between the Phoenicians and Greeks, proof of which exists in territories such as Sicily. The author is in favour of using the concept of 'middle-ground' as a tool for observing these spaces of transaction.

Chapter 23, 'Herodotus and Ethnicity' by Rosaria Vignolo Munson, revises the criteria established by her as markers of ethnicity, such as blood, although her view on this is quite pluralistic. As she argues, customs seem to be the main criterion of ethnic identity for Herodotus, and for this reason he explores cultural differences with much detail.

In 'Ethnicity and Representation', Rebecca Martin tries to see how the difference is represented in images, showing how during the 5th century BC Athens focuses on the Persians as its perception of the foreigner.

Aaron Johnson ('Ethnicity. Greeks, Jews, and Christians') demonstrates how Christians were defined by themselves as well as by outsiders as an *ethnos* and how conversion involved, in a way, breaking with previous identities. He observes how this debate appears in diverse authors such as Celsus or Origen.

Adam Kemezis ('Greek Ethnicity and the Second Sophistic') reveals how the Greeks of the Roman period saw themselves as an ethnic group, in which *paideia* served as a criterion for Greekness and, besides, how Greekness was an acquired class characteristic that had the function of ethnicity. However, those who, by these criteria, considered themselves Greeks, in spite of their origins, had to resort to the linkages usual in the Greek world, based on genealogical myths and legend. It is paradoxical that this idea of Greekness based on elitist *paideia* excluded ethnic Greeks because they were part of uneducated non-elites.

With Nancy de Grummond's chapter, 'Ethnicity and the Etruscans', we enter the Italic world, in this case the Etruscan. The old and partly modern debate focused on the autochthony or migration of the Etruscans; modern approaches, however, insist on formation and development. Language and religion are considered the main ethnic indicators in the Etruscan case.

Erich Gruen ('Romans and Jews') examines the Roman vision of the Jews, to conclude that it had nothing to do with either racial prejudice or intolerance of ethnic difference but rather with a feeling that the Jews were guilty of ingratitude.

Gary Farney ('Romans and Italians') explores how old Italic identities fit into the Roman identity (although they are difficult to discern). There is a whole process of building a series of Italic identities, some more prestigious than others, which were essential for building the composite identity of the Roman state.

Parsha Lee-Stecum ('Roman Elite Ethnicity') examines the origin of a story that exemplifies well the emperor Claudius' speech, striking the ethnic diversity of early Roman kings as the prototype for that of the senate in his time. The ethnicity of the Roman elite would be the outcome of the integration of multiple previous ethnicities.

Jörge Rüpke ('Ethnicity in Roman Religion') observes how religious practices, being part of political communication, can work in creating identities that might include an ethnic dimension. In the Imperial period, the emperor, benchmark for the entire empire, ended any ethnic difference in the religious field.

Kathryn Lomas ('Ethnicity and Gender') deals with the significance of gender in the development of identities. Similarly, internal or external perceptions of ethnicity can be 'gendered'. She also explores how visual arts introduce differences in the representation of men and women: as appropriate, one or the other usually appear representing traditional symbols of ethnic and cultural identity. Also, according to the examples, men appear in the role of integrating families from different communities, while women represent the maintenance of family identities and traditions.

'Ethnicity in the Roman Northwest' (Ursula Rothe) focuses on the north-western territories of the empire to research the actions of Rome in processes of ethnogenesis. The author examines cases such as the Batavi, the Treveri or the Ubii, and she focuses especially on the representation of women's dress as an ethnic marker in societies whose ethnicity is marked by their relationship with the empire.

John Wonder ('Lucanians and Southern Italy') asks how, why and who defined the Lucanians as an ethnic group and if they saw themselves as such. It seems that Lucanians were a construct of Greek and Roman writers, who assigned to them a number of features (language, weapons). This name spread from populations living in the vicinity of Thurii and Croton. Subsequently, many communities of Lucania eventually identified themselves as 'Lucanians'.

Brent Shaw ('Who are You? Africa and Africans') studies the extension of the concept of Africa from the people of the Afri living in the hinterland of Carthage. Already in Augustine the term has become a self-identifier of the people of Africa.

Valentina Follo ('Again Becoming Roman. Roman Ethnicity and Italian Identity') looks at the role assigned during the 19th and 20th centuries to Rome as creator of an Italian ethnic identity, with the differences of emphasis between Risorgimento Italy and Fascist Italy.

In the last chapter, Walter Pohl ('Goths and Huns') reflects on how the Roman authors considered the Goths and Huns as ethnic groups, something that has not been doubted, until recently, by historians. New perspectives on ethnicity suggest that both Goths and Huns assumed different identities during the migration period, but for the Romans ethnic identification was the main tool for understanding the barbarian raids on their territory.

As we have seen, the multiplicity of perspectives and issues addressed by the book is huge. Each chapter has its own bibliography and the Further Readings section will help readers to pursue the information presented.

In short, although the book does not address all the problems of ethnicity or all ancient cultures, it does present an updated report on the main debates that the issue of ethnicity in the ancient world raises.

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N. Mac Sweeney (ed.), *Foundation Myths in Ancient Societies: Dialogues and Discourses*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2015, viii+241 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-8122-4642-1

Many societies in the past need to have a starting reference point that served them as a basis on which to build their social order, their relationship with the Other, or even their own identity, including ethnicity. This initial moment assumes, in many cases, the form of a story in which an outstanding character creates the city or state, or becomes the leader of a group established in a new place. The society that emerges from this act tends to 'remember' this fact by developing a story that collects the most important moments of the process. Clearly, from a contemporary perspective, this story is usually not strictly historical and hence is considered a 'foundation myth'. Whether the creators of this story considered it authentic or did indeed recognise its fictional character is something we cannot always know. On the other hand, the ongoing debate is between those who claim that these myths can pick up traces of real events and those who consider them a construct that says little about the founding moment (although it says a lot about the time when the story emerged, because it served the interests and anxieties of people of that historical moment).

The book contains seven contributions, plus an Introduction and an Epilogue, that explore the issue of foundation myths in various ancient cultures.

The introductory chapter by the editor, Naoíse Mac Sweeney, notices how there are often foundation myths relating to the same place that are contradictory,¹ although it does not seem that this fact mattered too much to the recipients of them. Instead of trying to find the 'historical truth' after one or more of these alternatives, the prospect raised by the author is to focus on the needs and agendas of those telling them in the historical present. She considers that there have been two approaches to the foundation myths: one (positivist) has tried to get the 'real' story from a combination of the different variants; the other (instrumental) has treated each myth individually, excluding alternatives. Against them, Mac Sweeney raises the idea of 'foundation discourses' which leave us to observe their plurality and accept their complexity, stressing instead the process of mythopoesis and the continual dialogue between stories, storytellers and their audiences. The rest of the chapter serves as an introduction to the remaining works collected in the book.

In 'Foreign Founders: Greeks and Hebrews', Irad Malkin shows how the Greeks and the Hebrews have different perceptions about the origins of their cities and their societies. He observes, however, how a relationship between the founding stories of both cultures can certainly be perceived when they allude to mass migration, while there are fewer similarities when it comes to the usual practices of historic Greek colonisation.

The chapter by Lieve Donnellan, 'Oikist and Archegetes in Context: Representing the Foundation of Sicilian Naxos', is the only one dealing directly with an aspect of ancient Greek colonisation. Her analysis of how the founding myth of Naxos evolved in the ancient authors addressing it, leads her to distinguish different interests, internal and external, in each of them: Thucydides presents the canonical version, with Apollo as the inspirer of the foundation and one oikist from one city; for Ephorus, Theocles takes the initiative and Apollo disappears; and in Ps.-Scymnus the story would become integrated into those of foundation of other cities of Sicily. Meanwhile, coinage does not focus on a human oikist but on Apollo *Archegetes*, a god who is also assumed on their coinage by cities such as Leontini and Catane and, after the destruction of Naxos, by her successor Tauromenion, presumably to highlight a common Euboean foundation narrative.

Susanne Turner, in 'Who's the Daddy? Contesting and Constructing Theseus' Paternity in Fifth-Century Athens', looks at how and why Theseus appears as the son of both Aegeus and Poseidon. She also stresses the differences in the treatment of myth in the literary tradition and iconography. Each of the myths appealed to a diverse audience: Aegeus as father links Theseus to Athens and to the idea of autochthony, while Poseidon relates to Athens with its maritime interests.

Rachel Mairs, 'The Founder's Shrine and the Foundation of Ai Khanum', studies a series of Delphic maxims copied in the sanctuary of Delphi by such as Clearchus and inscribed in the *temenos* of Kineas, the probable founder of the city. After addressing the issue, unresolved, of the ancient name of the city, the author suggests that the Delphic identity must have been created by the second generation of Greek settlers in an action focused on reimagining or reinventing myths about their colonial origins, their Greekness, and their civic identity.

¹ See above p. 330 for a review of Mac Sweeney's *Foundation Myths and Politics in Ancient Ionia*.

Daniel Ogden, meanwhile, in his chapter entitled 'Alexander, Agathos Daimon, and Ptolemy: The Alexandrian Foundation Myth in Dialogue', examines the legend of the slaying by Alexander of the snake Agathos Daimon during the founding of Alexandria, transmitted by the *Alexander Romance*. The author relates this fact to old foundation traditions involving the death of a snake (Thebes, Delphi) and establishes a relationship with Egyptian religion; also he suggests that the emphasis on this legend corresponds to the period of Ptolemy I as a means of linking Alexandria to Egypt and appealing to both Greeks and Egyptians who populated the city. Similarly, in other contemporary foundations in the Seleucid area, such as Antioch and Seleucia in Pieria, similar issues appear in which the death of a snake plays a key role in the foundation.

Michael Squire, 'Figuring Rome's Foundation on the Iliac Tablets', analyses the Iliac Tablets, whose iconography clearly points to the Trojan tradition about the origins of Rome but within a clearly Greek cultural context. Both chronology (late 1st century BC–early 1st century AD) and their possible destination, always in contexts of aristocratic *villae* in or around Rome, point to an Augustan environment. The author stresses, finally, that although the message is always the same, the plurality of scenes and details allows the audience to construct a narrative framework, situating it in the field of the larger Greek literary canon.

The last chapter, 'Beyond Greece and Rome: Foundation Myths on Tyrian Coinage in the Third Century AD' by Alfred Hirt, discusses the coinage of Tyre from the 1st century AD until the middle of the 3rd century AD. This analysis allows him to observe how the city throughout this period would emphasise different themes: Roman foundation; Dido, Kadmos and the metropolis; Kadmos, Europa and Greek kinship; Hercules, the Ambrosial Stones and the creation of Tyre. By relating these issues with what we know about the political history of the city, the author notes how Tyre 'seems quite comfortable playing simultaneously with a plurality of foundation themes highlighting diverging civic self-perceptions'.

The Epilogue, by Robin Osborne, presents some reflections on the truth and lies in the foundation stories, highlighting the difficulty of distinguishing one from the other, or rather, assuming that, in this field, 'the lie was the truth'.

In short, the book presents a series of works that address a topic of great interest, especially as the new perspectives suggested by Mac Sweeney in her Introduction allow very enriching readings of the foundation myths that open very interesting prospects in this field.

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Adolfo J. Domínguez

M. Manoledakis (ed.), *Exploring the Hospitable Sea*, Proceedings of the International Workshop on the Black Sea in Antiquity held in Thessaloniki, 21–23 September 2012, BAR International Series 2498, Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, iv+212 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1114-2

This volume is the result of an international workshop for young scholars dealing with Black Sea studies held in Thessaloniki in September 2012. It is also an outcome of the three-year postgraduate programme on Black Sea studies at the School of Humanities of the International Hellenic University. The organiser of the workshop and the editor of the volume, Manolis Manoledakis, is right in pointing out that the Black Sea region remains still understudied. If one looks up at the numerous works published on Greek colonisation,

the relations between the Greeks and the locals, and the new vocabulary introduced in them to explain the processes at a theoretical level, one will discover that these are based mainly on research in Sicily and South Italy, even in Spain and southern France, but much less so in the Black Sea. Works on Black Sea antiquities that have appeared in the last two decades have more been focused on the northern Black Sea coast, while the eastern and western coastal areas as well as the southern shore remained almost unexplored. Or, at least, the research on these regions remained invisible to international scholarship. That is why such an event and the publication of its proceedings are welcome.

The papers presented here display the urge of the young scholars to tackle old problems by quite new and modern approaches. In the first place, this is demonstrated by recent excavations and application of new methods of field survey using modern technologies, GIS, computer-generated data, etc. (V. Kozlovskaya and S.M. Ilyashenko, A. Sobotkova, C. Kocabiyik, M.N. Tatbul). There are also a few attempts at new interpretations of ancient written sources concerning different Black Sea areas, not all very convincing (I. Balena, S. Chandrasekaran, M. Manoledakis). Several papers deserve credit for working with inscriptions which, in most cases, prove to be better evidence than the literary texts (K. Tesle, S. Gallotta, A. Petrova, B. Öztürk, A.V. Belousov). Most of the authors use interdisciplinary approach in their studies. A great merit of the book is that it publishes the discussions that followed the presentation of each paper.

S. Handberg, in a well-structured paper, convincingly argues for a possible Aeolian presence in Milesian colonies of the Black Sea on the grounds of the distribution of grey ware, generally considered Aeolian production. Grey ware is distinguishable technologically and by a certain repertoire of shapes but not by decoration. The evidence is unevenly distributed and documented but when properly studied can open new venues for investigation of the interactions between the colonists and the locals.¹ Again, the problem of the ethnicity and identities that ceramics could have displayed remains highly debatable as reflected in the discussion, but cautiously treated by the author. However, combined with written sources this paper contributes to the varied cultural picture of the Greek colonists in the Black Sea.

Manoledakis's paper is rather an eclectic essay discussing the evidence about the southern Black Sea coast in the *Iliad* in an attempt to affirm early, 8th-century BC contacts of the Greeks with the indigenous population, as well as early Greek geographical knowledge about the area. Against the background of many serious philological and linguistic studies on the date of the epic and its different layers, *realia*, etc., this work can hardly add anything new or offer a well-grounded new perspective on the much-discussed Halizones, Chalybes and Alybe. Matching different pieces of linguistic, historical, geographical and archaeological evidence has not been very successful. One can likewise argue (and some have done so!) that the metallurgy-related allusions of the Chalybes are reminiscences of the Hittites, or of 2nd-millennium BC Anatolia in general. The use of the *Iliad* as a source for the Greek colonisation of the southern Black Sea coast cannot withstand serious criticism.

A. Dan presents a very interesting and inspiring paper on the description of the Black Sea as a Scythian bow. She checks the applicability of terms of modern geography to the

¹ For example, it has only recently been properly detected and studied in the western Black Sea colonies. The book cited by Handberg as in preparation has been published: K. Nikov, *Grey Monochrome Pottery from Apollonia Pontica* (Sofia 2012).

ancient geographical notions and reviews the ancient literary sources that mention this comparison, the actual remains of ancient bows and the Greek image of the Scythians to conclude, very persuasively, that this is an intellectual construct of the Greeks which combines ethnic, anthropological ('the Other'), geographical and, more interestingly, astronomical ideas. Dan rightly examines descriptions of the Black Sea as if it were an island – which is appropriate for a nation that looks upon the world mainly from the sea. She is right that this idea is much earlier than its first attestation to have reached us: it is consistent with early Ionian cosmological ideas, often constructed in geometrical forms and already detectable in Herodotus.

Tesle's paper on the Great Gods of Samothrace cannot of course give a decisive answer to the long-debated questions about the relation between the Great Gods and *Kabeiroi*, their number and names. The couple of inscriptions he discusses are only used to show that evidence for their cult in the northern Black Sea coast is rather unreliable.

Gallotta's paper demonstrates how questions of political history can successfully be tackled only when using inscriptions. She discusses 2nd–1st-century BC inscriptions and only then brings in texts from ancient authors in researching the political history of the Scythian kingdom in the Crimea. However, the evidence is just insufficient to suggest strongly that the Bosporan kings were vassals of the Scythians.

Kozlovskaya and Ilyashenko present recent archaeological investigation of the least-known part of ancient Tanais, the Lower City, in an attempt to reconstruct the place of the ancient harbour.

Petrova proposes a quite new and interesting point of view towards the 'Thracian influence' in two of the western Black Sea colonies: Odessos and Mesambria. This is done on the base of late Hellenistic votive inscriptions and reliefs of the Thracian Horseman and/or of the Great God, as well as on some coins. Again however, nothing more convincing can be said about the 'founder' of Mesambria, Melsas, his myth and the etymologies so far proposed, neither can her theory that Greek colonists searched for new identities in times of trouble through introducing Thracian names or cults in their cities be persuasively supported.

Sobotkova impresses with the new methods of field survey used in her project as well as with her theoretical background. Still, the pot-cracking conclusions she reaches are far from compelling and acceptable without doubts (although the discussion has not challenged her major point). First, one of her theoretical quotes about the ruling class which was 'largely divorced from the bonds of kinship' (p. 134): this is simply not true. All of the ancient monarchies and Greek *poleis* in the Archaic period which have not been denied the level of 'states' were ruled by hereditary dynasties. No serious arguments are presented in rejecting Thucydides' evidence on the Odrysian kingdom (Thucydides 2. 29. 1–2). He had first-hand information on Thrace and his historical objectivity has not seriously been disputed. His criticism of the stories in the epic and those by logographers (Thucydides 1. 10. 4, 1. 21) can hardly support the suggestion that the Thracian way of life reminded him of the Homeric times of Greece and thus he 'awarded' the Odrysians the level of a 'kingdom'. Nor are the attempts by many scholars, Svobotkova included, to find suitable terms, modern and ancient, to describe precisely the different stages of political development of ancient societies very productive, especially when dealing with areas where so little direct evidence is available. One should be aware of the limitations the results of a field survey can provide, despite modern methods and technologies. Besides features mentioned by the author and

easily discarded by her as evidence for a state organisation, there are more issues: the coinage of the Odrysian kings, their signet rings, honorary decrees and Athenian citizenship for some of the rulers and members of their immediate family. Thracian 'state(s)/kingdom(s)' might have been different, underdeveloped in comparison to their neighbours but to deny their existence is rather extreme.

The volume as a whole demonstrates the still prevailing attention to the northern Black Sea shores but provides much more material than usual about the southern and eastern coasts. Both history and the current state of archaeological investigations of the region are presented. The attempts to offer quite new ideas have resulted occasionally in rather speculative conclusions, especially when based on ancient literary texts. Some of the papers need better editing of their English. The conference and its proceedings reflect the reviving interest in Black Sea studies among younger scholars.

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Maya Vassileva

A. Mayor, *The Amazons: Lives and Legends of Warrior Women across the Ancient World*, Princeton University Press, Princeton/Oxford 2014, xiv+519 pp., illustrations and colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-0-691-14720-8

This is a very well documented study, heavy with detail but presented with acute imagination and very readable. The subject helps – on the borderline of history and myth. There were women warriors in Asia certainly; some even in Europe to judge from one Etruscan grave. To most Greeks Amazons seemed mythical but involved with their greatest heroes, even at Troy. But the history of warrior women in antiquity goes far beyond what the Greeks thought of them, although we use their name for them, and a virtue of this book is its command of other sources than the Greek. Clearly, women could fight beside their men in Central Asia from early antiquity on, and might even fight in their own battalions, on horseback and with battle axes. The archaeological evidence is clear and reinforces what, in literature, can easily lapse into the over-imaginative. That Alexander the Great did meet the 'Amazon' queen Thalestris begins to seem possible, and although, to Greeks, the notion of warrior women involved with their heroes, mythical or live, might have seemed difficult to believe, still they enjoyed an air of reality denied many other classical figures of myth. Much depends on evidence from Asia itself, and this is more plentiful than one might imagine and thoroughly researched by Adrienne Mayor; so this becomes a historical study of women warriors from East Asia even to North Africa, extracted from a wider range of sources than most archaeologists or historians can command. The whole subject is very much alive again – next perhaps a look at pre-Indo-European Europe and a matriarchal society.¹ Warmest congratulations are in order.

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John Boardman

¹ See now W. Ball, *The Gates of Asia: The Eurasian Steppe and the Limits of Europe* (London 2015), 77.

C. Meyer, *Greco-Scythian Art and the Birth of Eurasia: From Classical Antiquity to Russian Modernity*, Oxford Studies in Ancient Culture and Representation, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, xxix+431 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-968233-1

This volume is devoted to the study of Graeco-Scythian art and its contexts of reception in Imperial Russia and the northern Black Sea region of antiquity with the aim of considering 'its material concurrently as archaeology in the disciplinary sense and as museum pieces, with a modern existence outside academic publications' (p. vi). Thus the main subject of the book 'is Greco-Scythian metalwork, both the ancient history of the artefacts conventionally subsumed under that term and the category as such, how it originated in archaeological scholarship and the interpretative habits it entails' (p. 1). It is a revised version of Caspar Meyer's Oxford doctoral thesis (2006).

The book is composed of a Preface, Introduction (Chapter 1), five main sections (Chapters 2 to 6) and Conclusion (Chapter 7). Further on, there is an appendix with a list of grave inventories of Bosporan elite *kurgans* of the 5th and 4th centuries BC, with the subtitle 'A Summary Guide to Excavations Conducted 1821–1917' (pp. 309–71), a bibliography (pp. 373–421), indexes (pp. 423–31), as well as lists of abbreviations, figures, maps and tables (pp. xiii–xxix). The illustrations include four maps of the Black Sea region and the Bosporan kingdom, 125 figures with black-and-white photographs and drawings.

Chapter 1 (pp. 1–37) dwells on the history of discovery of Graeco-Scythian art in 19th-century Russia and combines this with an attempt to question the two most fundamental assumptions about Graeco-Scythian art in current understanding: 'first, that the naturalistic genre scenes on the objects illustrated the world which the ancient producers and consumers of Greco-Scythian art saw around themselves; secondly, that these producers and consumers should be identified with the Greeks and Scythians' (p. vi). The following chapter deals with the perception of Graeco-Scythian art in Imperial Russia covering almost 200 years of history from Peter the Great's collection to the pre-revolutionary years, including an overview of a social and psychological conditions of the Russian intelligentsia which gave rise to Michael Rostovtzeff's work on Black Sea antiquities (Chapter 2, pp. 39–94).

The next four chapters are the kernel of the book, containing an attempt to reintegrate Graeco-Scythian metalwork with the archaeological contexts from which the objects originate and with the cultural practices they helped to support. Chapter 3 defines the corpus of sources, the chronology of objects, their manufacturing techniques and the distribution covering the period from the 7th-century Scythian barrow-mounds in the northern Caucasus (Kelermes, Kostromskaya) to the numerous items from the *kurgans* located in the northern Black Sea region and dated to the 4th century BC. The aim of the chapter is to consider 'the possibilities which archaeology offers in locating the production of the artefacts chronologically and geographically' (p. vii), and M. reaches the conclusion, which was put forward by the majority of his predecessors, about the provenance of the Graeco-Scythian metalwork of the 4th century BC from the Cimmerian Bosphorus (pp. 95–132). This conclusion logically leads to the next chapter, which is devoted to the early Spartocid state and explores the epigraphical and sculptural monuments of the Bosporan kingdom. As a result of this analysis M. comes to the conclusion of the formation of a trans-cultural network of elite co-operation (pp. 133–87). Chapter 5, entitled 'Looking at Greco-Scythian

art', discusses iconographical questions, stressing such topics as 'Greek nudity for non-Greek worlds', 'image and text', 'civilized barbarians', 'virtue and violence', etc. M. tries to understand how the figural scenes on the items of Graeco-Scythian metalwork relayed notions of elite virtue and how these objects guided and gave meaning to real-life activities (pp. 189–239). The next chapter ('Graeco-Scythian Art in Practice', pp. 241–99) focuses on graveside feasts from burial mounds on the Bosphorus. M. arrives at the conclusion that these were 'one of the primary sites for the use and display of Graeco-Scythian metalwork and defined elite power as a religious system which was independent of other forms of statehood on the Bosphorus, notable the Greek poleis' (p. viii).

The book offers a new approach to an old problem. This makes it possible to get an idea of a Graeco-Scythian art in the broad context of Greek and nomadic cultures and their interaction, as well as to consider the evolution of the perception of this art in the context of social and political life of pre-revolutionary Russia. This dual approach yields a book interesting not only for scholars of Classical and Scythian archaeology but also for the broader public. At the same time, this wide approach and a desire to bring various art-historical and cultural aspects together lead to shortcomings that are evident to those who have been engaged in the study of the artefacts of Graeco-Scythian art. Often the conclusions which M. reaches are based only on the views of his predecessors without his undertaking a proper critical analysis of them. Actually, the key point, that Graeco-Scythian metalwork was manufactured in the Cimmerian kingdom (pp. 131–32), has never been proven with absolute certainty, although it certainly remains one of the most likely hypotheses.

A look at the extensive bibliography (pp. 373–421) shows that the book is based on a thorough knowledge of literature, including that which was published in the USSR and the countries formed after its collapse, primarily in Russia and the Ukraine. Useful, especially for those readers who do not have access to these publications, is the gazetteer of grave assemblages with finds of items of Graeco-Scythian metalwork (pp. 309–71), though it is not a complete catalogue and is not now up to date. Important in this respect are recent publications (2012–2014) – M.'s book appeared in the autumn of 2013 – primarily the two-volume publication of the barrow-mounds of Yuz-Oba.¹ I would also mention two recently published works on the Scythian and Greek gold from the North Pontic area from the collection of the Hermitage,² both of which will be of interest to readers of the book under review, not least on account of the excellent quality of their images, especially in comparison with the illustrations provided in M.'s book.

In spite of certain deficiencies, some of which were briefly mentioned above, the book reveals modern trends in scholarship and presents numerous material, but also offers new approaches and general models. This is a very useful work for all those interested in the archaeology of the North Pontic area, the Bosporan kingdom, Scythia and the nomadic

¹ Y.A. Vinogradov, V.N. Zinko and T.N. Smekalova, *Yuz-Oba. Kurgannyi nekropol' aristokratii Bospora 1: Istoriya izucheniya i topografiya* (Simferopol/Kerch 2012); A.M. Butyagin and Y.A. Vinogradov, *Yuz-Oba. Kurgannyi nekropol' aristokratii Bospora 2: Kurgany na mysu Ak-Burun* (Simferopol/Kerch 2014).

² A.Y. Alexeev, *The Gold of the Scythian Kings in the Hermitage Collection* (St Petersburg 2012); Y.P. Kalashnik, *Greek Gold in the Hermitage Collection: Antique Jewellery from the Northern Black Sea Coast* (St Petersburg 2014).

world of Eurasia, as well as for the scholars engaged in the study of ancient metalwork and the history of Classical and Scythian archaeology in Russia.

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Mikhail Treister

E. Nechaeva, *Embassies – Negotiations – Gifts: Systems of East Roman Diplomacy in Late Antiquity*, *Geographica Historica* 30, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2014, 306 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-10632-0

Ever since the publication of two influential works by Blockley and Lee in the early 1990s,¹ the analysis of East Roman foreign policy has become a central area of research in late antique studies. Ekaterina Nechaeva's book, which is a revised version of her doctoral thesis, is a thorough and comprehensive contribution to this field. As she states in her introductory remarks, the focus of her study is 'on the main working mechanisms of the diplomatic machine and the principles behind them' (p. 16). According to N., the principal characteristic of late antique diplomacy was the constant effort to create 'a strict hierarchy and classification of various partners, allies, subjects and adversaries, first of all based on positions of status and different levels of subordination' (p. 237).

Significantly, this principle seems to have informed N.'s own approach to a great extent. One of the study's main concerns – and an important achievement – is to arrange the varied pieces of evidence according to a set of categories which allows for a systematic classification of different forms of embassies, negotiations and gifts.

After the short Introduction, N. starts her investigation in Chapter I with an overview of the various institutions of, and officials concerned with, East Roman foreign policy. She concludes that, despite the impression given by some of the literary sources, the emperors were not limited to a purely ceremonial function within the diplomatic process, but remained the centre of decision-making (pp. 23–34). Nevertheless, the ritual aspect of diplomacy gained importance in late antiquity due to the increasing relevance of court ceremonial. N. illustrates that by quoting at length the account of the reception of the Sasanian ambassador Isdigousnas by Justinian, preserved in the later compilation *de ceremoniis* (pp. 34–44). This connection of politics and ceremony, of diplomatic practice and ritual, constituted the 'rather complex and elaborate' mechanisms of East Roman diplomacy (p. 66).

Chapter II deals with the practical aspect of diplomacy, focusing on the process of negotiation and its agents (pp. 69–116). To describe and assess the process of negotiation, N. introduces a model of 'block system diplomacy' (pp. 80–81), thus stressing the reciprocity of every diplomatic encounter of the Eastern Roman empire with foreign powers like the Sasanians, the Huns or the kingdoms of the Caucasus. She demonstrates that individual acts of diplomatic negotiation can be classified in various ways depending on the questions applied to the source material. Who negotiates with whom? Under what circumstances (times of war *vs* times of peace)? Which results is the process of negotiation designed to yield?

¹ R.C. Blockley, *East Roman Foreign Policy: Formation and Conduct from Diocletian to Anastasius* (Leeds 1992); A.D. Lee, *Information and Frontiers: Roman Foreign Relations in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge 1993).

Chapter III (pp. 117–62) is devoted to the question whether late antique diplomacy became an increasingly specialised field of career for imperial officials. Giving an overview of the ranks of envoys, the composition of the ambassadorial staff, and the organisation of diplomatic travel, N. concludes that ‘in spite of the absence of a diplomatic corpus [*sic*] and permanent diplomatic representatives we may speak about some professionalization in Late Antique ambassadorial business’ (p. 161). At the same time, however, it has to be emphasised that in most cases envoys also performed other functions at the imperial court or in civil administration.

Chapters IV and V analyse the practice of diplomatic gift-giving (pp. 163–205) and the bestowing of royal insignia on local rulers within the Eastern empire’s sphere of influence (pp. 207–35). After classifying various forms of gifts according to the hierarchical relation between donor and recipient, N. gives a comprehensive overview of the sets of gifts the Roman emperors donated to and received from foreign powers. According to N., the practice of gift-giving can be seen as the manifestation of an underlying and fundamental principle of East Roman diplomacy: the notion of the empire’s supremacy. This is particularly visible in the special case of royal insignia. On the one hand local rulers could present them to their subjects as symbols of their sovereign power. On the other hand, since they had received their insignia from the hands of the Roman emperor, these could be seen as a sign of a local ruler’s dependence and subordinate status in the context of an international balance of power.

The book is supplemented by three thorough appendices compiling the source material for Chapters IV and V. A detailed table of content as well as accurate indexes for names, sources, and ‘notions, ideas and concepts’ make the study highly accessible for the reader.

Despite the author’s impressive knowledge of the source material and secondary literature, it has to be said that some fundamental questions remain unanswered. Thus, it is significant that N. states with regard to the purpose of embassies: ‘Unfortunately no source provides any theorization on the subject, so we may only reconstruct the material, and try to create a model’ (p. 102). Yet systematic evaluation of the evidence has to go beyond the level of reconstruction and classification in order to turn a typology of diplomatic practices into a functional tool of historical analysis. At the end of the Introduction, N. claims that, although diplomatic practice was elaborate in late antiquity, there was no explicitly formulated theoretical concept of diplomacy developed in the literary sources (p. 21). But rather than simply accepting that as ‘a certain paradox’, it is the historian’s task to find plausible explanations. Since N. herself demonstrates the importance of the ceremonial element in late antique diplomacy, it would have been worth asking how ritual, political practice and literary discourse on diplomacy are related to one another and how the interplay of these three aspects constitutes ‘systems of East Roman diplomacy’.

To sum up: the strength of the book lies in the compilation and presentation of the literary sources. Although the potential of the sources is sometimes not fully exploited, N. provides an encompassing and in-depth survey of the evidence for the mechanisms of late antique diplomacy, which will be of immense use for every future study on the topic.

H. Neumann, R. Dittmann, S. Paulus, G. Neumann and A. Schuster-Brandis (eds.), *Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien*, 52e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, International Congress of Assyriology and Near Eastern Archaeology, Münster, 17.–21. Juli 2006, *Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 401, Ugarit Verlag, Münster 2014, xii+947 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86835-075-3

The Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (RAI) is the premier conference in Assyriology and the published proceedings offers the opportunity to view not only the results of recent research, but also the current status of particular areas of study within the discipline. The volume under review is no exception and contains 58 papers delivered at the 52nd RAI in Münster in July 2006. The papers are mostly in English and German, with a handful in French and one in Italian. As the title of the book states, the theme of this conference was ‘War and Peace in the Ancient Near East’, and the vast majority of the papers published concentrate on this theme. Unsurprisingly for the ancient Near East, most papers are about war, with only five papers dealing exclusively with peace. There is not space enough to provide detailed assessment of every paper contained in *Krieg und Frieden*, so I shall discuss those papers dealing with peace and those on war in the Neo-Assyrian period.¹

As noted above, few studies concentrate on peace, and this is the case in ancient history more generally. Julia Asher-Greve (pp. 27–40), whose paper focuses on Early Dynastic III images of peace, also provides an important discussion of why peace – a complex and artificial concept – has not been the main subject of ancient kings, myth-makers and modern scholars, unlike war, which is a visceral and seemingly exciting idea and behaviour. Asher-Greve distinguishes two forms of peace in early Mesopotamian history: ‘negative peace’, formed by an absence of wars, and ‘positive peace’, characterised by the order created by religious, social and political institutions. Richard Beal (pp. 109–15) and Gary Beckman (pp. 117–22) look at Hittite systems of diplomacy in order to secure positive foreign relations. Both papers find that Hittite treaties and administrative correspondence indicate that diplomacy and pacts were chief aspects of Hittite foreign policy and often aimed to avoid war. The experience of ‘peace’ by those who lived within an empire is the subject of two papers. Christina Simonetti (pp. 735–41) looks at how what may be termed a *pax Babyloniaca* functioned in the cities under Hammurapi’s authority, while Roland Lamprichs (pp. 447–59) outlines the homogeneous and prosperous sites located in the North Jordanian region of Tell Johfiyeh which certainly date to the *pax Assyriaca* of the Neo-Assyrian period. These five studies show that there is still much to be achieved in the study of peace in the Near East. However, it is also the case that scholars researching peaceful aspects of Near Eastern history are still only able to do so by gleaning kernels of information from the archaeological and textual sources.

The royal ideologies that led to the militarism so characteristic of ancient Near Eastern societies have been a constant of Assyriological research, and there are many important papers on ideology and war. Anna Maria Capomacchia and Marta Rivaroli (pp. 171–87) discuss the rituals which formed a part of Neo-Assyrian warfare. The paper follows the Italian school of Assyriology and frames the study in terms of warfare representing a temporary shift from an ordered peace. Capomacchia and Rivaroli detail a number of rituals

¹ The complete contents can be found at the publisher’s web site: <https://www.ugarit-verlag.com>.

performed during the process of a campaign from initial queries to Shamash to the washing of weapons and the erection of stelai. The paper would have benefited from a discussion of the so-called 'War Rituals' which highlight the personal danger the Assyrian rulers felt about going to war.²

Hannes Galter (pp. 329–43) looks at the ideological expression of world-wide conquest during the reign on Sargon II. Galter shows that Sargon's imperialism was in keeping with the Assyrian traditions of expanding the borders of Assyria to the edge of the known world. He also argues, in line with an older idea, that Sargon II modelled himself on Sargon of Akkad, the Near East's first imperialist.

Sarah Melville (pp. 527–37) considers the vexed question of who won the Assyrian battles against the Babylonian and Elamite forces at Der in 720 and Halule in 691. These battles have been reported differently in the Assyrian and Babylonian records and Melville suggests that both sides have claimed victory in what were non-decisive events. The strength of this paper is that Melville's conclusions are in keeping with the selective nature of royal inscriptions and chronicles and at the same time mindful of the content of each text.

The different experiences of war is a prominent theme among the papers, and the volume opens with Anacleto D'Agostino's (pp. 1–18) study of the impact Assyrian imperialism had on ceramic production at the site of Tell Barri in the Upper Khabur in the Early Iron Age. An important finding is that the material culture changes consistently throughout the society, not just for the elite, following the Assyrian military activity in the region. Fabrice De Backer (pp. 69–86) has collected the visual and textual evidence for the use and development of siege engines from the reigns of Ashurnasirpal II to Sennacherib. De Backer does well to draw on JoAnn Scurlock's work on Old Babylonian terms to help identify aspects of siege warfare. However, not included here is some interesting evidence from the Assyrian royal inscriptions that would have been of use. For example, Sennacherib refers his siege machines as *piššu*, *niksu* and *kalbānātu* – each term is probably descriptive of the method for which the engine was used in attacking fortifications.³

Similarly, but perhaps with greater certainty, Davide Nadali and Lorenzo Verderame (pp. 553–66) use the letter corpus and royal art to identify the roles of the people with specialised skills working with the Assyrian army, particularly in support services and logistics. The specialists came from both the native and non-Assyrian populations and fulfilled a number of duties such as scribes, artisans, servants and diviners. According to the authors it was possible that many such specialists were on campaign, not only to fulfil their *ilku*-duty, but also for profitable employment.

Tamás Dezsö uses the administrative letters concerned with Urartu and the other northern polities of the time of Sargon II to reconstruct the system of military intelligence. While

² See D. Schwemer, 'Witchcraft and War: The Ritual Fragment Ki 1904-10-9, 18 (BM 98989)'. *Iraq* 69 (2007), 29–42; 'Protecting the King from Enemies, at Home and on Campaign: Babylonian Rituals on Th 1905-4-9, 67 = BM 98561'. *ZAss* 102 (2012), 209–18. The annals of Ashurbanipal are also illuminating in this regard – see, for instance, R. Borger, *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals: Die Prismenklassen A, D, C = K, D, E, F, G, H, J und T sowie andere Inschriften* (Wiesbaden 1996), 224–25.

³ Sennacherib 22: 23 in A.K. Grayson and J. Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC), Part 1* (Winona Lake 2012), 176.

this study has now been superseded by Peter Dubovský's work that was published in the same year as this conference,⁴ the article still provides an important and handy micro-study of the military intelligence that sets out the dynamic nature of the Neo-Assyrian network of communications and what types of military intelligence were collected and reported to the capital.

A quibble the reviewer has with this volume is the eight-year gap between the date of the conference in 2006 and the publication of the papers in 2014. Such a delay in publication has undoubtedly affected some of the contributions. For instance, the RINAP project has published three volumes of Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions in this time, let alone the numerous editions of other texts as well as historical and archaeological studies.

This point aside, *Krieg und Frieden* is a very good collection of papers on war and peace in the ancient Near East. I have discussed only some of the essays in this volume and there are many more that deserve detailed attention. This volume should be consulted by scholars interested in war, imperialism, peace and international relations in the ancient Near East

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Luis Siddall

E. Olshauen and V. Sauer (eds.), *Mobilität in den Kulturen der antiken Mittelmeerwelt*, Stuttgarter Kolloquium zur Historischen Geographie des Altertums 11, 2011, *Geographica Historica* 31, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2014, 565 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-10883-6

This collection belongs to a series of books on the historical geography of the ancient world. The volume is devoted to travel, which comprises sightseeing as well as nomadism and transhumance, professional mobility, trade, migration and expeditionary warfare. There is no arrangement of these diverse topics within the book, which is well edited and useful for cultural history in general.

Mariachiara Angelicci presents Hellenistic 'Reiseliteratur im Altertum' (pp. 11–24): Polemon of Ilium, Diodorus the Periegete and Anaxandrides of Delphi exemplify this literature to be much less practical than antiquarian, literary or even academic.

Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen's paper, 'Die Wanderjahre des Dion of Prusa' (pp. 25–33), shows that Dio's claim of personal acquaintance with remote regions of the Mediterranean is merely fictitious: Dio spent most of his time in the region around Athens and Central Greece.

Serena Bianchetti ('Mobilità di sapienti e di saperi nell'Alessandria dei primi Tolemei', pp. 35–48) argues that the Ptolemies tried to collect intellectuals and literary works at Alexandria in order to represent the cultural *summa* of their time at Alexandria. As to the provenance of intellectuals, the Ptolemaic court entertained specific preferences for geographical regions, medical (Cos) or philosophical schools (Peripatos).

John Bintliff ('Mobility and Proto-Capitalism in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Mediterranean', pp. 49–53) contributes a kind of compact systems theory of ancient

⁴ P. Dubovský, *Hezekiah and the Assyrian Spies: Reconstruction of the Neo-Assyrian Intelligence Services and its Significance for 2 Kings 18–19* (Rome 2006).

Mediterranean mobility: scattering risks by owning land in diverse and distant regions became a normal thing in the Hellenistic and Roman periods; cities developed as nodes of a network of trade, commerce and social contacts.

Iris von Bredow ('Wandernde Handwerker zwischen Ost und West in der früharchaischen Zeit', pp. 55–69) describes Archaic Greek craftsmen who were present both in Egypt and in Syria, where they acquired new technologies which they then spread in the Greek world.

Veronica Bucciantini ('Verschiebungen eines Mythos im Mittelmeerraum. Aiaia, die Insel der Kirke', pp. 71–80) demonstrates how flexibly mythical landscapes could be placed anywhere in the ancient world: Aiaia was 'located' in all border regions of the ancient geographical consciousness. Homeric geographical stereotypes influenced the military and geographical literature in the age of Alexander. The argument of Floriana Cantarelli ('Mobilità tra Grecia e Sporadi nordorientali. Lemno, Halonnesos e una nuova interpretazione di riferimenti alla contemporaneità nel Filottete di Sofocle', pp. 81–97) is similar: Sophocles links the Athenian possession of Lemnos and piracy on Halonnesos to the mythical island of Chryse.

Michele Cataudella ('Tracce di itinerari greci nel Mediterraneo orientale dal Tardo Bronzo all'Arcaismo', pp. 99–111) follows Greek onomastic traces in the Late Bronze Age. As in later myths, Greek presence on Crete and Cyprus is attested in Linear B and Hittite tablets and in texts from Ras Shamrah and El Amarna.

With good reason, Frank Daubner ('Makedonien I bis IV, Verhinderte Mobilität oder Forscherkonstrukt', pp. 113–23) casts doubt on the supposition, expressed in Livy (45. 18. 1–7; 29. 5–11) that Macedonia was consciously divided into four independent states after 167 BC without *commercium* and *connubium* between them.

In one of the less original contributions to the volume, Jan Dreßler ('Überlegungen zu den Reiseberichten bei Diogenes Laertios', pp. 125–35) describes the real and imaginary mobility of intellectuals.

Kerstin Kroß-Düpe ('Regionale Mobilität im privaten Warenaustausch im römischen Ägypten. Versuch einer Deutung im Rahmen der Prinzipal-Agenten-Theorie', pp. 137–47), based on papyrological evidence, applies the principal–agent business theory to a phenomenon well studied since Braunert's *Die Binnenwanderung* of 1964:¹ the use of mobile persons as agents to acquire commodities not easily available regionally.

Peter Emberger's paper ('Truppen- und Gerätetransport zur See in der römischen Antike', pp. 149–58) collects evidence for water-borne (except river) transport operations as a normal mode of maritime warfare in antiquity.

Johannes Engels ('Reisen und Mobilität späthellenistisch-augusteischer Universalhistoriker', pp. 159–70) looks at autopsy as part of the historian's ethos. Since the 5th century, historians were highly mobile: as exiles, diplomats, dignitaries or functionaries, wandering intellectuals, etc. Engels uses imperial historians as examples – Posidonius, Diodorus, Nicolaus of Damascus and Strabo – to declare Yarrow's idea of a Roman 'draw' on intellectuals from the 70s BC onward as an over-exaggeration.

¹ H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte Ägyptens in der Ptolemäer und Kaiserzeit* (Bonn 1964).

Acts and Paul's preaching at Ephesus are striking examples of the economic and social significance of pilgrimages throughout antiquity, which Josef Fischer describes: 'Das Artemision von Ephesos. Ein antikes Pilgerziel im Spiegel der literarischen und epigraphischen Überlieferung' (pp. 171–203).

Literary travels are the subject of Christian Fron's paper ('Der Reiz des Nil. Die Reise des Aelius Aristides nach Ägypten und ihr Einfluss auf seine Reden und Werke', pp. 205–24): Aelius Aristides' travel to Egypt is a composite of Herodotean commonplaces, personal experiences and expectations on part of his audience.

Klaus Geus ('Mobilität am und auf dem Roten Meer im Altertum: naturräumliche Bedingungen, lokale Netzwerke und merkwürdige Inseln. Interpretationen zum Periplus Maris Erythraei und zu Ptolemaios' Geographie', pp. 225–40) follows the history of Red Sea trade and exploration expeditions from the 3rd millennium BC onwards.

Using inscriptions from grave monuments as evidence, Anna Ginestí Rosell ('Τηλοῦ πατριδος. Die Sprache der Grabinschriften von Ausländern in Athen', pp. 241–60) demonstrates how important dialects were for foreigners living at Athens as expression of their regional identities.

Herbert Graßl's paper on professional migration ('Arbeitsmigration in den römischen Grenzprovinzen', pp. 261–66) uses the example of an Italian who temporarily settled at Carnuntum for economic reasons and unexpectedly died there to draw more general and important considerations about the opportunities offered to migrants by the Roman empire, its wide labour market, relative political homogeneity and economic integration.

Equally important are Linda-Marie Günther's ('Überlegungen zur sozialen Mobilität von Metöken in hellenistischen Poleis', pp. 267–74) observations on the importance of metics for production, trade and change in Hellenistic economies and societies.

Like the *Travelling Heroes* of Robin Lane Fox,² Andreas Hartmann's 'Die Wanderungen der Heroen als Problem der antiken Historiographie' (pp. 275–91) treats Archaic Greek identity as characterised by mobility.

According to Matthäus Heil ('Senatoren auf Dienstreise', pp. 293–308), more than a sixth of all senators must have been on official travel at any given time: senatorial travel experiences were an important unifying factor for the Roman empire.

Andreas Klingenberg ('Die "Iranische Diaspora". Kontext, Charakter und Auswirkung persischer Einwanderung nach Kleinasien', pp. 310–24) reopens the question of Iranians settlements in Asia Minor in the Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid era (Louis Robert; Pierre Briant). Nicholas Sekunda has cast doubt on their military nature. Looking at name clusters, Klingenberg shows that they were meant to develop the countryside economically and culturally and to introduce Iranian fruits. To this picture one should add the palace of Gumbati, excavated in Kakheti/Georgia in the 1990 by Furtwängler and Knauf.

Peter Kritzinger ('Vom Niederrhein ins Vercellese. Neue Überlegungen zur letzten Etappe der Kimbern und Teutonen', pp. 325–42) qualifies Rome's strategy towards the Germanic tribes as essentially aggressive.

² R. Lane Fox, *Travelling Heroes: In the Epic Age of Homer* (New York 2009).

In a very interesting and learned paper, Ivan Ladynin ('An Egyptian Priestly Corporation in Iran. A possible case of 'Forced Mobility' on the Eve of the Macedonian Conquest', pp. 343–54) describes the career of the Egyptian priest Somtutefnakht who received special privileges and elevations of his authority from the Great King, comparable to Ezra and Nehemia within the Jewish diaspora.

Ergün Laflı and Eva Christof ('Die Basaltgrabstele des Zabedibolos für Gennaïos und Zebeis in Edessa/Şankurfa', pp. 355–66) examine a monument of the time of Marcus Aurelius (AD 176/7) which commemorates two members of the local pro-Roman elite of Edessa.

Margit Linder ('Zum Wirkungsraum antiker Künstler. Grenzenlose Mobilität oder nationale Verhaftung?', pp. 367–80) reviews cases of artists employed by enemies of their own states; political loyalty did not play an important role in the employment of painters or sculptors – possibly, being exiled contributed to being hired abroad.

According to Giuseppe Mariotta ('An example of mobility in mythology. Heracles' journey on the occasion of the Tenth Labour', pp. 381–88), Hercules 'became the mythical paradigm of real mobility' (p. 386). According to the mythical tale told by Hesiod and retold by Diodorus Siculus, Heracles traversed Italy and the Celtic lands of southern France and Spain, eventually to pass the Pillars of Heracles and to reach Gadez.

E. Olshausen ('Der bewegte Alltag des M. Tullius Cicero', pp. 389–400) describes Cicero's travels, which were partially conditioned by the vastness of his real estate possession.

Under a more paradoxical perspective, Angela Pabst ('Mobilität und Stabilität in der griechischen Welt der Kaiserzeit', pp. 401–09) approaches the phenomenon of denied mobility in the Greek world. She holds that preserving 'Greekness' in an entirely Roman world implied specific decisions about travel destinations, and especially where not to go.

Michael Rathmann ('Orientierungshilfe für antike Reisende in Bild und Wort', pp. 411–23) collects the evidence for the use of *itineraria picta*, descriptions of routes and lists of relay stations in the Classical and Imperial eras, for advance the planning of travels mainly for military purposes.

Hélène Roelens-Flouneau ('Die Überquerung von Wasserläufen durch das Militär im Spiegel der antiken literarischen Quellen', pp. 426–53) describes methods of crossing waters in antiquity, especially rivers, including the magical aspects of overcoming these obstacles. One should read Rollinger's *Alexander und die Großen Ströme* in parallel.³

In Gaul, as Jonas Scherr ('Mobilität und Kulturtransfer in den Tres Galliae um die Zeitenwende', pp. 455–68) demonstrates, signs of Romanisation, Latin inscriptions, Roman theatres, etc. concentrate around Roman roads and transport routes such as rivers. Cultural change is conditioned by transport infrastructure and mobility potential

Klaus Tausend ('Zur Mobilität von Berufsgruppen im mykenischen Griechenland', pp. 469–78) gives an overview of groups (artists, soldiers) with high professional mobility in the Mycenaean world, and Sabine Tausend ('Die Verlockung der Fremde? Mobilitäts-motivation im archaischen Griechenland zwischen Abenteuerlust und Notwendigkeit',

³ R. Rollinger, *Alexander und die Großen Ströme: Die Flußüberquerungen im Lichte altorientalischer Pioniertechniken* (Wiesbaden 2013).

pp. 479–88) collects passages about travelling in Archaic Greek poetry: the motives for this were economic rather than desires for adventure.

Maria Theotikou ('Zur Bedeutung des ekecheiria-Personenschutzes für Pilger (von der archaischen bis zur hellenistischen Zeit', pp. 489–504), in an extract from her dissertation, describes the rules governing special protection for travellers visiting panhellenic and larger games and festivals.

Isabella Tsigarida ('Auf den Spuren der Salzhändler', pp. 505–16) argues that salt-trade structures and routes changed during the Imperial era and that state and army supply were among the major causes for such change.

Heinz Warnecke ('Raumbewältigung und Geschwindigkeit in der Odyssee', pp. 517–29) collects passages from Homer where distances are overcome by human, superhuman and animalic beings; occasionally realistic speeds are mentioned, as are novel motives for travel.

The gender perspective is represented by the concluding contribution, that of Nikola Zwingmann about elite female pilgrims in late antiquity: 'Reisen von Frauen im literarischen Diskurs der Antike unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der loca- sancta-Pilgerin der christlichen Spätantike' (pp. 531–51). They became protagonists of new literary genres: letters, the lives of saints and occasional autobiographies.

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T. Opper (ed.), *Hadrian: Arts, Politics and Economy*, British Museum Research Publications 175, The British Museum Press, London 2013, iv+165 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-861-59175-6

Hadrian can be seen as one of the most international of emperors, credited with spending half his reign travelling, and showing a concern to embed the Roman provinces into the broader conception of empire. This volume, which publishes the proceedings of a conference held at the British Museum in London in December 2009, reflects its subject by bringing together an international group of scholars focussing on a diverse range of geographical areas. Together, however, they illustrate the achievements of Hadrian's reign as well as offering broader perspectives on the history of the Roman empire.

The first three papers focus on building projects in the city of Rome. Amanda Claridge's paper looks at the immediate responses to Trajan's death and Hadrian's accession as manifested in the material architecture of Rome. Claridge argues that Trajan's ashes were not buried in the small chamber at the base of his column, which she sees instead as a porter's room, but rather in a separate tomb built next to the column's base, on top of which was placed the image of Trajan (probably an equestrian statue) which is presented in the sources as featuring in a posthumous Parthian triumph. Drawing on her own past research and recent excavations, Claridge also suggests that Hadrian was responsible for the building of the new Temple to the divinised Trajan and for adding the frieze to the column of Trajan, which she reads as a visual eulogy to the deceased emperor.

While Claridge asserts the agency of Hadrian in these projects, the papers by Mary Boatwright and Mark Wilson Jones turn instead to a building long associated with Hadrian, but actually now recognised as being started under Trajan, the Pantheon. Boatwright analyses

the rhetoric of the prominent dedicatory inscription attributing the building to Agrippa, arguing that its monumentality and choice of wording reveal its nature as a Hadrianic artefact, which ostensibly asserts Hadrian's modesty while also bearing the unmistakable imprint of his personality. Wilson Jones provides a comprehensive review of the scholarship on this much-debated monument, and suggests that its original architect was Apollodorus of Damascus, favoured by Trajan in a number of other building projects. Analysing the architecture of the monument, and in particular the juncture between the rotunda and the transitional block which links it to the portico, he suggests that the anomalies can be explained as signs of a compromise, whereby an earlier design using 50-foot columns in the portico was replaced by one using 40-foot columns, perhaps due to the diversion of the intended columns towards the Temple of Trajan, as also suggested by Claridge.

The next two papers turn to the impact of Hadrian and his successors on the civic life of Asia Minor, through a focus on the recent finds at Sagalassos in south-west Turkey of colossal statues of Hadrian and other members of the imperial family. The paper by Semra Mägele focuses on the details of the statues themselves, while Marc Waelkens situates them more broadly in the architectural context of the Imperial Baths, where they were redisplayed around AD 400. The earlier placement of the statues is unknown, though the respective claims of the imperial cult temple in Sagalassos and the marble room elsewhere in the baths complex are argued by Mägele and Waelkens.

The next three papers focus on a more disparate set of case studies, but still show a number of connections in theme or approach. Sergio Cascella uses recent excavations at Suessa Aurunca in Campania to argue for the important patronage here of a lesser-known member of the imperial family, Sabina's half-sister Matidia Minor. Matidia's reconstruction of the theatre at Suessa with a lavish sculptural display included a depiction of herself as Aura, carved out of grey and white marble from the quarries at Göktepe near Aphrodisias in Asia Minor. The use of marble from this quarry is the subject of the later paper by Bruno, Attanasio and Yavuz which presents the results of scientific analysis of the sculptures from Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, such as the famous black centaurs now in the Capitoline Museums. This paper shows that Aphrodisian sculptors used their local Göktepe marble for commissions in Rome, and may have been responsible for increasing its popularity more generally, setting a trend which was picked up by Matidia, among others. Another member of the imperial household forms the focus of Cécile Evers's paper, which examines a relief of Antinoos in Brussels. Like the Louvre relief discussed in the appendix to this paper by Daniel Roger, it seems possible here too that the original piece may have served as a medalion, mounted onto a background of darker marble in a comparable effect to its later post-antique restoration.

The following pair of papers turn to economic questions. Roberta Tomber's survey of the archaeological evidence for 2nd-century quarry activity in Egypt and interactions with India and Parthia shows the importance of trade with the East in this period, while Rosario Rovira-Guardiola assesses the evidence for Hadrian's economic policy, arguing that it shows a concern to respond to local needs while ensuring the stability of production and distribution across the empire.

The final three papers look at the histories of particular provinces. Anthony Birley considers the military history of Britain under Trajan and Hadrian, reassessing the threats posed by the northern British tribes, and the motivations for Hadrian's visit and construction of

the Wall. José Remesal Rodríguez turns to Hadrian's home province of Spain, looking at the grant of Latin rights by Vespasian, and the impact this had had on the area, as well as at Hadrian's interactions with his home province. The final paper by Manana Odisheli turns further east, and covers a much broader chronological period than the others. It looks at the history of the region covered by modern Georgia (ancient Colchis and Iberia) over the course of the first four centuries AD. This was a region on the edges of the Roman world, an important bulwark against the Parthians to the east. The archaeological finds (especially grave-goods) reveal a number of prestigious pieces which were probably diplomatic gifts, including a silver bowl featuring a head of Antinoos, as well as locally produced luxury wares.

Overall, as Thorsten Oppermann asserts in the Introduction, this volume shows the potential for new archaeological research to add to our understanding of Roman history, and particularly the influence of this important emperor. The geographical spread of the papers, from Rome to Asia Minor, Britain to Georgia and India, underlines the importance of looking across the ancient world to see how experiences were shared or differed, and can illustrate the interplay between imperial and local concerns. This is a stimulating collection of essays, with much to interest scholars of the East and West alike.

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R. Parker (ed.), *Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia*, Proceedings of the British Academy 191, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, xii+243 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-726563-5/ISSN 0068-1202

The volume *Personal Names in Ancient Anatolia*, edited by Robert Parker, contains papers read during a conference on Anatolian Society held in Oxford on 11–12 July 2011. It is dedicated to the memory of Elaine Matthews, joint editor with Peter Fraser of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*.

After a general introduction on Anatolian name-giving and Greek naming practices in Asia Minor by Parker (pp. 1–14), Claude Brixhe, in his contribution 'Anatolian Anthroponymy after Louis Robert ... and Some Others' (pp. 15–30), briefly reviews the works published in this field, from J. Sundwall's book on Lycian names in 1913 to the works of L. Robert, E. Laroche, P.H.J. Houwink ten Cate and L. Zgusta, pleading for the breaking of academic barriers in the study of Anatolian onomastics. Craig Melchert studies the naming practices in 2nd- and 1st-millennium western Anatolia (pp. 31–49) in the Luwian, Lycian, Carian, Lydian, Pisidian and Sidetic texts. He stresses the strong continuity in the 1st millennium in theophorics and theophoric compounds with *Arma-*, *Ea-*, *Runtiya-*, *Sanda-* and *Trahunt-*, but refrains from drawing implications from these patterns for the epichoric religions in the same period. Alexandru Avram's subject is indigenous names in Heraclea Pontica (pp. 51–62), grouped under *Lallnamen*, Anatolian names, Bithynian names, Paphlagonian names, Phrygian names, Carian names and indeterminate names; some of his attributions may seem questionable. Mustafa Adak studies the names, ethnicity and acculturation in the Pamphylian-Lycian borderland (pp. 63–78), a region known for its mixed Greek (Aeolians, Rhodians)-Anatolian (Solyimians, Lycians) population. Altay Coşkun is interested in the personal names of Galatians (pp. 78–106), from the Hellenistic

chieftains attested in literary sources to the Galatian aristocrats in the Roman Imperial period. Jaime Curbera's lengthy contribution is entitled 'Simple Names in Ionia' (pp. 107–43). Simple names of this region are most often children's appellatives/terms of endearment or *Lallnamen*. Many names are competently analysed (Ἀκκῆς, Βάβων, Βάλλαρος, Βαστῆς, Βάταλος, Βάτιον, Βαῦς, Βιλλᾶς, Βισθαῖς, Βιτ(τ)-, Βόα, Βοτῆς, Βουταλῆνος, Βουτῆς, Γελλίας, Γρυττος, Κίλλος, etc.). Riet van Bremen studies the distribution and the origin of the names Agroitas and Agreophon attested in the Carian-Lycian borderland and Hellenistic Egypt (Zenon papyri) (pp. 145–73), adding to the same cluster the names Agrotheos and Theronides. Christian Marek's contribution, 'Imperial Asia Minor: Economic Prosperity and Names' (pp. 175–94), focuses on 'names derived from material goods of exceptional quality and/or rarity such as precious stones, aromatics, incense, drugs, luxurious textiles', while the second contribution from Curbera, 'Resources for Naming: Problematic Names of Asia Minor' (pp. 195–205), deals, among others, with the names Ἀρμαλος, Δόκκαλος, Δράβων, Καλλόας, Καμβαλᾶς, Κάππαρις, Ναόδωρος, Χρυσήνιος; at times, his etymologies may appear too bold. Angelos Chaniotis's contribution, 'Second Thoughts on Second Names in Aphrodisias' (pp. 207–29), rounds off the volume. Chaniotis is especially interested in second names without a connecting expression (for example Hermogenes Theodotos, son of Hephaistion), characteristic for the local elite; he also provides a list of such names. At the end of the volume there is a general index and an index of names.

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Marijana Ricl

A. Payne, *Schrift und Schriftlichkeit: Die anatolische Hieroglyphenschrift*, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2015, xvii+232 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-10374-9

Der vorliegende Band stellt die überarbeitete Fassung der 2013 angenommenen Dissertation der Autorin dar, die vor allem durch ihr ausgezeichnetes Lehrbuch zum Hieroglyphen-Luwischen bekannt geworden ist. Nach einem Vorwort (S. 1–9) und den üblichen technischen Informationen besteht das Buch aus fünf Kapiteln, die die Schriftsysteme des hethitischen Großreiches (S. 10–64), die Entwicklung der Hieroglyphenschrift (S. 65–103), die Schreibmaterialien (S. 104–33), die Schreiber (S. 134–61), sowie die Textualität (S. 162–210) besprechen. Damit liefert sie dem Titel entsprechend eine Art Handbuch zur luwischen Schriftlichkeit. Ausgesprochen willkommen ist die Vorgehensweise der Autorin, ihr Handbuch auf Deutsch zu veröffentlichen, weil die hieroglyphen-luwischen Studien leider immer mehr von der Vereinnahmung durch das Englische bedroht sind, trotz der in der Hethitologie traditionell üblichen Sprachenvielfalt. An dieser Stelle sei bemerkt, dass, wenn die Verfasserin schreibt 'im Deutschen verwendet man nur einen Begriff, nämlich *luwisch*' statt der englischen Begriffe *Luwian* und *Luwic* (S. 4), sie damit eine gute Gelegenheit verpasst hat, eine passende deutsche Terminologie zu etablieren oder zumindest auf die Vorschläge *luwid* und *luwoid* hinzuweisen.¹

¹ N. Oettinger, Rezension zu I. Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics of the Luvian Language*. *Kratylos* 56 (2011), 190 bzw. M. Gander, *Die geographischen Beziehungen der Lukka-Länder* (Heidelberg 2010), 19 Anm. 80.

Aus technischer Sicht ist es bemerkenswert, dass nur wenige Tippfehler trotz des schwierigen Textes aufzuspüren sind. Eine genauere editorische Tätigkeit wäre allerdings nützlich gewesen, da die Bibliographie nicht einheitlich ist² und sogar die Angabe einiger Hinweise fehlt (Aro 2013 [S. 12 Anm. 13], Payne 2010b [S. 205 Anm. 379]). Dazu gehört, dass das Vorwort noch über das ‘Ziel der Dissertation’ bzw. über ‘die vorliegende Dissertation’ spricht (S. 1), obwohl dies schon die Buchfassung ist.

Die Kapitel beschreiben die erwähnten Themen ausführlich. Darunter zeichnen sich folgende Bereiche als besonders ergiebig und weiterführend aus: die Paläographie ausgewählter Zeichen (S. 44–64), die umfassende Diskussion zur Datierung der SÜDBURG-Inschrift (S. 78–84, für Šuppiluliuma I., wobei ein bloßer Hinweis auf die Dissertation Oreshkos [S. 83 Anm. 142], der zum gleichen Ergebnis gekommen ist,³ nicht ausreicht) bzw. der ANKARA-Silberschale (S. 84–98, ins 12. Jh.), sowie die Überlegungen zur Handschrift (S. 122–33) und die Stilistik der hieroglyphen-luwischen Inschriften (S. 162–210). Die Diskussion folgt meistens dem neuesten Stand der Hethitologie, allerdings ist die Verfasserin eher skeptisch gegenüber neuen Lesungen gewisser Zeichen (z. B. <sù>, <ta/i₄/5>), jedoch ohne Gegenargumente (S. 8, 173). Dementsprechend sind die problematischen bzw. fehlerhaften Behauptungen sehr selten:

Die Feststellung, die hieroglyphen-luwische Schrift sei ‘von ihren Nachfolgestaaten als einziges in ausgiebigem Gebrauch überliefertes Schriftmedium’ verwendet worden (S. 1), ist falsch, da es einerseits Spuren vom Gebrauch der Keilschrift gibt, wie später auch die Verfasserin selbst feststellt (S. 11), und andererseits auch das phönizische Alphabet in Hiyawa (bzw. einmal auch in Tuwana) ‘in ausgiebigem Gebrauch’ belegt ist.

Die Verfasserin setzt voraus, dass die hieroglyphen-luwische Schrift später als die Keilschrift eingeführt worden ist (S. 2, 65–72), was allerdings nicht gesichert ist, weil die genaue Entstehungszeit der luwischen Schrift unbekannt ist. Des Weiteren dürfen die *isur-tum*-Dokumente der altassyrischen Periode sich auf mit Hieroglyphen-Luwisch beschriftete Objekte beziehen, falls die Analyse von Waal zutrifft,⁴ deren Aufsatz die Verfasserin außer Acht gelassen hat.

In der Klassifizierungstabelle der Schriftträger (Tontafeln, Siegel, Objekte, Monumente) soll ‘Graffiti’ offenbar keine eigenständige Kategorie bilden (S. 10), wo auch die Bedeutung des Fragezeichens in der Kategorie ‘auf Akkadisch beschriftete Objekte’ und die Bemerkung, die Sprache der Graffiti sei ggf. nicht eindeutig, unklar bleiben.

Der Ausdruck ‘die Kennzeichnung luwischer Wörter in hethitischen Texten mit einem Glossenkeil’ (S. 16) ist irreführend, da bekanntermaßen nicht alle luwischen Wörter durch

² Seitenanzahl und Ort der Publikation fehlen manchmal, Zeitschriften erscheinen teils abgekürzt, teils mit vollem Titel (sogar auch beide), teils nur mit Haupttitel, teils mit Untertitel, teils mit ‘in’ eingeleitet, teils ohne; Reihentitel erscheinen manchmal in Klammern, manchmal ohne; ‘Simon in Vorbereitung’ wurde schon 2014 veröffentlicht. Auf S. 79 wurde ein Aufsatz nicht nach den im Buch verwendeten Richtlinien zitiert.

³ R. Oreshko, *Studies in Hieroglyphic Luwian: Towards a Philological and Historical Reinterpretation of the SÜDBURG inscription* (Doktorarbeit, Freie Universität Berlin 2012).

⁴ W. Waal, ‘Writing in Anatolia: The Origins of the Anatolian Hieroglyphs and the Introductions of the Cuneiform Script’. *Altorientalische Forschungen* 39 (2012), 287–315.

Glossenkeile gekennzeichnet wurden und nicht alle Glossenkeile luwische Wörter gekennzeichnet haben.⁵

Beim luwischen Phoneminventar fehlen die labialisierten Laryngale und das *k^w* (S. 28), obwohl später die Verfasserin selbst deren Existenz implizit beweist bzw. annimmt (S. 39–41). Dazu gehört, dass es keine Einigkeit über die phonetisch-phonologische Interpretation des Zeichens <á> herrscht, bis auf die Tatsache, dass es, trotz der Angabe der Verfasserin (S. 29), keine bloße Variante von <a> war, vgl. gerade die von Verfasserin zitierte Literatur.

Das Zeichen <REL> wurde natürlich nicht nur zur Schreibung des Relativpronomens verwendet (*contra* S. 39) sondern auch für andere Wörter, die eine Silbe *kwa/i* beinhalten, weshalb sich im Gegensatz zur Verfasserin annehmen lässt, dass es auch als Silbenzeichen verstanden wurde (s. die Verfasserin selbst, S. 159–60).

Bei der Paläographie des Zeichens <wa/i> (S. 47–52) wurden die Ergebnisse Simons⁶ außer Acht gelassen.

Die auch von der Verfasserin mit einem Fragezeichen ausgestattete Interpretation ‘Kupanta-Kuruntiya’ eines der SURATKAYA-Graffiti (S. 74) ist weder morphologisch noch graphisch möglich.⁷

Trotz der Auffassung der Verfasserin kann eine Datierung unter den spätesten Inschriften nach 700 v. Chr. nicht nur im Falle von KARATEPE erwogen werden (S. 99) sondern zumindest auch im Falle von PORSUK.⁸

Da die Inschrift am Löwentor in Hattuša über keine allgemein akzeptierte Lesung verfügt, wäre es interessant gewesen zu erfahren, worauf die Feststellung der Verfasserin beruht, dass diese Inschrift ‘sich auf die Funktion des Tores im Ritual als einem Ort, an dem eine Reinigung vollzogen wird, bezieht’ (S. 103).

Bei der Bedeutungsangabe der hieroglyphen-luwischen Wörter *pu-* und *pupalali-* (‘schreiben’ bzw. ‘vielleicht’, ‘verfassen, diktieren’ der Verfasserin zufolge, S. 161–62) sollte die semantische Untersuchung Giusfredis erwähnt werden, der zu anderen Ergebnissen gekommen ist.⁹

Bei der Besprechung des historischen Hintergrunds der Inschriften KARATEPE und ÇİNEKÖY fehlt der Aufsatz Simons, in dem nicht nur die Chronologie dieser (und verwandter) Inschriften besprochen, sondern auch das von der Verfasserin erwogene Auseinanderhalten der Herrscher Awarikus und Warikus schon bewiesen wurde.¹⁰ Dieser Aufsatz hat auch nachgewiesen, dass die Identifizierung von Azatiwada, dem Inschriftenherrscher

⁵ Vgl. z. B. H.C. Melchert, ‘The Problem of Luvian Influence on Hittite’. In G. Meiser und O. Hackstein (Hrsg.), *Sprachkontakt und Sprachwandel* (Wiesbaden 2005), 445–47.

⁶ Z. Simon, ‘Überlegungen zu Masaurhisas, einem König aus Tabal, und der Herrscherliste von Tuwana’. *Anatolica* 39 (2013), 289–90.

⁷ R. Oreshko, ‘Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Western Anatolia: Long Arm of the Empire or Vernacular Tradition(s)?’. In A. Mouton, I. Rutherford und I. Yakubovich (Hrsg.), *Luvian Identities: Culture, Language and Religion Between Anatolia and Aegean* (Leiden/Boston 2013), 355–58.

⁸ S. die Überlegungen in Simon (Anm. 6), von der Verfasserin nicht zitiert.

⁹ F. Giusfredi, ‘Luvian *puwa* and cognates’. *Historische Sprachforschung* 122 (2009), 60–66.

¹⁰ Z. Simon, ‘Awarikus und Warikas. Zwei Könige von Hiyawa’. *ZAs* 104 (2014), 91–103.

Karatepes mit Sanduarri, einem lokalen Kleinkönig in den neuassyrischen Quellen, trotz der Auffassung der Verfasserin (S. 190), aus formalen Gründen nicht möglich ist.

Diese Kleinigkeiten ändern aber nichts an der Tatsache, dass es der Verfasserin gelungen ist, ein nützliches Handbuch zur Schriftlichkeit der luwischen Hieroglyphenschrift zu schaffen, weshalb es eine wichtige Lektüre für alle am alten Anatolien bzw. an antiken Schriftsystemen Interessierten darstellt.

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Zsolt Simon

C. Pereira, *Roman Lamps of Scallabis (Santarém, Portugal)*, BAR International Series 2627, Archaeopress, Oxford 2014, iii+115 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1264-4

The book has 115 pages, of which 53 are text, including 19 figures (images, graphics and tables), six pages are bibliography, 21 are plates and the catalogue is 33 pages. The text is divided into three chapters, themselves divided into unnumbered sections. There are no notes, analytical indexes or introductions regarding the text, the plates or the catalogue.

The work opens with an introduction about the history of lamp studies. A summary of the main publications, from the first studies of Dressel to the publications about Portugal and the Iberian Peninsula, is presented. This part is also summarised in some plates (I–IV, pp. 62–65), where the comparisons between the different typologies proposed by the experts are explained. The first chapter moves through a description of ancient copies of lamps, the evolution of lamp typology from the Hellenistic period and production techniques.

The second chapter describes the geography and ancient topography of the Scallabis region and also the historical and archaeological context of the site. The text has three general maps and a town plan showing location of the archaeological excavations.

The longer third chapter is dedicated to the study of the lamps found in 12 of the 18 archaeological campaigns at Scallabis. The data about the number of sherds studied are unclear: 393 sherds of pottery lamps are declared, i.e. 60 bases, 142 rims, 79 discs, 38 handles, 48 nozzles and 6 lateral handles, but these add up to only 373 objects. It is then remarked: 'It should be noted, for example, that many of the fragments found in the rim accounting are also in the disc fragments accounting'; (p. 10). In Fig. 9 (p. 16) the lamps are divided according to type and chronology; here the total is 381. There are 127 lamp drawings (Pls. VIII–XVIII, pp. 69–79), which correspond to the objects described on the catalogue (pp. 84–115). This latter number also appears in Fig. 12 (p. 33), where 125 lamps are divided according to typology (two lamps are unidentifiable but catalogued because of inscriptions on them).

The lamps study then proceeds with the macroscopic description of the fabrics divided by geographical provenance: 11 groups of fabrics are Italian imports; three are Iberian productions; and three groups are imported from Africa. At the end of every group, the number and percentage of sherds corresponding to it are given. But there is no correspondence between the sherds divided into groups (the total is 379 lamps) and the synthesis presented in Fig. 9 (total 381).

The morphological analysis is anticipated from some considerations about the site, in relation to other neighbouring sites, and about the evolution of the lamps during the

Roman period. The chronological evolution of lamp shoulders is also summarised in Fig. 11 (p. 20), where, however, it is impossible to read the data on the X-axis. The forms are presented in chronological order. Every form has an informative description: shape, main bibliography for comparisons, chronology, and discussion about lamps found in Scallabis and their archaeological contexts. The following data concern iconography, marks and inscriptions. The drawings are detailed. Most pieces have section drawings, often a photograph and very accurate pencil drawings.

In conclusion, although there are inaccuracies in the account of sherds and the absence of a proper introduction, the book is highly interesting because the research has analysed a great number of lamps. This sample significantly enriches our knowledge of Portuguese and Iberian Peninsula Roman lamps.

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D.T. Potts, *Nomadism in Iran: From Antiquity to the Modern Era*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014, xxv+558 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-933079-9

A long sweep of time, and a considerable surprise. One would expect the focus to be on antiquity or prehistory, but the interesting conclusion of Dan Potts's work, as he demolishes various long-accepted views, is that Iran became more nomadic not less over much of the 2nd millennium AD. Or more precisely, that the Iranian-speaking nomads attested in ancient written sources from Herodotus onwards were far less significant than the influx of Turkic-speaking steppic Oghuz nomads in the 11th century AD, and that this demographic shift increased with the massive disruption of the Mongol invasion. The nomadic and sedentary populations of Iran – two economies and cultures – were just about in equal in the early Qajar period. Thus, we are to be wary of supposedly enduring patterns of nomadic land use (retrojecting the 19th- or 20th-century demographic profile onto earlier times, let alone onto the mediaeval or remoter past) – they are quite recent by archaeological standards – just as we should avoid ascribing any antiquity to transient tribal formations. Many tribes of the 1960s had not existed half a century before, and the Safavids and Qajars 'moved nomadic groups around like pieces on a chessboard' (p. xiii). Hence modern consumes more print than ancient in this volume.

There are ten chapters and an appendix. 'Nomadism: Concepts and Archaeological Evidence' opens the work (with a firm injunction not to confuse nomadism with mobility, the obvious dearth of archaeological evidence that the lifestyle generated, and a tour of the prehistory of the region: 'Occam's razor forbids us from assuming [the] existence' of 'an as yet undocumented ancient nomadic element' [p. 45]), followed by 'The Coming of the Iranians' (and the need to examine, first of all, whether the horse was indigenous or introduced to the Iranian plateau, i.e. which population was more mobile: were the first Iranian-speaking groups sedentary or not?; what equid remains exist?; what of the nomadic Scythians and Cimmerians and how many remained after their mid-1st-century BC incursions?), 'Iranian Nomads in the Achaemenid, Seleucid and Arsacid Periods' (the Daians, Mardians, Dropikans, Sagartians, Scythians, Alans and others named or referenced by Herodotus, Arrian, Strabo, Justin, Polybius, Josephus, Dionysius Periegetes, etc.) and

'Late Antiquity' (nomads in Fars called 'kurds' and the mounting nomadic threat, finally of Turks, and the interplay with Sasanian dynastic politics). 'From the Islamic Conquest to the Oghuz Infiltration', 'The Mongols and Timurids' and 'The Aq-qoyunlu and Safavids' bring us through to the mid-18th century; and 'From Karim Khan Zand to World War I' (unsparing on the dysfunctional and inept Qajars) and 'From World War I to the Present' (the interplay of tribalism, great power and dynastic politics, wars and revolutions) to near the end of the 20th. The brief 'On Nomadism in Iran through Time' and Appendix 1, 'The Position of Nomadism on the Social Evolutionary Ladder', conclude matters.

The continuity from late antiquity to near present (at least well into the Pahlavi era) is of nomadic tribes as potential king-makers, thus an ever-present danger, though the tribes and the nature of nomadism itself underwent change.

Blessed with footnotes (some uncomfortably long for typesetting) and a detailed and broad consolidated bibliography (87 pp.). It is nice to see the Australian Research Council thanked: it has spent money to good purpose, unusually for an over-prescriptive bureaucratic behemoth often derided for putting process before purpose.

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James Hargrave

N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, E. Nodaru and V. Kilikoglou (eds.), *LRCW 4: Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean. Archaeology and Archaeometry. The Mediterranean: A Market without Frontiers*, 2 vols., BAR International Series 2616, Archaeopress, Oxford 2014, xx+1071 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1249-1 (vol. 1); 978-1-4073-1250-7 (vol. 2)

The two-volume set of *LRCW 4* presents the proceedings of the 4th International Conference on Late Roman Coarse Wares, Cooking Wares and Amphorae in the Mediterranean held at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki between 7 and 10 April 2011. In all, *LRCW 4* adds 102 reports to the scholarship on Late Roman pottery. I say reports rather than articles in part because that is how they are referred to in the Preface by Prof. Aristoteles Mentzos, but also because there is a diversity in the quality and completeness of the pieces that are presented, ranging from straight conference paper to publication to more polished articles. *LRCW 4* follows its predecessors, *LRCW 1-3*, in this regard and is in keeping with the BAR publications on conference proceedings in general.

A welcome change from *LRCW 3* is the organisation of *LRCW 4*, which abandons the geographical arrangement of reports (Gaul, western Italian Peninsula, etc.). Instead, *LRCW 4* is organised thematically, in which the themes of the conference were maintained for the publication. The themes found in Volume 1 are 'Archaeology and Economic History' (8 reports), 'Production Centers' (13 reports), 'Distribution and Consumption' (12 reports) and 'Typology and Chronology' (27 reports). Volume 2 presents 'Regional Contexts: Eastern Mediterranean' (19 reports), 'Regional Contexts: West Mediterranean' (five reports) and 'The Mediterranean: A Market without Frontiers' (18 reports). While the thematic categories are a welcome aspect of *LRCW 4*, it is not always clear why papers ended up in one section rather than another. In many cases there is significant overlap in the types of papers (in terms of subject, perspective, interpretation) found in all the sections. In the end

it is the regional contexts that provide the most significant categorisation of the paper themes: East and West.

A noteworthy example of what one will find under the heading of 'Archaeology and Economic History' is the first paper, entitled 'Container and content in North Africa: a new glimpse of the relationship between foodstuff's production and amphorae production (4th–6th centuries AD)', by Lilia Palmieri. The author follows a welcome and growing trend in Roman ceramic studies of recontextualising the material, so that the pottery is not just studied as isolated objects but placed back within the living (and functioning) contexts to which it once belonged. This has been especially true in recent studies of North African amphorae, cooking wares and fine wares as different reports have moved to publish data that links agricultural endeavours (principally oil and grain) and the production and distribution of different classes of North African pottery. Palmieri's paper is such a paper and is an excellent example of an important trend in ceramic studies in the Mediterranean.

Perhaps the most productive and geographically diverse group of papers can be found in the section 'Production Centers'. Papers here represent North Africa, Egypt, the Levant, Asia Minor, Greece and Italy. This thematic section is also perhaps the least consistent in *LRCW 4*. Many of the short papers could easily (or even more usefully) be placed under different themes, especially 'Typology and Chronology' or 'The Mediterranean: A Market without Frontiers'. Overall, though, the papers presenting production centres yield a good sampling of local and regional ceramic productions for a variety of readers with interests in different corners of the Late Roman world and will be a worthwhile source for those looking for comparanda.

The majority of the papers in 'Distribution and Consumption', 'Typology and Chronology', 'Regional Contexts: East Mediterranean' and 'Regional Contexts: West Mediterranean' likewise provide a rich set of contexts and assemblages that anyone working with Late Roman pottery will find useful. This is where the value, utility and, really, the purpose of *LRCW 4* lies: providing a venue for disseminating pottery reports and other small assemblages that are helping to build the foundations of the larger study of Late Roman pottery, and as a repository of comparanda for future fieldwork and publication. Nothing in *LRCW 4* stands out as exceptional, but then nothing really should. The publication, with its varied and numerous reports, stands as a workhorse for the underrepresented topic of coarse wares in Late Roman ceramic studies.

The last section in *LRCW 4*, 'The Mediterranean: a Market without Frontiers', provides some of the meatier interpretive reports based on contextual assemblage analyses. However, given the brief nature of each report it is not possible to present all the data available to establish firm foundations for many of the conclusions reached. This is not a criticism, it is simply the nature of conference papers. Likewise, the usefulness of papers such as these is not that they present discipline-shifting models or theories. Rather, they present opening lines to new conversations based on new, preliminary evidence, that hopefully will be picked up by subsequent excavations and analyses to develop a richer and more nuanced understanding of late antiquity through ceramic analysis. This is, at its heart, the goal of the *LRCW* conferences, as is aptly stated by Mentzos in his Preface.

Whatever problems *LRCW 4* has, they are problems that can be expected of such a large publication of conference proceedings. In addition to an inconsistency of the quality of the papers, there is also a lack of uniformity in the formatting throughout the two volumes.

This is especially true of figures, with specific reference to the pottery drawings, of which there is a wide range of quality (ranging from poor – barely legible – to good). Additionally, there is no standardisation of the drawings, so that different conventions are used throughout. This reflects the wide geographical range the papers cover, since different drawing conventions are held in different archaeological regions of the Mediterranean. However, this need not justify the multiplicity of conventions found in a single publication dedicated to ceramic studies. The conferences on Late Roman Coarse Wares have done an admirable job at creating a community of Late Roman ceramicists by bringing together researchers from across the Mediterranean and beyond. It seems equally worthwhile that the ideals of the conference and its publications should include encouraging standardisation within the discipline. While this may seem like a minor issue to some, the lack of standardisation in ceramic studies highlights that as a discipline it is still in its nascent form.

As welcome as this collection of papers on Late Roman coarse wares is, issue with the cost of the two volumes must be made. At £129, the price set by Archaeopress pushes the limits of what is affordable for individuals. Even for institutional libraries, the price may prove to be prohibitive these days, considering the budgetary woes experienced throughout academia worldwide. The apparent cost of publishing conference proceedings, the content of which may include only a few items of interest for any one individual, begs the question of whether we are ready for a different model of publication.

Digital publication is the obvious response. As on-line journals become more and more common (and more and more acceptable as venues for academic publication), it is in this direction publications such as *LRCW* ought to be heading. The last paper in Volume 1 of *LRCW 4* presents a web portal called LRCW.net that, according to the authors, is meant to be a laboratory and collaborative resource space for those researching Late Roman pottery. The portal might also be an ideal space for the publication and dissemination of the LRCW conference proceedings.

When the proceedings consist of 102 papers, presented in approximately 1000 pages, the risk of one contribution being lost in the crowd is high. An on-line, searchable publication would aid in researchers' ability to find information embedded in the proceedings. Readers might even be able to re-order papers based on keywords, which are already conveniently provided for each paper in *LRCW 4*. Whatever future form the LRCW proceedings take, let us hope that they will indeed continue to come so that we might not lose a valuable venue for the publication of reports that are otherwise difficult to publish in an international setting.

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Nicholas F. Hudson

C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt*, Oxford Handbooks in Archaeology, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012, xii+816 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-957145-1

Roman Egypt (*ca.* 30 BC–AD 300 for this volume) has been situated at the fringes of scholarship on both Egypt and the Roman empire for far too long. For traditional scholars of Egypt, Roman rule suggested that the region was too heavily influenced by foreign powers to be considered properly Egyptian. Meanwhile, scholars of the Roman empire

habitually viewed Egypt as too singular for Romano-Egyptian evidence to be compared to other areas of the empire. Thankfully, both disciplines have undergone substantial changes from within and have grown more accepting of previously unpopular time periods and regions. In recent years, Roman Egypt has emerged as a vibrant area of study, particularly among papyrologists and historians, but also among archaeologists and art historians.

Christina Riggs's edited volume brings together 45 papers covering seven themes: 'Land and State', 'City, Town and *Chora*', 'People', 'Religion', 'Texts and Languages', 'Images and Objects' and 'Borders, Trade and Tourism'. Additional themes, such as personal and communal identity, social mobility, religious development, and continuity and change also weave through the various contributions, even though they are not addressed specifically (R.'s Introduction, p. 5). R. anticipates developing some of these themes in her current role as editor of Oxford Handbooks Online, which would complement the present work for readers interested in pursuing additional, specialised topics.

The volume as a whole explores both traditional and provocative themes within Roman Egypt. Regardless of each author's approach, every chapter begins with a comprehensive background on the subject matter and ends with a suggested reading guide along with comprehensive bibliographies. This approach, clearly steered carefully by the editor, guarantees that the volume will fulfil R.'s hope that students of Roman Egypt will now have a single volume to aid their studies of this complex, multicultural, multilingual and multidisciplinary area of study.

The present review discusses each of the seven themes and selects specific papers for particular mention since comprehensive review of each paper would not be possible here.

Part I, 'Land and State', draws primarily from historical and papyrological data to introduce the political, economic and administrative organisation of Roman Egypt. The chapter by Gibbs, 'Manufacture, Trade and Economy', provides a particularly adept overview of both the issues and prejudices long associated with the economy of Roman Egypt. The sub-theme of tradition and change also appears strongly in this contribution and Gibbs carefully balances between these two positions as he explains both constants in agricultural practice, the cornerstone of Egypt's economy, and substantial changes in economic relationships and transactions.

Part II, 'City, Town, and *Chora*', benefits from recent archaeological research to discuss Alexandria, the Delta, the Fayyum, and Thebes. Paired with these are focused contributions on classical architecture and Wilfong's glimpse into the Kelsey Museum archives for excavations at Karanis (1924–1935). The contribution by Wilfong is essential reading for those who rely too heavily upon standard published accounts of this important settlement site. He cautions us to be aware of selective bias in publication, particularly among older excavation reports, and indicates new ways we can understand the Karanis material. Although his focus upon the Kelsey Museum archives appears to be narrow, the lessons learned from this contribution are universal.

Part III, 'People', describes issues of status and citizenship, ethnicity, family and identity. Jördens explains the tripartite citizenship structure imposed by the Romans upon Egypt as well as the options for social advancement. Vandorpe explores these three groups once again, but through the vantage of intersecting identities. Malouta takes on the enormous topic of 'Families, Households, and Children', relying primarily upon documentary sources. Although Malouta makes excellent work of a difficult and unwieldy topic, it would

have been advantageous to include a complementary chapter on domestic archaeology. Finally, Scheidel examines disease and health in Roman Egypt from a documentary standpoint. Once again, an archaeological partner to this chapter would provide welcome evidence to substantiate aspects of Scheidel's argument.

Part IV, 'Religion', is the largest theme covered by the volume and contains nine papers on various aspects of it. It is not surprising that this topic is so well explored since religion has long been the topic drawing most academic and public interest in Egypt. It is also appropriate to provide room for this topic since the religious landscape of Roman Egypt experienced major changes and transitions during this period, while also retaining traditional practices for a long period of time. This complexity is revealed elegantly in these contributions.

Part V, 'Texts and Language', provides insights into the complex spoken and written landscape of Roman Egypt as well as the archaeological contexts of the languages discussed in this section. Depauw provides a helpful introduction to both the wide range of languages present as well as the changing phases of language uses. Meanwhile, Verhoogt's contribution urges an intertwined approach to the archaeology of papyrological finds. Such arguments have appeared before, namely by van Minnen,¹ but they are worth repeating as the discipline begins to honour the archaeological contributions to data more intently.

Part VI, 'Images and Objects', covers a disparate range of artworks and objects produced in Egypt. This section is somewhat weaker than other sections in this volume. This weakness is not due to the contributions, as each is clearly written and the contributors are experts in the field, but due to the selection of only six articles on this theme. So few contributions cannot do justice to such a broad subject. Even so, it seems unreasonable to complain too earnestly about this brevity as R. had an unwieldy editing project before her. Gates-Foster's contribution, in particular, provides some helpful suggestions for future areas of study in ceramic analysis as well as a comprehensive review of the state of study today.

Finally, Part VII, 'Borders, Trade, and Tourism', pushes beyond the Nile Valley to explore the fringes of Egypt itself. This part is a surprising and welcome component to the volume as Egypt's frontiers have experienced significant new research in recent years, notably in the Western and Eastern Deserts, as discussed by Kaper and Gates-Foster respectively. Török, brings new research in Sudan to bear when exploring Egypt's southern frontier and the little-considered relationship between Roman Egypt and Meroe

As a whole, this volume is remarkable in the quality of writing, images, bibliography, and the considerable copy-editing which must have taken place. Students and specialists alike will benefit from this volume. One can anticipate that it would be useful for upper-level undergraduate teaching, graduate teaching, as well as research projects.

It is tempting to demand too much from long-awaited volumes such as this one. For this author, it would be appealing to find the chronological breadth extending beyond AD 300, deeper explorations of social questions that appear only as threads throughout the work, and more archaeologically focused articles on the houses, settlements, cities, and health of the population of Roman Egypt. These cravings will differ from reader to reader. Rather than serving as a clear weakness in R.'s volume, the desire for additional articles

¹ P. van Minnen, 'House-to-house enquiries: an interdisciplinary approach to Roman Karanis'. *ZPE* 100 (1994), 227–51.

points towards the new vitality within studies in Roman Egypt. It is fortunate that R. will pursue additional articles in the Oxford Handbooks Online as the pace of new research will continually demand more from the scholar of Roman Egypt.

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Anna Lucille Boozer

C.B. Rose (ed.), *The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion, Royal City of Midas*, Gordion Special Studies 7, Museum Monograph 136, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia 2012, xvii+329 pp., illustrations, map on endpapers, plan in pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-1-934536-48-3

Nach wie vor ist Gordion für die (zentral-) anatolisch-eisenzeitliche Archäologie, Chronologie und infolge Geschichte der Schlüsselort. Nachdem 2011 *The New Chronology of Iron Age Gordion*¹ vorgelegt wurde, ist auch der hier zu besprechende Band, Ergebnis der Tagung *The Archaeology of Phrygian Gordion* von 2007, mustergültig. Es handelt sich um die sorgfältige Überprüfung und Neueinordnung gordischer Funde und Befunde im Licht der revidierten Chronologie. Durchgängig werden Ergebnisse bzw. Interpretationen der Altgrabungen, auch in Bezug auf Pläne und Abbildungen, mit den neuen kontrastiert, so dass Änderungen anschaulich transparent werden. Einen Überblick über die topographische und urbanistische Entwicklung Gordions (Ost-Zitadelle mit befestigten Elitequartieren und 'Western Mound' mit Wohnhäusern, Unterstadt, Außensiedlung; Innovationen: u.a. frühestes Stein-Megaron im Vorderen Orient, frühester Steinmosaikboden, Stadtplanung, Frage nach der Zahl der Stadttore, Wasserversorgung) – zugleich eine Verknüpfung zu den thematischen Einzelbeiträgen – bietet die Einleitung (C.B. Rose).

Folgende Themenkomplexe wurden anschließend bedacht: Hinter 'Mapping and the Landscape' (S. 21–54, Kap. 2–4) verbirgt sich die Kommentierung der (vorläufigen) Neukartierung Gordions (G.H. Pizzorno und G. Darbyshire), die durch mehrere Pläne (Abb. 2.1.–2.8) und dem im hinteren Umschlag beigefügten Phasenplan der Zitadellenarchitektur nicht nur veranschaulicht wird, sondern Modellcharakter für weitere kleinasiatische Fundorte haben dürfte. Weiterhin findet sich ein Beitrag zur Siedlungsgeschichte anhand von Sedimentuntersuchungen des Sangarios/Sakarya (B. Marsh), der irgendwann (19. Jh. n. Chr.?) seinen Lauf entlang der Zitadelle von Ost nach West veränderte. Einbezogen wurde der Aspekt der Holzkohleanalysen (J.M. Marston), die zur Rekonstruktion dienen, für welchen Zweck (Architektur, Möbel u.Ä.) welches Holz (Pinien-, Eichen-, Wachholder-, Obstbaum-, Zedernholz etc.), sei es vor Ort vorhanden gewesen oder importiert worden, benutzt wurde. Zusammen mit dem im letzten Großabschnitt angesiedelten Beitrag 'Working with Nature to Preserve Site and Landscape at Gordion' (S. 243–58) wird damit eine umfassende archaeo-botanische Übersicht vorgelegt.

Die 'Phrygian Citadel' mit den Zeitschnitten früh- (S. 55–126, Kap. 5–8) und mittel- und spätphrygisch (S. 201–24, Kap. 14–15) wird anhand von Funden und Befunden unterschiedlicher Gattungen präsentiert. Hervorzuheben ist die reich ornamentierte frühphrygische Keramik (G.K. Sams) des 9. Jh.s, die durch die Höherdatierung des

¹ C.B. Rose und G. Darbyshire (Hrsg.), *The New Chronology of Iron Age Gordion*, Gordion Special Studies 6 (Philadelphia 2011). Rez. in AWE 13 (2014), 393–95.

‘Destruction level’ auf die Zeit um 800 in (Zentral-)Kleinasien ohne Parallelen ist. Anhand des ‘Unfinished Project’ (M.M. Voigt) können u.a. mittels des überarbeiteten Plans und einer benutzerfreundlichen Namenskonkordanz für die Architekturareale Baumaßnahmen der Phase YHSS 6A detailliert nachvollzogen werden, die auch die wichtige Zitadellen-Toranlage bzw. den Zugang zum Palastviertel tangieren.

Erneut werden die Zeichnungen (‘doodles’), die sich außen an Megaron 2 fanden, in den Fokus genommen (L.E. Roller), als zeitgenössische Zeugnisse für physisches und soziales Leben in den frühen Phasen Gordions. Ähnliches bietet auch die Neubetrachtung der frühen Bronzefibeln und -gürtel (M. Vassileva), die nur einen Teil der beinahe tausend gefundenen Bronzeobjekte Gordions darstellen. Sie illustrieren zudem die bereits früher erkannten weiträumigen phrygischen Kontakte bis bspw. in den Ägäisraum und führen auch in den Bereich der Religion.

Die nach dem verheerenden Schadensfeuer neu aufgebaute ‘Middle and Late Phrygian Citadel’ wird zum einen durch diachrone, bis in die Achaimenidenzeit reichende (auch historische) Betrachtung der südöstlich gelegenen Bauten ‘Building A’ und das ‘Mosaic Building’ (zur Lage vgl. Plan, Abb. 14.1.) repräsentiert (B. Burke), wobei deren Beziehung zum sog. Küçük Höyük, dessen Chronologie und historische Einordnung hier nur gestreift werden, bzw. dem jeweils zeitlich korrespondierenden Konzept der Verteidigungsanlagen späteren Untersuchungen vorbehalten bleiben. Deutlich wird aber beispielhaft, dass in Gordion beachtliche Veränderungen in der Architektur öffentlicher Gebäude zwischen der Midaszeit und der Alexanders d.Gr. vorstattengingen.

Ein zweiter, ebenfalls diachroner Blick auf die mittel- und besonders die spätphrygische Phasen vor Ankunft der Galater um 260 v. Chr. (M.L. Lawall) behandelt (ost-) griechisch-westanatolische (z.B. aus den Gebieten um Lesbos, Klazomenai, Chios), aber auch (südost- und nordwest-) ägäische (z.B. chalkidische und thasische) Keramikimporte ab mitelphrygischer Zeit und die auffallend hohe Anzahl griechischer Amphoren – besonders signifikant aufgrund ihrer Stempelungen – des 4. und frühen 3. Jh.s aus der südpontischen Region, die ihrerseits offenbar Funde aus nordpontischen Siedlungen widerspiegeln, und die zumindest (Handels-)Kontakte mit dem Raum um Herakleia Pontike und entsprechende Überlandrouten, eventuell auch eine Nordroute, anzuzeigen scheinen (zu Routen vgl. auch *Barrington Atlas...* 2000, 86). Ein kleines Detail, ‘the stone-built bin’ (gefüllt mit feinem Ton und zahlreichen Webgewichten), im ‘Operation 46’-Haus (vgl. Abb. 15.1 und 2) lässt den Autor vermuten, dass sich im frühhellenistischen Gordion pontische Bevölkerung aufhielt, da solche ‘bins’ sich häufiger in nordägäischen-, aber vor allem in nordpontisch-frühhellenistischen Hauskontexten fanden.

Unter der Überschrift ‘Midas and Tumulus MM’ (S. 127–200, Kap. 9–13; Plan der Tumulusverbreitung, zwischenzeitlich auf ca. 240, zumeist unausgegrabene Exemplare angewachsen, der Nekropole mit Erdbestattungen: Abb. 9.2.) wurden folgende Beiträge subsumiert: Einer zur phrygischen Grabarchitektur, besonders Tumulus P und MM, mit der detaillierten Beschreibung und Bebilderung einzelner Bauschritte, die vielleicht nicht so lange Zeit in Anspruch nahmen, als man gewöhnlich vermutet, wenn man davon ausgeht, dass es sich um ein gordisches Gemeinschaftsunternehmen handelte, in das vielleicht weitere phrygische Untertanen involviert waren (R.F. Liebhart).

Der folgende Beitrag ist dem langlaufenden ‘Gordion Furniture Project’ gewidmet und behandelt Möbel bzw. hölzerne Artefakte aus Tumulus MM, P und W, mit erkennbaren

Hinweisen auf religiöse Zeremonien bei der königlichen Bestattung wie u.a. Totenmahl oder tragbare Schreine der Göttin Matar, sowie von der Zitadelle (E. Simpson).

Neben den außergewöhnlichen Holzfunden erbrachten die Grabungen Textilreste (M.W. Ballard), deren Muster sich auch in anderen phrygischen Kunsterzeugnissen (Felsfassaden, Holzintarsien, Keramik, Mosaik) wiederfinden. Die Verwendung des Farbpigments Goethit könnte Textilien zu golden wirkendem Aussehen gebracht haben und eine Erklärung für die griechisch überlieferte Fähigkeit König Midas⁴, alles durch Berührung in Gold zu verwandeln, bieten.

Im späten 9. und 8. Jh. wurde offenbar auf einem älteren Friedhof (hethitische Keramik) am westlichen Ende der sog. 'Northeast Ridge', wo sich u.a. auch Tumulus MM befindet, eine kleine, längerfristige, aber unbefestigte Ansiedlung mit eigenem Bestattungsareal, 'the Common Cemetery', errichtet (G.E. Anderson). Hier könnten Spuren einer Zerstörung der Häuser um 700 v. Chr. vielleicht den Kimmerern zugeordnet werden, die bislang für das 'Destruction Level' auf der Zitadelle verantwortlich gemacht wurden.

Ein den Tagungsbeiträgen hinzugefügter, bisher unpublizierter Aufsatz (nur eine kurze Notiz wurde 2002 veröffentlicht) von – neben Ellen Kohler und Crawford H. Greenewalt jr – zu betrauernden Keith DeVries mit Ergänzungen von C.B. Rose nimmt einen Kleinfund und die machtpolitischen Verknüpfungen Phrygiens, Lydiens und einiger griechischer Städte in den Blick. Bei dem Fund handelt es sich um eine Elfenbeinstatue eines Löwenbändigers anatolischer, wenn nicht phrygischer Provenienz aus Delphi, die Teil eines Thrones, vielleicht dem von König Midas geweihten, den Herodot vor Ort gesehen haben will, gewesen sein.

Jede Grabung ist zu Konservierungsmaßnahmen und gegebenenfalls anschaulicher Präsentation des archäologisch erschlossenen Erbes verpflichtet. So nimmt auch das 'Conservation Management at Gordion' in der Publikation einen angemessenen Raum ein (S. 225–76, Kap. 16–18), veranschaulicht durch die Beiträge 'Resurrection Gordion: Conservation as Interpretation and Display of a Phrygian Capital' (F. Matero) und 'Working with Nature to Preserve Site and Landscape at Gordion' (N.F. Miller). Letzterer zeigt bemerkenswerte Überlegungen bzw. bereits unternommene Aktivitäten, mittels Vegetationsmanagement das archaeo-touristische Gordion, Zitadelle und umgebende Landschaft, mit einheimischen Pflanzen sinnvoll und durchdacht zu pflegen, zu präsentieren und zu schützen.

Etwas verwirrend im Kontext erscheint der historisch anmutende Titel 'Gordion Through Lydian Eyes' (C.H. Greenewalt jr). Es ist der prononcierte, lehrreiche Blick von außen, der mit Kennerschaft sich in einen Lyder des mittleren 6. Jh.s versetzt, der dem phrygischen Gordion einen ausführlichen Besuch abstattet und dieses mit seiner Heimatstadt Sardeis bzw. der umgebenden lydischen Landschaft vergleicht, Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede erzählerisch unter Einbeziehung antiker Texte benennt, tägliches Leben sichtbar macht. Abgesehen davon werden die vielen Lücken relativierend betont, die in beiden Grabungsplätzen sich noch auftun, trotz der langen Reihe der Ausgräber, in Gordion beginnend um 1900 mit den Gebrüdern Körte, denen zusammen mit ihren Leistungen gedacht wird, vielleicht besonders eindrucklich, weil ein 'Externer' dies niederschrieb.

Eine umfassende Bibliographie, Kurzviten der Autoren, eine türkische Zusammenfassung, ein sehr sorgfältiges und differenziertes Register, selbst mit Verweisen auf

Anmerkungen, Abbildungen usw., und die Liste der zitierten antiken ‚klassischen‘ Autoren vervollständigen das Buch.

Der dem Andenken Ellen Kohlers gewidmete Tagungsband ist ein gelungener Rechenschaftsbericht über die jüngeren Arbeiten in Gordion, seien sie archäologisch-historischer, naturwissenschaftlicher, konservatorischer etc. Natur einerseits und andererseits ein dichter Überblick über die phrygischen Perioden vom 11. bis zum 4. Jh. v. Chr. des Ortes. Die Zusammenschau der neuen Ergebnisse aus unterschiedlichen Disziplinen, hervorzuheben die revidierten Übersichtspläne und der differenzierte Plan des City Mound, transparent eingebettet in die Erkenntnisse über die chronologischen Veränderungen, besonders signifikant die Höherdatierung des ‘Destruction Level’ (= ‘Early Phrygian Destruction’) nunmehr auf die Zeit um 800 v. Chr., ermöglicht eine umfassende Information über den zentralanatolischen Königssitz, seine urbanistische Entwicklung über sechs Jahrhunderte, die erkennbaren Nah- und Fernkontakte, die Interaktionen zwischen Bevölkerung und umgebender Landschaft mit den nunmehr über 200–240 erkannten Tumuli, und zur Flora, namentlich den unterschiedlichen Baum- und Pflanzenarten. Bemerkenswert ist die heute keinesfalls selbstverständliche reiche Ausstattung mit Fotos, Umzeichnungen, Graphiken, Tabellen, Synopsen, Karten, Plänen und ihre sorgfältige Beschriftung. Dass nicht alles bedacht werden konnte und manche Gattungen wenig Erwähnung fanden, lässt hoffen, dass weitere Tagungen und Veröffentlichungen dieser Art zu Gordion folgen.

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S. Salah, *Die Mittelassyrischen Personen- und Rationenlisten aus Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu*, Berichte der Ausgrabung Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad/Dūr-Katlimmu, Band 18, Texte 6, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2014, lxxiv+455 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-10243-8

This monograph is an edition, analysis and synthesis of 81 Middle Assyrian documents from the Assyrian provincial capital of Dūr-Katlimmu (modern Tall Šēḫ Ḥamad) on the lower Habur. Almost all of these documents were found *in situ* during controlled excavations: 79 texts are kept in the Museum of Dēr ez-Zōr and only two reached private collections. The texts are lists of persons, especially individuals who received rations of cereals (exceptionally as an addition, chickpeas, see p. 202 *ad* no. 46; all the references below are to the book under review unless otherwise indicated). They cover a period of 52 years (1271–1220 BC), i.e. during the reigns of Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Ninurta I. They contain *ca.* 750 names referring to about 1000 different individuals, which form a relatively compact documentation given the fact that they span merely two generations. These were mostly dependent people who belonged to the palatial sector.

The work, which begins with bibliographical lists (including abbreviations, catalogue and concordances, pp. xiii–lvii), consists of eight uneven chapters.

The text editions (Chapter VIII) form the bulk of the book (pp. 67–331): each text is presented by a definition, copy, transliteration, commentary and remarks. This is followed by almost exhaustive indexes, sign list, photographs of all the tablets, as well as an introduction, summary and title pages in Arabic.

The first two chapters deal mainly with the class of dependent agricultural workers (*šiluhlu*). They might have been mostly indigenous. Their theophorous names containing Adad, who was the main deity of the Habur region, greatly outnumber those with Aššur (a tendency which continued in the Neo-Assyrian period). They emulated the hegemonic Assyrian culture: most of them bore Assyrian anthroponyms, including individuals whose paternal or maternal names are foreign (mostly Hurrian). Judging from their gentilics *Šubriū* and *Habhāyu* (no. 2, 55, 59a),¹ the foreign members of this class originated from predominantly Hurrian-speaking regions in the north. They all bore non-Semitic names (for example, the Hurrian *Te-le-eb-ši-ni* and *Pi-ra-di*). The same applies to *Muṣriāyu* (p. 69, n. 1). Hurrian anthroponyms are, for example, ^f*A-ri-hu-ul-di*, *A-ri-pap-ni*, *Ar-si-rat-tal*, *Ba-ri-at-tal*, ^f*Tu-ul-zi-na-tal*, *Eh-li-te-šu-up*, ^f*Ha-bur-e-li*, ^f*Na/Nu-bar-e-li*, ^f*Šu-a-re-li*, ^f*Ši-ni-ša-li*, *Ip-ši*, *Pa-an-ba*, *Pu-hi*, *Ta-gi*, *Ta-ha-ka*, and perhaps *Lu-uk-se-e'-ni*. *Ma-an-za* (nos. 28, 27; 74, 24') is perhaps Elamite. The author discusses the evidence for the size of families, the role of females, estimates of the general population on the lower Habur during the time of the pertinent Middle Assyrian documentation (1260–1080 BC), cases of social mobility (albeit limited) and longevity (pp. 1–2). Dependent workmen were mobilised in order to participate in construction projects outside the region. They received rations (Chapter III). Chapter IV is essentially a discussion of the documentation and roles of six functionaries in descending order of prominence, *viz.* the vizier or great vizier (*sukallu*, *s. rabû*, certain bearers of this title were also provincial governors, commanders of fifty or flock-masters), provincial governor (*bēl/ša pāhete*, who did not bear the title of vizier), inspector (*qēpu*, in one case a eunuch), who apparently was sent from the capital, (palace) steward (*mašennu*), scribe (*tupšarru*, no. 28, where the scribe's name has a mistake, was perhaps written by an apprentice) and column leader (*zāriqu*). Apart from this, the administrative lists contain very little general information about the elite of Dūr-Katlimmu. The lower stratum of the free citizens was not monolithic; the following occupations are recorded (*cf.* p. 51, n. 433, where also status designations are explained): gardener (nos. 28, 29, *cf.* no. 56, concerning beets, coriander and cummin), fowler (no. 28, 27), maltester (*bāqilu*: *DUMU* ~, nos. 74, 10; 75, 55; does *E-te-ni* of *DUMU* ~ in no. 28, 40 render a variant of *etinnu* 'builder?'), brewer, baker (nos. 28, 34, 36), carpenter (no. 29, 20), and boatman (with Tigris as a theophorous element: no. 27, 12). The chief farmer *Šilli-apil-šarre* belonged to the palatial sector if to judge from his name ('in the shade of the crown prince'). His youngest daughter, a suckling, is listed as *Abāt-ahh[ēš]a* (no. 40, 9–14) 'her brothers' sister'. Is it a real name or an *ad hoc* designation for an as yet unnamed newborn child? Bow-makers (27, 8) were found also among the dependent workmen (no. 2, 43). A slinger is recorded among a group from Duāra which had to fulfil their *ilku*-obligation (see p. 303 *ad* no. 74, 37'). The female weavers, who received rations of wool for weaving various types of garments, were also dependent like the millers (nos. 2, 44; 42, 41; see pp. 41–43). Both occupations were pursued by members of the lowest class throughout ancient history. Donkey drivers were palace servants (no. 56, 9). The dependent workmen are classified according to seven age categories ranging from sucklings to old people. The chronology of the texts is discussed in Chapter VI, while Chapter VII is about palaeography and grammar.

¹ A comma after a text number precedes line numbers.

Woman belonging to Assyrians were abducted by the Sutean clan of *Ni-ih-sa-na-iu* (a gentilic of a name ending in *-n*, with dissimilation *Ni-ih-sa-ár*, cf. p. 248 with n. 897) and scorned by the *D/Ṭa-ba-ia-ú* Suteans (also a gentilic, see p. 41 *ad* no. 58, 57–59). Suteans were generally hostile to the Assyrian authorities (cf. p. 274 with n. 942) and very few of them were incorporated into the palatial system.

Individual Suteans are only dependent females, almost all bearing Akkadian names (the theophorous ones mostly containing Ištar): a member of the family of Damqat-Tašmētu and Riš-Bēl from Duāra (once sent to Šadikuani, no. 8). The others were A-ga-i-‘tu’, her daughter and son; *Šu-ub-ri-tu* (‘Subarreal’ = ‘Hurrian’, presumably a physiognomic designation here) and Ramât-Šerūā; Uqartu and her daughter of Qibi-Adad’s household; Rēš-šatte daughter of Ubru and her daughter of Bābu-aha-iddina’s household; Ištar-rē-iat and her daughter of Riš-Adad’s household from HAR-ba-ni (no. 58, 37–43, 51–56); as well as Ištar-kimūya and her daughter from Dūr-Katlimmu, belonging to the supplementary personnel (*mulā’u*) of the flock-master Eriba-Sîn (p. 284 with n. 959 *ad* no. 69, 27). The only Sutean bearing a West Semitic name is *Za-bi-ba-a²* mother of *Amat-ili* (*Amtu*, Akkadian-West Semitic, p. 383 with references, p. 226 *ad* no. 53, 35 with n. 861). The number of West Semitic anthroponyms is negligible: *Ab-di* (no. 30, 33), *Qa-na-a* (fem., no. 58, 31), *Ha-i-la* (father of Aššur- [...], no. 34, 25) *Ha-lu-la-a* (no. 58, 27) and *Ú-da-mul-me* (p. 381c with references). Amorite toponymic survivals are *Dūr-Katlimmu*, *Šu-bat-te*, *Qattun* and *Nahur*; other West Semitic toponyms are Abilāte (p. 273, n. 935) and *Rahhābu* (p. 344a with references, cf. p. 155 with n. 720). Almost all the free farmers from the last place bear Akkadian names, cf. perhaps *Rahba* on the middle Euphrates.³ All the 12 individuals from *[Ta]midīni/Tamadīna* (West Semitic) bore Akkadian names (p. 183). Among the 52 individuals from [...]bu there are two explicit Hanean females, viz. ^{f.kur}Ku-ni-m[a-tu] from ^{‘uru’kur}Hāni and ^{f.kur}Ha-na-i-‘tu’ (‘Hanean’, no. 40, 40, 49, 60–69). ^fKap-ra-i-tu (p. 363b with references, originally a gentilic) is based on **Kapru* (< West Semitic). *Hattāyu* ‘Hittite’ had a father with an Akkadian name (see p. 322 *ad* nos. 76, 49; 77, 3”); was his mother from Hatti?

We are grateful to Saqer Salah for his important contribution to Middle-Assyrian studies.

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Ran Zadok

S. Samiei, *Ancient Persia in Western History: Hellenism and the Representation of the Achaemenid Empire*, International Library of Iranian Studies 47, I.B.Tauris, London/ New York 2014, xviii+315 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78076-480-1

The title of Sasan Samiei’s volume is slightly misleading; the breadth of reading behind it extraordinary. Its prime focus is on the work of the British archaeologist, anthropologist and ancient historian Sir John Linton Myres (1869–1954), and also his pupil Vere Gordon Childe, as a tool to explore how ‘Persian civilization was characterised during the “high”

² Cf. H.D. Baker, *Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire* 3/2 (Helsinki 2011), 1429b, *s.v.* *Zabībē*.

³ With a different nominal formation, not recorded before the Islamic period, see E. Honigmann and T. Bianquis, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 8, new ed. (Leiden 1995), 393–96.

Indo-Europeanism of the first 40 years of the twentieth century' (p. 10). The book derives from S.'s doctoral dissertation.

S. is fully aware that today's Persians/Iranians (such as himself) are not ethnically the same as those of classical antiquity (p. xviii), an admission that the inhabitants of lands nearer east to us might usefully echo in respect of their own ancestry. He opens in his Preface with a broadside on the 'Europe' and 'Asia' dichotomy and the related 'racial othering', and the popular and populist works on page and screen that peddle 'a fallacious *idée fixe* [of] "East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet"' (pp. xv–xviii), with pot shots particularly at R. Lane Fox and P. Cartledge. Overall, we are all Indo-European, it is simply that some were further west than others in the period considered. Just as Myres, whose work drew on a variety of disciplines, not least geography, and was informed by his abiding interest in science, cast the Graeco-Iranian world and its wars within a Near Eastern political space and a larger Indo-European *oikumene* (p. 236).

Introduction and conclusions book-end six chapters: 'Setting the Scene: Anthropology, Linguistics and Romantic Hellenism in Victorian Britain'; 'The "Race–Culture" Debate: 1900s–1930s'; 'The "Diffusion vs. Evolutionism" Theoretical Debate, Gordon Childe and the Prehistory of Europe'; 'Hellenism Reassessed (1890–1940s)' (two chapters); and 'Hellenisms and the Historiography of Ancient Persia'.

The Introduction moves from the fearful counterfactuals of others ('what if the Greeks had lost at Salamis?'), through methodology and terminology ('Persia' or 'Iran' or...), to structure. 'Setting the Scene...' discusses the various 18th- and 19th-century versions of Greece and the Greeks, not least under German Romantic and other influences, with the preoccupations of the then present and prophecies for the future ever present. Then on to the prospective divisions of Hellenism into the aesthetic Hellenism still embedded in the art historian's obsession with sculpture, Myres's multidisciplinary 'scientific' Hellenism, in which the tools and prevalent theories and practices developed in the study of race, language and religious beliefs were brought into play, all at a time when European powers at their zenith were self-referencing through the prism of ancient Greece and their (somewhat self-selecting) understanding of it – and letting this understanding infuse or confuse their understanding of Persia, ancient and contemporary – and 'Nietzschean' Hellenism. Myres had Herodotus as his constant companion, regarding him as the 'father' of anthropology as much as of history on account of his copious ethnological descriptions.

Race and culture, especially when muddled with modern ideas of nationality, have produced various and varied asinine questions on modern census returns from Britain to Australia. Equally muddled a century ago was anthropology with eugenics (a fashionably progressive discipline suggesting ways to human improvement). The spectrum of the 'Race–Culture' debate (Chapter 3), from races (vastly different from the scientific and popular conception) and breeds to cultures and peoples, brings in many leading figures of the early 20th century: Pitt-Rivers (G.H. not Augustus), J.B.S. Haldane and Childe, who is considered at greater length in Chapter 4 as the prehistorian of Europe *par excellence*, where his balancing act between diffusionism (tilting towards it in the 1930s and beyond) and evolutionism (giving it more weight in the 1920s) is pored over.

In Chapters 5 and 6, aesthetic Hellenism – beauty, truth and perfection, with the work Gilbert Murray as exemplar – is juxtaposed with scientific Hellenism (through the work of Myres, its principal begetter, and an examination of the intellectual influences on Myres:

Ranke, and notably R.G. Collingwood's philosophy of history), to reveal the deep division between the anthropological and non-anthropological approaches to the study of antiquity. And throughout we have to consider the terminology: what did writers of the first half of the last century mean by race (biological?), culture, peoples (for Myres a 'complex amalgam of "race" and "culture"', p. 241), and how does this link to more recent developments in evolutionary biology and genetics? Chapter 7 considers doublethink and paradox in the 'Hellenist' historiography of Achaemenid Persia, from the most unreconstructed Hellenocentrism (occidental freedom *vs* oriental despotism, the *mission civilisatrice* of Alexander the Great – a triumphalist narrative still popular today) to more subtle expressions, but all conducted within a historiographical consensus based on a small body of classical sources, housed within the penumbra of aesthetic Hellenism, often infused with a dose of presentism, and seemingly unaware of various Semitic civilisations of the Near East endowed with forms of government far from the caricature oriental despotism. (Heresy to suggest 'democracy' has any origins but Greek.)

The text concludes with a short survey of recent publications and developments in Indo-European studies; there are brief biographies of the principal characters.

Overall, an interesting exercise, sometimes over-analysing, sometimes hard going, and quite a lot to digest.

In addition to heartfelt thanks to his supervisor, Amélie Kuhrt, S. gives well-deserved credit to the esteemable Colin Harris, for more than a generation the enthusiastic and informative face of modern archives at the Bodleian (where many of his nominal superiors prefer to skulk behind the scenes).

Leeds, UK

James Hargrave

H. Sedlmayer, with contributions by S. Groh, G. Kremer, E. Pichler and U. Schachinger, *Große Thermen, Palästra, Macellum und Schola im Zentrum der Colonia Carnuntum*, Zentraleuropäische Archäologie 5, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Vienna 2015, 471 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-900305-74-1/ISSN 2218-6433

Septimius Severus was hailed as emperor in AD 197 at the legionary fortress at Carnuntum on the Danube, and the elevation of the adjoining town from the rank of *municipium* to *colonia* honoured this. In the present volume Helga Sedlmayer and her collaborators give a detailed account of the great bath building, with its adjacent *palaestra*, *schola* (identified by the dedicatory inscription found there of Lucius Octavius Faustianus for the *collegium fratrum Karnuntensium*) and enclosed market building (*macellum*), which was an appropriate embellishment of the city and its new status. This account is based on the long series of Austrian excavations, originating in the late 19th century and conducted extensively in the post-war period. This is an exemplary account, with full details not only of the buildings and the necessary water supply but also the material found (and excellently recorded) in the excavations.

From this, the possibility of imperial involvement appears somewhat mixed. S. suggests that the person responsible for the development was L. Fabius Cilo, a close associate of the emperor, *Legatus Augustorum pro Praetore Provinciae Pannoniae Superioris* AD 197–201/202 and subsequently *Praefectus Urbi* at Rome (202–211). The *macellum*, certainly, recalls the

comparable building at Lepcis Magna, Severus' home town, with similar octagonal *tholoi* (one at least a fountain) in its internal space. The baths, however, do not have any of the symmetry and coherence of the great Imperial Thermae at Rome, Trajan's and, of course, Caracalla's, an almost exact contemporary of the Carnuntum building. In comparison, the baths at Carnuntum are architecturally confused and very much of the type found generally in the north-western provinces of the empire. S. draws out this point in her detailed analysis of the Carnuntum bath building and comparison with other bath structures in Chapter 3.

The bath building comprises essentially an eastern and western section separated by a continuous wall in which the linking doorways cannot always be accurately placed. The eastern section contains the grand *frigidarium* with an adjacent and substantial swimming pool. Heated areas (predominately in the western section) can be identified by their hypocausts and adjacent furnaces. There are traces of marble architectural embellishment in the eastern section though not enough to give any idea of its form or sequences. Fragments of glass indicate windows, with some evidence for the window openings surviving in the stonework.

The whole complex appears to have had a comparatively brief history. It was laid out around the time that Severus became emperor in an area between the forum and the Danube, where earlier buildings were removed and the site levelled up. The bath building and the other structures were very badly damaged by fire in the second third of the 3rd century, having functioned for only around 75 years. The ruins were then taken over by industrial and related occupation. Over the course of time the whole area was stripped of reusable materials. Only one of the portico columns of the *macellum* was found in the excavations out of an original total estimated to have numbered some 30 or 40.

S. gives a very thorough and inclusive account of these structures. Each room is assigned a number (Arabic for the bath building, Latin for the *macellum* and *schola*) with its form and the material found in its excavation described, giving a firm basis for the chronological assessment. Equally valuable is the discussion of the overall form and arrangement, with a comprehensive range of comparisons with bath buildings from different parts of the empire. Appendices give references for the earlier publication of different elements in the structures, and there is a very useful and full account of the coarse-ware pottery.

From all this a clear impression of the buildings and their place in the wider ranges of Roman architecture emerge. Clearly, in the bath building the emphasis was entirely on the internal arrangement, management and embellishment of the structure. Surrounded by the walls that surround the entire block it was never intended to create a major impression when viewed from the neighbouring streets. The reconstruction of the external appearance of the complex (Fig. 285, reproduced on the cover) is made from an inaccessible elevation which would have been impossible, and so not making any visual impact within the town itself, though it may well have been more impressive when viewed from the Danube, that is, from outside the limits of the town (and even the empire). Even within the precinct however, in the adjacent palaestra it seems unlikely that there was any attempt to create a significant architectural effect. The emphasis, in the bath building, the palaestra, the *schola* and the *macellum* alike was on the internal effect, whether in the enclosed courtyard of the *macellum* or the sequence of rooms in the bath building. The survival of minimal fragments only of the internal embellishment of the baths means it is impossible to reconstruct and appreciate the original appearance and effect of its individual spaces.

Even if the bath building did not have the symmetry and carefully planned form of the great Imperial *Thermae* at Rome, comparison with similar structures in other areas of the Roman empire indicates clearly the importance that was placed on the embellishment of the newly elevated *colonia* by the construction of such a substantial building. It must have been judged an important contribution to the status of this frontier city: its relatively short life, and the failure to resurrect it after its late 3rd-century AD destruction is indicative of the changing fortunes and attitudes of the empire.

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M. Seymour, *Babylon: Legend, History and the Ancient City*, I.B. Tauris, London/New York 2014, xv+360 pp., 2 maps and 16 pp. of plates. Cased. ISBN 978-1-84885-701-8

Voici un livre agréable à lire et instructif, quoiqu'issu d'une thèse universitaire. L'auteur y décrit les bénéfices qu'il a tirés de son expérience dans l'organisation de l'une des trois expositions majeures qui furent consacrées à Babylone, à Paris, au Musée du Louvre, à Berlin, au Pergamon Museum, enfin à Londres, au British Museum. Les trois expositions, chacune à sa manière, tentèrent tout à la fois de faire revivre la ville antique dans son contexte, avec la créativité qui en marqua la longue histoire, et la perception qu'en eurent les autres, tous les autres, dans le long temps de l'histoire universelle.

Après avoir offert un abrégé de l'histoire antique de la ville, jusqu'à sa lente disparition, après les ravages causés par les Parthes, il rappelle la mémoire qu'en ont eue les auteurs bibliques et classiques. Car Babylone git, engloutie sous son propre mythe que ces derniers véhiculèrent à l'envie. À leur témoignage vient s'ajouter aujourd'hui celui de l'archéologie. Les fouilles du site débutèrent en 1899 sous l'autorité de Robert Koldewey; une étape importante consista dans la reconstruction de la porte d'Ishtar par Walter Andrae en 1930, à Berlin. Avec l'archéologie, le mythe commença à s'incarner dans la réalité.

Depuis lors, Babylone et son écriture cunéiforme, oubliée depuis plus de deux millénaires et redécouverte au milieu du XIXe s., fascine les populations. Alfred Döblin, dans *Babylonische Wandlung...*,¹ raconte la visite commentée que le docteur Rumstädt de Brême, assistant archéologue, fait faire sans le savoir à Marduk, revenu sur terre sous le nom de Conrad. 'Ils caquetaient en babylonien, à faire se plier de jalousie toutes les inscriptions cunéiformes du sous-sol.' Finalement, le docteur Rumstädt raconte à son hôte la prise de Babylone par Sennachérib, et Döblin de s'interroger: 'Conrad ne savait-il donc pas tout cela? Mais ce n'était pas encore entré en lui. Tout devrait d'abord s'accomplir'.

Certes, la ville n'avait jamais été oubliée. Des voyageurs, de l'antiquité aux temps modernes, en hantèrent les espaces et en livrèrent des descriptions qui, à mesure que le temps passait, se faisaient de plus en plus précises. Au siècle des lumières, des hommes de lettres s'emparèrent des histoires rapportées à son propos pour en faire des œuvres théâtrales, les légendes concernant la Bagdad des califes abbassides en enjolivant les traits.

Au milieu du XIXe s., l'accumulation des connaissances fut telle que les sociétés européennes exigèrent l'organisation de véritables fouilles archéologiques; celles-ci débutèrent

¹ B.A. Döblin, *Babylonische Wandlung oder Hochmut kommt vor dem Fall* (Amsterdam 1934).

l'année où Verdi créait Nabucho à la Scala de Milan! Babylone elle-même ne commença à être fouillée qu'à l'extrême fin de ce même siècle, sous l'égide des archéologues allemands, commandités par la Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, sous l'égide du Kaiser qui venait de renforcer les liens entre le jeune empire germanique et l'empire ottoman; il revint tout naturellement aux Allemands de fouiller l'antique capitale de la Mésopotamie! Comme le souligne M. Seymour, jusqu'aux années 1940, l'archéologie et l'orientalisme allemands n'échappèrent pas aux thèses raciales qui fleurirent dans le pays.

Depuis lors, Babylone et la Mésopotamie ne cessent de vivre toujours davantage dans la conscience des populations. Ainsi, en France, l'Épopée de Gilgamesh est-elle devenue, dans ses diverses traductions, le best-seller de la littérature étrangère.

On regrette quelques lacunes:

- peu de cas est fait de la tour de Babel; lire, par contre, J.-J. Glassner, 'Autour de l'épisode babélien...'² Franz Kafka, informé de la désagréable surprise des archéologues allemands qui, en 1913, découvrirent les maigres restes de la tour, émergeant difficilement de la nappe phréatique, s'exclame, en 1920, dans un aphorisme célèbre, 'nous creusons la fosse de Babel', pour dire la vacuité des entreprises humaines.
- parmi les auteurs grecs, il est fait trop peu de cas d'Athénée de Naucratis, l'auteur des *Deipnosophistes*, qui propose une véritable anthropologie des monarques efféminés orientaux.
- Les thèses raciales ne sont pas limitées à l'Allemagne; on est effondré de lire, sous la plume de Fernand Braudel, dans *Les Mémoires de la Méditerranée*, ouvrage publié après sa mort, entre autre, le passage suivant, sur les Hittites, insistant sur leur caractère pacifique, à l'opposé des autres:

Est-ce un tort que d'imaginer un peuple honnête, courageux, les pieds bien sur terre, gai, amoureux de danse et de musique, tendre à l'égard des animaux et des enfants? De charmantes sculptures montrent le jeune prince jouant debout sur les genoux de la reine, ou venant lui présenter ses exercices d'écriture. Un peuple naïf encore qui se chauffe au soleil des grandes civilisations proches et, peu à peu, fabrique ses conventions impériales. (...) Souverain d'un peuple de guerriers, il est de ceux cependant qui choisirent plus souvent les voies de la diplomatie que celles de la guerre pour atteindre leurs fins et l'on a remarqué, chez les Hittites, l'absence de cruauté guerrière qui marque toute l'époque, même l'Égypte, et qui se fera terrifiante, plus tard, chez les Assyriens. Un dernier trait, significatif: le statut social des femmes qui – on l'attendait peu de ce peuple de soldats – semble aussi libéral que celui de la Crète.³

- Il manque toute l'histoire de la redécouverte, au cours de la seconde moitié du XIXe s., de la Mésopotamie par les archéologues et les philologues.⁴

² J.-J. Glassner, 'Autour de l'épisode babélien: lettrés hébreux et lettrés babyloniens, influences ou polémiques?'. *Semitica et Classica* 4 (2011), 17–22.

³ *Les Mémoires de la Méditerranée* (Paris 1998), 250–51.

⁴ Voir J.-J. Glassner, *La Tour de Babylone, Que reste-t-il de la Mésopotamie* (Paris 2003).

Inversement, des sources inédites apportent un complément d'informations, comme les archives de l'abbé Joseph de Beauchamp, vicaire de Bagdad, et qui visita Babylone vers 1780 (corriger ainsi dans le texte), conservées à la British Library.

Paris, France

Jean-Jacques Glassner

A.H. Sommerstein and I.C. Torrance, with contributions by A.J. Bayliss, J. Fletcher, K. Konstantinidou and L.A. Kozak, *Oaths and Swearing in Ancient Greece*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 307, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2014, x+463 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-020059-1/ISSN 1616-0452

This collaborative volume featuring studies by six authors and edited by Alan Sommerstein and Isabelle Torrance is one of several publications produced as part of the ten-year-long research project, 'The Oath in Archaic and Classical Greece', housed at the University of Nottingham. S. and T. is paradigmatic of such long term and focused projects. In a field cluttered with 'companions', S. and T. is the antidote; the authors of this volume treat their subject from many useful perspectives logically related to one another in short focused studies that make reference to those on neighbouring pages. The only drawback of this kind of unity is that there are repetitions, particularly in considerations of foundational or particularly famous examples of oaths (Homeric oaths, Euripides' *Hippolytus* 612, Sophoclean oaths). This small amount of duplication is much to be preferred to capricious disunity with a light editorial touch.

S. and T. is essential reading for scholars of ancient Greek rhetoric, discourse, law and Old Comedy, due to the preponderance of oaths in Aristophanes. As a study of a legal, social, discursive and religious practice in Greek culture, it draws conclusions about that culture that will be of interest to those not strictly concerned with oaths or types of speech and argument. It begins with a presentation by S. on the definition of oath in objective English terms, 'a declaration whose credibility is fortified by a conditional self-curse', which goes on to associate the ancient Greek concept, *hórkos*, with the related ideas of *ómnumi/omnuō*, *pístis* and *marturía*. This is an excellent beginning to a book whose authors cannot be distinguished according to the intellectual rigour of their respective chapters or sections (of which there are 57 under 15 chapter headings, followed by a bibliography, a useful index locorum and a general index). The studies are informative, stimulating and well organised throughout.

From here, S. and T. moves on to Konstantinidou's account of the divine aspects of oaths and curses, and Oath as a god. The reader is hereby served notice that the religious aspects of oaths will be a central theme of the volume. This is a surprising and not unwelcome characteristic of S. and T., clearly the result of logical authorial and editorial decisions, but it leads to a dynamic I was not expecting, and that is that philology takes a backseat to the study of religion throughout. We learn of divinised Oath and Curses on p. 8, but wait until p. 76 for S.'s discussion of the syntax and diction of oaths, a short section that belongs immediately following his introduction. Oath is one of the limited number of ways ancient Greeks thought they could communicate with gods, and the only religious practice shared between humans and gods (typically gods do not pray, sacrifice, pour libations, set up dedications, or commission curse tablets), although divine oaths take

different forms, typically sworn by powers that are older than the god swearing (T., pp. 195–96). Oath is thus imperative to the study of Greek religion, and scholars of this subject will benefit much from this volume.

Beyond this, the ambit of the volume proceeds to the intricate relationship of oaths, swearing and curses in drama and forensic oratory (Konstantinidou), and to oaths in myth, the epic cycle (a locus of repetitions in S. and T.), and aetiologies (T.). From here, S. and T. treats oaths among friends, enemies (Kozak) and business partners (S.), where we learn that oaths are common between enemies and among friends whose relationships are strained, since an oath inherently implies mistrust, but almost non-existent among business partners, because ‘if you don’t trust the other party to a deal, why are you making a deal with him at all?’ (S. 67). Treatments of the syntactic and lexical details of oaths (S.), the Sophoclean oath, where an unsworn statement is later referred to as having been sworn (T.), and the Eideshort phenomenon, where ‘sacred oath-objects’ are sworn to instead of gods (T., p. 112), follow.

T.’s Chapter 6, ‘Ways to give oaths extra sanctity’, is particularly important as it addresses the phenomenon of touching altars, tables and other sacred objects as one swears oaths, *spondai* ‘libations, treaty, truce’ and oaths in diplomacy, and the remarkable phenomenon of oath-sacrifices, which are not eaten and in Homer lack the use of fire (pp. 138–39), and feature the suggestive diction *hórkia témnēin* ‘to cut (sc. swear, affirm) oaths’ (p. 141). Each of these discussions, and the discussion of their combined use that rounds off the chapter, reveal new aspects of oath-taking. We learn that ‘raising hands to heaven or laying them on the earth could similarly add solemnity to an oath’ (p. 144), and that the women (men in dramatic character) of the *Lysistrata* may or may not have drunk the wine when they swore an oath over a ‘sacrificed’ jar of Thasian vintage (p. 142, with Fletcher offering an alternative view on p. 162). T. shows that in various Greek authors oaths are sworn between Greeks and non-Greeks (pp. 152, 154), and rightly comments on the interoperability of Greek and foreign oath traditions in Greek literature.

Next, Fletcher takes on the topic of women swearing oaths – fascinating because of the rarity of oaths sworn by women in extant sources. ‘Ceremonial promises’ were sometimes sworn by women, especially when taking roles as priestesses or in rituals (p. 157). Fletcher implicitly disagrees with T. on the dynamics of the oath sacrifice of wine in *Lysistrata*, saying that the women do indeed drink the wine, but that this depiction of an oath involves ‘so many allusions and parodies fused together’ that it is not revealing of historical practices (p. 162). Only one female ruler affirms an alliance by oath; Artemisia II of Caria, alongside her male co-regent, swears an alliance with a city in Lycia. In Herodotus, Tomyris, Queen of the Massagetai, swears an oath that Cyrus will get his fill of blood. Fletcher goes into detail about the worth of women’s oaths, considered less valuable or binding than those of men, and while women could swear oaths on behalf of male relatives in legal jeopardy, they rarely did so. A common oath sworn by women is the oath of silence, sworn by Eurycleia and Helen in the *Odyssey*, and by the chorus in Euripides’ *Iphigeneia at Tauris*.

Bayliss considers all oaths sworn by slaves in the extant sources, whether these were considered reliable, and whether the statements sworn were true. The result is a study that is very revealing about the nature of Greek slavery. Like oaths by women, oaths by slaves are rare because ‘slaves simply lacked the opportunity to swear oaths given the roles they

played in society. Slaves were kinless, stateless, property, and spent their days labouring for their owners' (p. 180). Charts of all examples in this limited corpus, 15 oaths sworn by slaves and 13 oaths sworn to slaves, are useful in the analysis and will be quick aids to the study of this issue by readers.

Returning to religion, T. conducts a lively study of the oaths of the gods revealing all nuances of Styx as oath-guarantor, the combination of Styx with Gaia and Ouranos (pre-existing powers) as the oath-guarantors of divine swearing formulae in epic, and that oaths taken 'by the head of Zeus' are implicitly associated with chastity (pp. 195–98). Hermes gets special attention as the master manipulator of oath language in his Homeric hymn, as does Odysseus as the recipient of oaths from the goddesses Circe and Calypso.

Kozak's study of oaths and characterisation in Homer reveals many interesting facts about Achilles and Odysseus, such as Achilles' unique use of *ou mē* and *naì mē* among Homeric characters, and the dynamic of Odysseus' swearing in disguise, where the things he swears to are some of the only truth he tells, but his sworn statements are not believed, akin to the oaths of slaves. Early in this study the concept of priority in Homeric epic is introduced, but this is entirely unpersuasive as an analytical tool in interpreting the meaning of *eúchomai* (*Iliad* 1. 91) or the audience's reaction to Achilles' unusual oath formulae (*Iliad* 1. 86). Any ancient Greek audience hearing a performance of *Iliad* 1, or reading it, would be familiar both with events and characterisation through speech in the rest of the epic and with the biographies of the same characters outside the epic. Therefore, saying that we cannot know the precise meaning and valence of an utterance of Achilles that occurs in Book 1 because of its priority (because the reader or audience has not yet encountered the rest of the epic) is unfounded. Very interesting discussions of oaths and gestures between Achilles and Priam and Achilles and Hector conclude the section on Achilles.

S. and T. moves on to S.'s study of oaths in oratory and rhetoric, to a long discussion by Bayliss on the variety of oath-avoidance strategies, and S.'s consideration of the binding power of oaths, where we hear that the oaths of lovers were famously exempted from normal sanction for violation. T. then considers divine responses to perjury, and Konstantinidou considers human responses.

In Chapter 13, S. studies the massive corpus of informal oaths (1562 examples), considering their seriousness and binding force, correctly treating this as a feature of ancient Greek discourse, where in some instances oaths were nothing more than a figure of speech weak in semantics. The excursus on Socrates' oaths to Hera is especially rewarding (pp. 327–30). Aristophanes' *Clouds* provides an example of contradictory swearing unparalleled in Greek literature, part of the characterisation of Pheidippides as an utterly unreliable and impious person. S. concludes that informal oaths likely did not expect divine punishment if broken or perjured.

In Chapter 13a, oaths sworn by authors reveal aspects of poetics, rhetoric and self-presentation strategies (T.), with special focus on Pindar, Bacchylides and Xenophon. We see from this that epinician is the genre in which swearing in the authorial person was most at home.

The study concludes with a useful account of the Hippocratic oath (T.), which survives in some form today, and is unusual as a religious text in an otherwise secular corpus, and an account by S. on whether, and how, the use of the oath changed or declined as the

Classical period gave way to the Hellenistic. Oaths were treated with increased caution in the fourth century, but remained in legal and religious practice, as they remained in informal discourse.

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J. Steinhauer, *Religious Associations in the Post-Classical Polis*, Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 50, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2013, 189 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-10646-7

L'intitulé de cet ouvrage est manifestement trop ambitieux. En fait, 'the main areas to be investigated are the mainland of Greece and the islands, as well as some individual cities on the western coast of Asia Minor' (p. 23). Et encore: la côte égéenne de l'Asie Mineure n'est que très faiblement représentée. À en regarder la distribution des chapitres (1. 'Introduction'; 2. 'Athens – a case study'; 3. 'Delos, a case study'; 4. 'The people: personnel and participants'; 5. 'Architecture and archaeology'; 6. 'Religious associations and civic institutions'; 7. 'Conclusion'), on comprend que seules Athènes et Délos font l'objet d'analyses plus détaillées. Ajoutons quand même Rhodes, dont il est question sur quelques pages dans le cadre du chapitre 6. On n'a donc affaire qu'à une sélection.

Quant aux 'leading ideas' du livre, le lecteur en est averti d'emblée: 'First I put the case that individual religious associations worshipping the same deities were far more diverse from each other than is usually recognized. ... Secondly, I argue that 'new' deities were assimilated into their new environments at an enormous pace, and most often by means of religious associations. ... The third argument concerns the fact that most religious associations worshipping 'new' deities did so without any aggressiveness and 'superficial' exoticism to attract new members but rather the opposite' (p. 25). Quelles en sont les nouveautés? En ce qui concerne le premier point, je doute fort que l'opinion commune soit contraire à ce que l'auteur a la prétention d'avoir découvert, car je ne trouve dans aucun travail de référence des considérations sur une quelconque uniformité de ces associations. Que certains savants ont pris, il est vrai, le parti d'en essayer parfois des typologies est une chose, qu'ils en eussent prôné l'uniformité en est une autre. Les deux autres idées se retrouvent elles aussi dans les ouvrages ayant trait aux associations.

L'on est donc en droit de se demander: quel est, en fin de compte, le but de cet ouvrage? L'auteur passe en revue plusieurs associations religieuses d'Athènes, du Pirée, de Délos et de Rhodes, fait un détour par Pergame et, occasionnellement, par plusieurs autres cités d'Asie Mineure, sans vraiment apporter des contributions notables. Et cela malgré le souci de systématiser, par des conclusions en fin de chaque chapitre, les idées directrices de ses investigations. On tombe, par contre, à chaque pas sur des banalités. Nous apprenons, par exemple, qu'à Athènes, 'from the fourth century onwards, the epigraphic evidence steadily increases but also it seems as though religious associations now worshipped deities that had been introduced between some fifty to one hundred years earlier' (p. 48). En discutant les termes figurant dans les inscriptions concernant les *orgéônes* de la Mère des Dieux du Pirée (*mètrôon*, *téménos*, *naos*, *hiéron*), l'auteur 'découvre' que 'the term *temenos* remained somehow specific' et que 'the application of the terms *naos* and *hieron* is not much clearer, they are basically used to describe 'structures' whereas *temenos* is always used to describe

a specific space' (p. 111). On a l'impression de lire un manuel universitaire d'initiation à l'architecture du sacré.

La bibliographie utilisée est riche, mais non dépourvue de lacunes. On s'étonnera, par exemple, de voir à la note 4 de la p. 51, dans le contexte de la présentation générale de Délos, tant de renvois à des ouvrages allemands et anglais, et aucune référence à l'abondante bibliographie française du sujet (Délos étant, ne l'oublions pas, une fouille française). Toujours à Délos, il est souvent question d'Italiens: je ne trouve pourtant, sauf erreur de ma part, aucun renvoi aux contributions réunies dans C. Hasenohr et C. Müller (éd.), *Les Italiens dans le monde grec. IIe siècle av. J.-C.–Ier siècle ap. J.-C.: Circulation, activités, intégration* (Athènes/Paris 2002).

Bref, l'ouvrage n'apporte finalement rien de ce qui puisse être retenu, sauf peut-être l'essai, d'ailleurs assez modeste, de mieux saisir des traces architecturales des activités de certaines associations (chapitre 5). Étant en anglais, ce livre sera peut-être copieusement cité et, sous la contrainte d'un 'publish or perish' de plus en plus scandalement nourri par des ignares, sûrement plus commode à consulter que le classique *Vereinswesen* de F. Poland et les autres monuments du positivisme actuellement tant décrié par la nouvelle vague de 'théoriciens'.

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Alexandru Avram

P. Thonemann (ed.), *Roman Phrygia: Culture and Society*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2013, xxiv+300 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-03128-0

The aim of the volume under review, according to the editor, is to shed light on the largely *terra incognita* that is Roman Phrygia within the Roman, late antique and early Christian periods. The publication grew from a one-day conference at Wadham College, Oxford, in July 2011. Eleven chapters are presented on diverse topics, but most are based on material culture. The first chapter, by the editor, 'Phrygia: an anarchist history, 950 BC–AD 100', offers a simplified model of the complex cultural development of the region over eight centuries by presenting three factors as catalysts for change: economic performance over time, levels of per capita consumption and the freedom of factor commodity markets. Imagining a traveller through the region, Peter Thonemann takes us on a historical tour of Phrygia, passing through Orikistos, Afyon, Aizanoi, Akomoneia, Hierapolis, Gordion and others. The Phrygians, argues T., responded to the fall of successive urban centres and their administrations by withdrawing to the vast hinterland and to a simpler way of life. Explaining the complex societies that emerged and evolved over eight centuries to three constants, may be a convenient model, but risks oversimplification and generalisations for the distinct complex societies that emerged in the region. A critical discussion on Pessinus, and its role as a major Roman period Phrygian urban centre, was a notable omission.

In Chapter 2, 'In the Phrygian mode: a region seen from without', Barbara Levick begins her discussion on ancient impressions of Phrygia with its music. This broad overview of cultural influence ranges from the Midas myth, the alphabet, Montanism, the limits of Phrygian territory, the cult of the Great Mother as well as ancient perceptions of Phrygian character. The contribution provides an excellent sourcebook for such

material, but the concluding remarks that Phrygian society was one that valued 'face-to-face' interactions seemed a little disconnected from the preceding discussion. Claude Brixhe, in Chapter 3, 'The personal onomastics of Roman Phrygia', after providing a brief overview of the Archaic to Classical history of the region, provides an analysis of Phrygian personal names, and the impact of Persian, Greek, Galatian and Roman political interactions on naming practices. Brixhe observes that in some parts of the region in the Roman period, especially at Pessinus, a Phrygian identity was preserved. He also correctly points out the limitations of the comprehensiveness of such a study, as the lower rungs of society are mute in the written record. In Chapter 4, 'Grave monuments and local identities in Roman Phrygia', Ute Kelp discusses self-representation in grave monuments from the early Imperial period to the 2nd and the 3rd centuries AD. Kelp argues that the iconography on graves must surely represent real life, rather than abstracted concepts, and she traces the first known appearance of doorstones and their function. She contends that rather than exhibiting 'backwardness', they represented civic self-conception. Her discussion on notions of identity are perhaps a little abstracted, and the link behind her perspective on identity theory and its relationship to the archaeological material discussed in this chapter, perhaps needed to be more explicit. Jane Masségla, in Chapter 5, 'Phrygians in relief: trends in self-representation', follows on a similar theme to Kelp's contribution. Masségla's analyses of the iconography of doorstones, within which she discusses visual hierarchies, gender-specific accoutrements and representations of the human form and clothing, represent a useful re-evaluation of this material. While one might question the extent to which this iconography can be employed to define social habits, Masségla rightly limits her discussion to observable 'Phrygian' stylistic peculiarities.

T. aims to deduce domestic arrangements in his Chapter 6, 'Households and families in Roman Phrygia'. In this chapter, the author employs funerary epitaphs as his source for a discussion on various aspects of family life, such as: marriage and marriageable age; infant mortality; examples of nuclear and extended family models, as well as the role of slaves in some families. T. admits that the reconstruction of the make-up of Phrygian household from such material is an 'art' rather than a 'science', and advises caution due to the small available sample of material. Georgy Kantor's chapter, 'Law in Roman Phrygia: rules and jurisdictions', evaluates the introduction of Roman law from the late 2nd century BC to the first half of the 3rd century AD, and focuses mostly on practices for the dispensation of justice through the *assize* system, as well as the careers of legal professionals. He highlights the lack of current understanding of how justice was dispensed on a local 'day-to-day' basis. Kantor ultimately concludes that such a study can only result in new questions rather than answers, due to the limited evidence. In Chapter 8, 'An epigraphic probe into the origins of Montanism', Stephen Mitchell's discussion commences with the unknown location of Ardabau, where Montanism reportedly originated, and the possibility that it is to be found within the locality of Temenouthyrai/Uşak, and then moves on to an analysis of primary sources, inscriptions from the area and their iconography. His discussion also considers the appearance of a female priest at Temenouthyrai, and whether this can be considered as an indication that she was necessarily a Montanist. Édouard Chiricat writes on the topic of hidden Christian symbols in the following chapter, 'The "Crypto-Christian" inscriptions of Phrygia'. After a critical review of the definition and distinctions of such inscriptions,

Chiricat gives several examples, and convincingly argues that this category needs to be reassessed, as they represent a 'modern category-error', and that Phrygian Christians had nothing to hide. In Chapter 10, 'Phrygian marble and stonemasonry as markers of regional distinctiveness in late antiquity', Philipp Niewöhner considers the Dokimeian marble trade and stonemasonry profession after the building 'crisis' of the 3rd century AD. His discussion of several artefacts, mostly from a religious architectural context, show that skill levels in Dokimeian workshops remained largely in tact, and while still catering for a wider market, stone masons also contributed to the creation of a local 'trademark' of marble decoration that was limited to liturgical furniture. The final chapter, 'The history of an idea: tracing the origin of the MAMA project', is a fascinating discussion, mostly centred upon the life of Sir William Mitchell Ramsay and his role in the emergence of systematic international archaeological research in inner Anatolia, from the last quarter of the 19th century. There is little doubt about the importance of Charlotte Roueché's study on the activities of these pioneers, and especially on the large amount of documentary material they collected, which is stored and is need of further research, however, the subject perhaps did not fit within the theme of this volume.

The volume is free from noticeable typographical errors. Overall, this mix of contributions, brought together under the broad theme of Roman Phrygia, will be especially valuable to those who have an interest in the social development of the region, or specific interest in the individual topics contained within it.

University of Melbourne

Simon J. Young

J. Toner, *Homer's Turk*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA/London 2013, x+306 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-674-07314-2

Homer's Turk is less about Homer and Turks than about classical sources and Islam, Arabs and Indians; sometimes less about how Classics shaped ideas of the East ('It tries to show how the image of the East has been historically received in England and has been adapted to suit the political and social needs of the time', p. 13), though there is plenty of that, and more about Graeco-Roman, then English/British (it can be a little unclear which is meant) and later American encounters and interactions with some version of an 'East', this East as 'plastic' (p. 40) as the image of it created by classical Greek authors or more modern English ones: is it the Near East beginning in Ottoman Europe, the Middle East, India, or the Far East of the American débâcle in Indo-China?

Notwithstanding, there is much information to be found here in ten chapters, divided into three sections ('Contexts', 'Texts' and 'Afterwords'), ranging from 'The Uses of Classics' and 'Classics and Medieval Images of Islam', via 'Gibbon's Islam', 'The Roman Raj', 'Empires Ancient and Modern' and 'Colonial Adventures', to 'Screen Classics' and 'America Roma Nova' (taking us to the events of 2001 and beyond, the lessons of the old Rome for the new amidst the clash of civilisations, a stab at contemporary relevance, but not much about ideas of the East). Somehow, some combination of the Protestant work-ethic, moral assurance and superiority, and the Bible will see 'us' through, or so some once thought (and some in the hinterland of the new Rome still do?). But here I am creating imagery and stereotypes in much the way that Jerry Toner decries.

Chapter 1 lays the groundwork and explains the title. We are in the territory of how classical authors influenced the formation of English orientalism – mindful of the dominance for centuries of a classical education and the paucity of other means for ‘the West’/‘Europe’/ ‘Christendom’, or those of its adventurous representatives who ventured forth, to understand the ‘East’ (itself a rather loose concept never quite nailed down), how could it be otherwise? ‘No simple equivalence should be drawn between the Greeks and later Westerners’ (p. 16). Indeed. And the Modern (and Early Modern) world was not classical antiquity, though searching for and perhaps forging classical precedents to ‘validate British imperialism’ (p. 9). Thus, as ‘English’ needs changed, so too did Classics to fulfil them (constant reformation), and ‘writers used Classics to help them reflect their own contemporary agendas’ (usage and abuse, as they still do) (p. 11), for which reception is ‘too passive a term’ (p. 12).

Very thorough and thoughtful on the contrasting views of Sir William Jones and James Mill on India, and Lord Cromer, Lawrence of Arabia and others somewhat nearer east. Good to see Said’s *Orientalism* taking a battering (pp. 14–17), familiarity with the work of W.D. Rubinstein (one of the handful of living modern historians of note ever associated with an Australian university), perhaps through T.’s background in the money business, and a quotation beloved of Walter Batty, my school history master, from *Clive of India* (T.’s financial background again), astonished at his own moderation. Only one reference to Herodotus before ‘Screen Classics’.

The book is designed for a general readership, so more context would be helpful at various points, likewise a clearer or tighter focus (much of the last section might have been culled) and tauter prose. But a worthwhile exercise.

Leeds, UK

James Hargrave

J. Untermann, *Iberische Bleiinschriften in Südfrankreich und im Empordà*, Madrider Forschungen 20, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2014, vi+136 pp., illustrations, 4 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-035085-2/ISSN 0418-9736

This volume is a posthumous publication of Prof. Jürgen Untermann (1928–2013), for more than four decades a true patriarch of the study of the pre-Roman languages and scripts of the Iberian Peninsula. Those of us who got to meet him and deal with him know that these pages kept him busy during the last years of his life, when his health problems were already interfering cruelly with his deep commitment to his work.

Not only is U. the author of a large corpus on palaeohispanic epigraphy (*MLH*),¹ but he is also the creator of a rigorous method for the analysis of the Iberian texts in which lexical segments appearing in any given text are subjected to a combinatorial study in relation to their appearance in other texts, as well as to a syntactic contextual study. Despite the disadvantage of this method not being particularly useful in a semantic level (i.e. it rarely discloses the word translation), it does provide the great advantage of facilitating a structural analysis of the texts and has brought us to identify most of the incorporating morphemes that work with personal names, as well as some verbal morphemes. The reviewed book is

¹ *Monumenta linguarum Hispanicarum* (Wiesbaden 1975–2001).

methodologically loyal to this method of internal combinatory analysis, to the extent that any scholar familiar with the subject will recognise U.'s hand in any of these pages.

The book introduces the edition and commentary on 15 inscriptions on lead, all of which have been previously edited. Six of them (C.1.6, C.2.3, C.2.4, C.2.5, C.2.6 and C.4.1) had been published in the third volume of *MLH*; the remaining nine were supposed to be published in the expected corpus supplements. Each commentary follows the same 11-section structure: 1. 'Abmessungen und Erhaltungszustand der Inschrift'; 2. 'Anordnung und Zahl der Buchstaben und Zeilen'; 3. 'Höhe der Buchstaben'; 4. 'Schriftzeichenformen'; 5. 'Worttrennung'; 6. 'Der Text'; 7. 'Lesung und Ergänzungen'; 8. 'Mehrfach vorkommende Buchstabenfolgen'; 9. 'Suffixe'; 10. 'Personennamen'; and 11. 'Appellativische Wörter'. Except for Pech-Maho V (B.7.38), there is also a drawing of each inscription (sometimes by the author himself, sometimes by his editors) and a photograph is also provided for seven of them at the end of the book (as is usual when it comes to most photographic reproductions for this kind of epigraphic material, their usefulness for checking details is rather limited).

In general, the edition of those texts already published in *MHL* does not bring any significant new readings or details. But for the inscriptions that were to be published in the supplements, there are some improvements compared to the corresponding *editiones principes*, although it is advisable to check them along with the details provided in the *Hesperia* corpus <<http://hesperia.ucm.es>> after recent autopsies.

While using this book, the reader needs to keep in mind that the bibliography rarely passes beyond the year 2000, which prevents the work from reporting some of the important releases verified in recent years. The most important of these is definitely the correction of the value of some letters and the identification of the so-called dual script, an achievement owed to Joan Ferrer: the text transcription system U. applies is the same one he used in all his previous works and does not differentiate between dual and non-dual scripts, nor does it show the opposition between voiced and unvoiced consonants in the dental and velar series. This also has important consequences in the segment analysis, for some differences between morphemes remain unrevealed, while dual texts do make them graphically explicit.

Furthermore, from the point of view of a linguistic discussion, some of the main lines of debate that have arisen in recent years, such as numeral expressions and feminine formation, have been omitted. Finally, as for onomastics, the omission of some important works that have been published latterly, such as those of Rodríguez Ramos and Moncunill, is also relevant.

In spite of all the above observations, the most important part of this work is the one dealing with the suffixes and text syntactic structure analysis, where the model of *MLH* is preserved and followed. Moreover, U. confirms most of the opinions he held in his older works. However, very worthy suggestions about segments and morphemes can also be found, and many of his commentaries gathered in this book can encourage reflection and debate on a large number of Iberian words.

This excellently presented book begins with a summary of inscriptions on lead (to which those recently found and published should be added), some concordances of the studied texts and a summary of the find-spots; and it ends with three other very useful summaries: a word summary, an inverse summary and an analytic summary for infixes, prefixes, suffixes and numbers. Finally, this book must be regarded as the close of the admirable work of U.,

whose merit does not rely only on his particular achievements, though these were many and very decisive, but also on his productive teaching capacity: his disciples, and his disciples' disciples, now bear the responsibility of carrying forward what he achieved and, if possible, of surpassing it.

University of Barcelona

Javier Velaza

J. StP. Walsh, *Consumerism in the Ancient World: Imports and Identity Construction*, Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies, Routledge, London/New York 2014, xx+218 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-415-89379-4

This work aims to address how ancient societies of the Iberian Peninsula, Gaul and the territories in modern-day Germany and Switzerland linked to the Hallstatt culture received and used Greek pottery, mainly between the 6th and 4th centuries BC. Justin Walsh recognises his debt to Dietler's work on consumption, trade and the social importance of alcohol and its use in festivals, including his latest work *Archaeologies of Colonialism*.¹

In the introductory chapter, 'Greek Pottery in New Contexts', W. discusses general issues of ceramic forms present or their uses, and advances what will be one of main topics discussed in the book, namely the active participation of consumers (agency) when selecting the pottery that they shall consume. He also introduces the documentary basis on which he will work, summarised as 233 sites in five different (modern) countries and a total of 24,000 vessels or fragments.

The second chapter, 'Greek Colonization in the West: A Historical and Cultural Survey', provides a quick portrait of the current state of the question, the main problems, etc., including the frequent shortage or lack of specificity in literary sources. Similarly, W. presents an overview of the areas of study defined in his work which are roughly the Hallstatt culture, the Iberian Peninsula, the Ibero-Languedoc zone and Tartessos.

Chapter 3, 'Comparison of Significant Sites', offers a fairly up-to-date panorama of the main places where Greek pottery is attested. Starting with the Greek sites, W. mentions Massalia, Agathe and Emporion. Among the Southern Hallstatt sites he highlights Saint-Blaise, where the most we can suggest, as does W., is that if Greeks lived there (which is not accredited) they did so in the local style. Within the Northern Hallstatt territory, he considers Vix, Asperg, Hochdorf and Heuneburg. Then he proceeds to mention the 'Iberian sites', among which are Castulo, Huelva, Cancho Roano and Ullastret.

Chapter 4, 'Developing a Theoretical Basis for Understanding Consumption', presents the different interpretations that have been given for contacts between cultures, addressing issues such as identity, trade and exchange, the colonialist approaches, ideas like Hellenisation and Romanisation, the application of theories taken from other social sciences such as world-systems or networks, etc. As against all of these proposals, others have emerged that claim, in part, the role of local people was not that of passive recipients but active agents in the selection of the objects and ideas they used, as well as the mechanisms of integration of these materials into their own cultures, producing the

¹ M. Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France* (Berkeley 2010). Reviewed in *AWE* 13 (2014), 304–08.

phenomena of hybridity or miscegenation. Similarly, emphasis has also been placed on the objects and their meanings and the changes they undergo when accepted ('consumed') in other cultures. W.'s synthesis of the main strands reveals how many of these positions take on dogmatic aspects, sometimes inciting opposing new theories which, in turn, generate visions as dogmatic as those that they seek to combat. Undoubtedly, concepts such as Hellenisation or similar are perceived today as simplistic, but it is no less simplistic to approach contacts from a unilateral perspective in which only one part, the 'indigenous' or local populations, play an active role, while the 'colonisers', despite being the providers of many of the objects that the former consume, come to play an instrumental role, merely serving interests (consumption by the indigenous) that seem unrelated to them. It is necessary to continue these discussions to achieve interpretive mechanisms that take into account the sometimes competing interests between the parties involved in contacts and exchanges.

Chapter 5, 'Greek Pottery at Home and in the West', provides what will be W.'s main methodology, namely the combination of three types of analysis: the number of fragments; the presence or absence of certain forms; and the use of a statistical tool that can assess these aspects in a given sample. In W.'s opinion, once the analysis is concluded, it will be possible to try to determine the extent to which Greek practices followed Greek vases in non-Greek contexts.

Chapter 6, 'Analysis of the dataset', is the most important and innovative part of the study. It starts with a summary of the analysed quantities, accompanied by several graphs showing the reader at a glance the figures, distribution, forms, etc. Similarly, and in order that the study has the necessary territorial projection, these data are projected onto a map covering the studied territories, which includes rivers and altitudes. It is important to stress that all this information, both data and graphics, is available to the reader on the web page of the publisher² and that it is indispensable material for following W.'s argument. Using a device he calls 'kriging', defined as 'the application of an interpolative model to data that have a geographical component', W. tries to analyse from already known data the higher or lower probability that these results can be extrapolated to neighbouring areas. Consequently, W. can present a diachronic panorama, and thereafter, the presence or absence in each region of ceramics grouped by type of use as defined in the previous chapter.

Like any statistical method, 'kriging' reveals trends, but only future finds will confirm them. In any case, these trends are a working tool with many potentials, increased because W. has made accessible the original database.

The seventh and final chapter, 'Interpreting the Evidence: Consumerism, Signaling, and Identity', highlights some of the main conclusions reached by W. after his analysis. One of these is that there are sufficient indications, in his opinion, that consumers make choices, selecting some and rejecting other types. Another conclusion is that there is no evidence of *symposia* or pseudo-*symposia* of Greek type in the non-Greek areas under study.

An appendix lists the places considered in the study and the number of Greek vases found there, organised by function.

² [Http://www.routledge.com/books/details/9780415893794/](http://www.routledge.com/books/details/9780415893794/).

Although some of the author's assertions deserve more detailed comment and despite my noticing some problems in the references (especially, in common with others who do not write in Spanish, a failure to understand the right order of names in Spanish), the book provides a comprehensive study of a large mass of data, well seriated and dated as Greek pottery is, in a large area of Western Europe where the differences in use, preferred forms by their consumers, presences and absences can be fruitfully compared. Apart from the consumer perspective adopted in this study, the information collected can be used to address other issues – for instance, the mechanisms of marketing and distribution of this pottery, and even, though this is one of the aspects neglected in the perspective imposed by the author, the issue of the possible selection of forms or even decorative items by the Greek distributors themselves at some point in the marketing of these vessels to non-Greeks environments.

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Adolfo J. Domínguez

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